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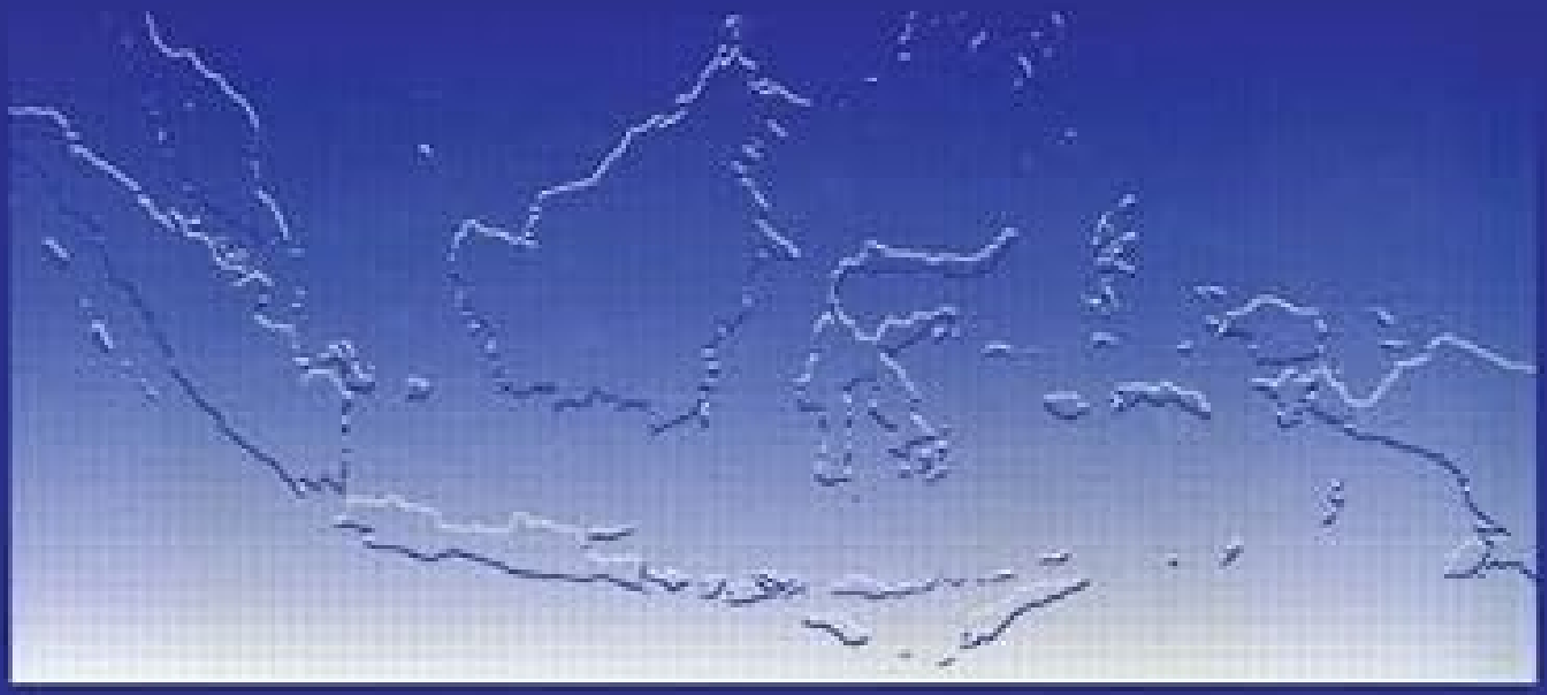

ROBERT CRIBB

HAWAI'I

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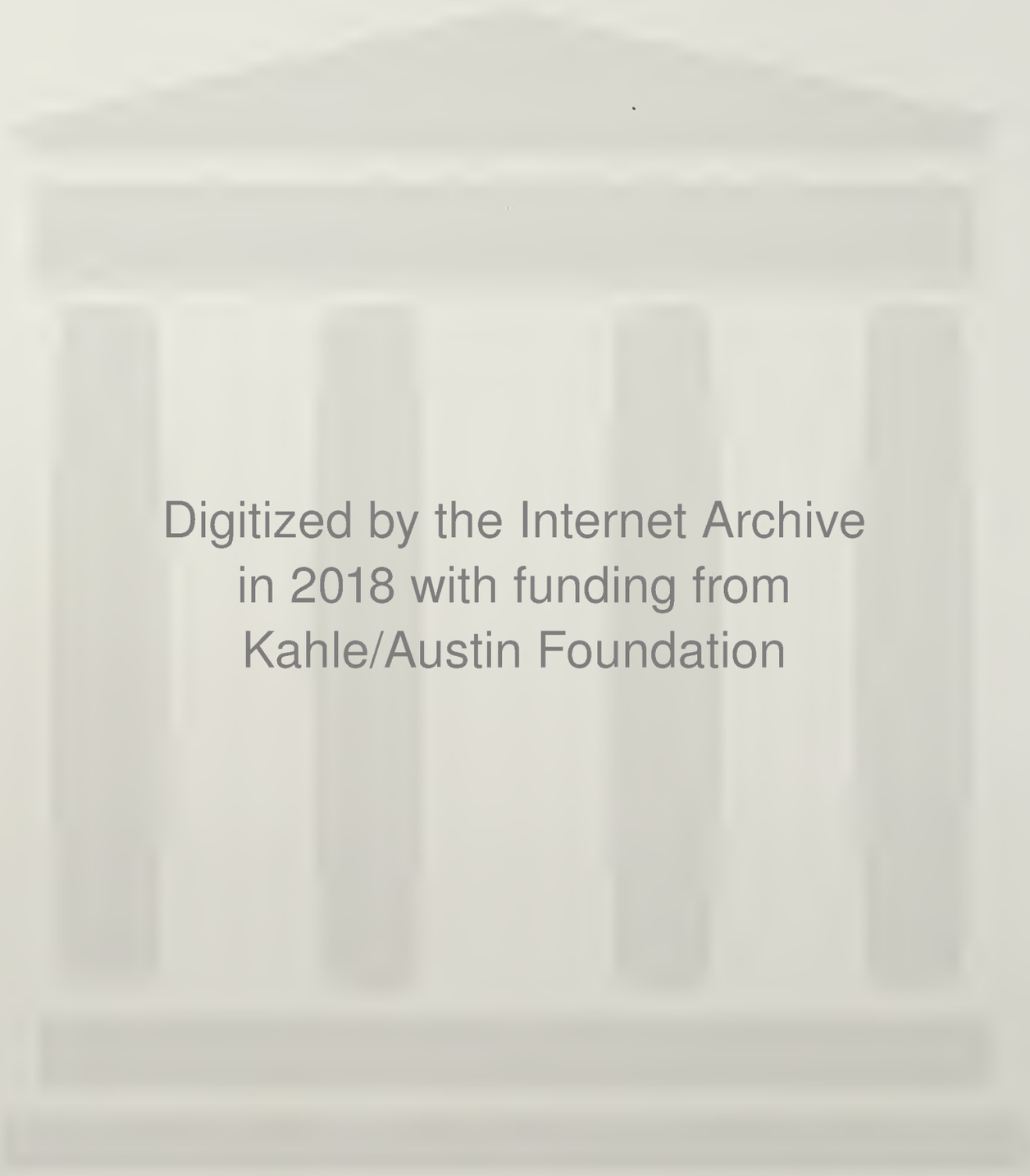
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Historical Atlas of Indonesia

Robert Cribb

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Acknowledgements

In preparing the present atlas, I have learnt from the strengths and weaknesses of earlier endeavours (see Introduction), but my work has been enormously facilitated by the technology which enabled me to prepare all the maps for this volume. Here, I used the computer graphics program CorelDRAW, which evolved from version 3.0 to version 6.0 in the course of the project. The coastal outlines used for most maps were obtained from the Digital Chart of the World (DCW), which is based in turn on 1:1,000,000 Operational Navigational Charts (ONCs) and 1:2,000,000 Jet Navigation Charts (JNCs) produced by the United States Defense Mapping Agency. The DCW uses the Robinson projection. Political boundaries and other data for the atlas were for the most part manually traced from a variety of sources and then scanned into CorelDRAW. Maps of the nineteenth century and earlier almost never mention a projection, and my efforts to fit the boundaries which they show to modern projections are necessarily approximate. I have made no systematic adjustment for changes in coastlines because, as will be seen, the evidence available for plotting such changes is fragmentary and unreliable.

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Despite all the help I have received, I am sorry to have to concede that errors of fact and judgement are virtually inevitable in a work of this kind, and I assure the reader that I take responsibility for them.

Introduction

Stretched across the Equator between the Southeast Asian mainland and the islands of Australia and New Guinea lies the world's largest archipelago. Home to over 230 million people, this archipelago is now divided politically into four independent states, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei (as well as the soon-to-be-independent East Timor), while islands belonging to six neighbouring states – the Philippines, Thailand, India, Australia, Papua New Guinea and Palau – lie on its fringes.

In size and population, the largest state of the region is Indonesia, founded in 1945 in the turbulent aftermath of the Second World War and based on the territorial outlines of the former Netherlands East Indies. Indonesia's history since 1945 has been complex, with events spilling across the country's borders on more than one occasion, and its history before 1945 is still more tangled. The Dutch colony was created by a long process of overthrowing and incorporating indigenous states, themselves based on widely varying social, religious, economic, and cultural structures.

The purpose of this atlas is to present the history of the Indonesian region in map form, focussing on the territories which eventually became part of the Indonesian state, but paying attention also to regions – Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei – which were culturally and historically part of the Indonesian archipelago and which did not become part of Indonesia. Like all historical atlases, it is aimed at more than one audience: it is intended both as an introduction to Indonesian history for those especially interested in its geographical dimensions, and it is intended as a reference work for more established scholars in the field. In either case, it need hardly be said, the atlas is primarily a supplement to the many written works which illuminate various aspects of the archipelago's history.

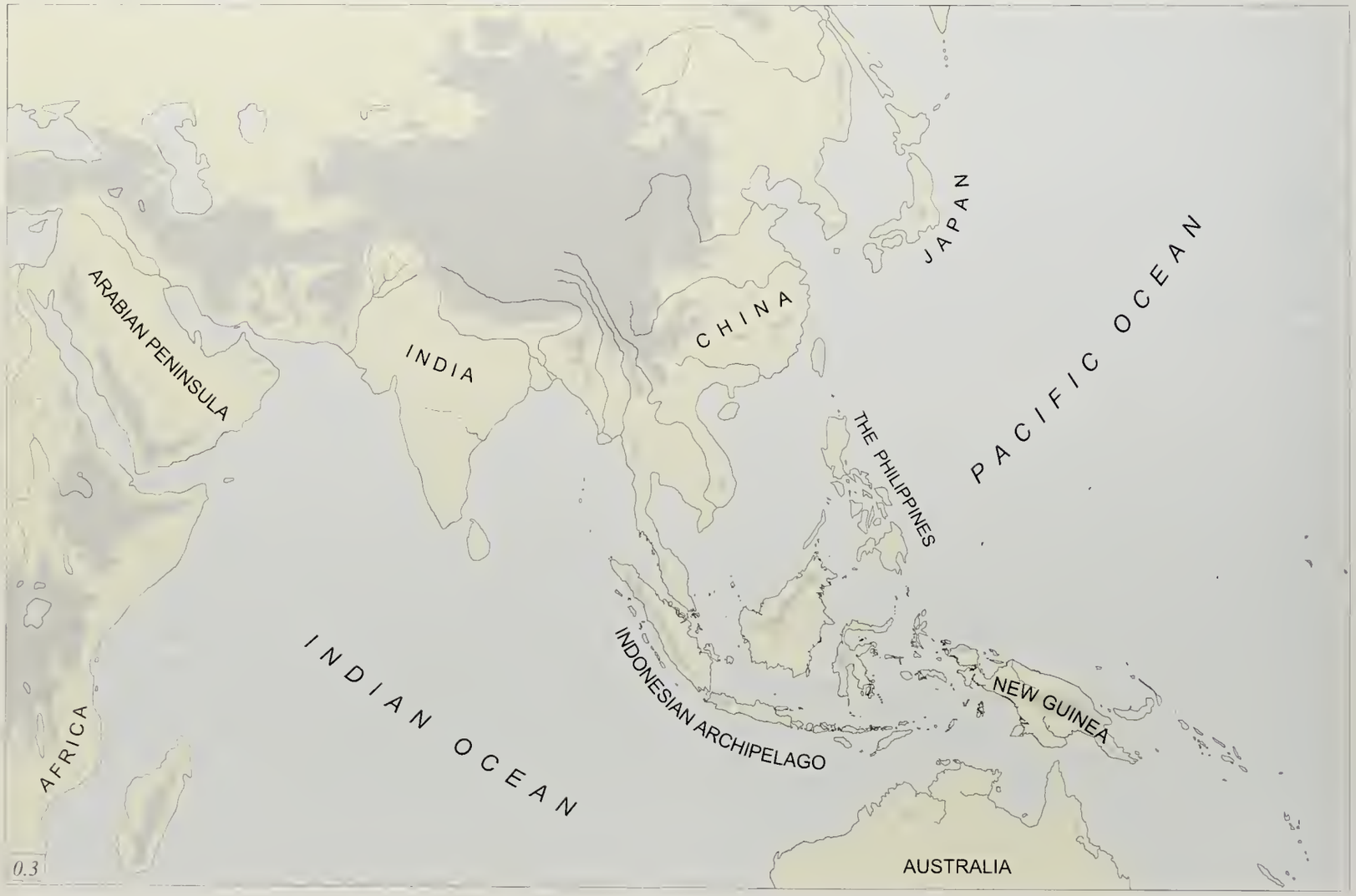
The use of maps to present the past is, of course, at least as contentious as the use of words. The sharp lines and edges which are characteristic of maps cannot easily convey degrees of imprecision and uncertainty in the way that prose does. Maps therefore often seem to claim a greater degree of accuracy than is warranted by the empirical knowledge on which they are based. Still more seriously, historical atlases have a tendentious pedigree: particularly where their focus is an existing national state, they often appear to annex the past to the present, claiming the legitimacy of antiquity for what may be much more shallowly rooted political units. The aim of this atlas – by starting with continental drift and with the region's human inhabitants of half a million years ago – has been to let the reader see how different elements of what we now identify as 'Indonesia' gradually assembled, not to imply that there was some teleological necessity in the precise pattern they took. Indeed, one of the tests of the atlas will be how much its maps continue to inform readers in the future as these elements gradually reassemble in the processes of political, social and economic change.

The first historical atlases – standardized maps of a particular region, chronologically arranged and bound in a single volume – appeared in the 17th century. They were conceived as a supplement to written

0.1 The Indonesian archipelago and southern Europe on the same scale.

0.2 The Indonesian archipelago and Caribbean region on the same scale.

0.3 The Indonesian archipelago in its Asia–Pacific context.



0.4 Main islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

Indonesia's islands by size (larger than 500 km²)

New Guinea, c. 800,000 km²
  Irian 421,981 km²
Borneo, 755,000 km²
  Kalimantan 539,460 km²
Sumatra, 473,606 km²
Sulawesi, 189,216 km²
Java, 125,622 km²
Timor, 30,777 km²
  West Timor 16,510 km²
Halmahera, 17,780 km²
Seram, 17,148 km²
Sumbawa, 15,448, km²
Flores, 14,250 km²
Dolak, 11,600 km²
Bangka, 11,330 km²
Sumba, 11,153 km²
Buru, 9,505 km²
Bali, 5,561 km²
Lombok, 5,435 km²
Madura, 5,290 km²
Belitung, 4,800 km²
Nias, 4,772 km²
Buton, 4,200 km²
Wetar, 3,600 km²
Siberut, 3,600 km²
Waigeo, 3,100 km²
Yamdena, 3,100 km²
Taliabu, 3,015 km²

Peleng, 2,519 km²
Obi, 2,463 km²
Biak, 2,455 km²
Yapen, 2,424 km²
Bacan, 2,366 km²
Kobroor, 2,360 km²
Alor, 2,330 km²
Trangan, 2,097 km²
Laut, 2,062 km²
Simeuleu, 1,844 km²
Morotai, 1,800 km²
Misool, 1,751 km²
Muna, 1,704 km²
Roti, 1,691, km²
Salawati, 1,658 km²
Rupat, 1,653 km²
Bunguran, 1,650 km²
Wokam 1,426 km²
Tebing Tinggi, 1,363km²
Mangoli, 1,299 km²
Lomblen, 1,292 km²
Bintan, 1,075 km²
Padang, 1,067km²
Pagai Selatan, 1,030 km²
Bengkalis, 953km²
Rangsang, 908km²
Selayar, 899 km²
Kabaena, 859km²

Supiori, 838 km²
Singkep, 827 km²
Lingga, 825 km²
Sangir, 798km²
Nuhucut, 787 km²
Ambon, 761 km²
Pantar, 693 km²
Babar, 691 km²
Pagai Utara, 680 km²
Wowoni, 632 km²
Samosir, 630 km²
Moa, 603 km²
Batanta, 602 km²
Adonara, 580 km²
Taberfane, 567 km²
Selaru, 544 km²
Sawu, 538, km²
Sulabesi, 524 km²
Komodo, 520 km²
Larat, 515 km²

Selected smaller islands
Batam, 470 km²
Tanabela, 469 km²
Enggano, 443 km²
Pini, 300 km²
Damar, 315 km²
Tarakan, 302 km²
Numfoor, 261 km²
Tuangku, 222 km²
Bawean, ca 200 km²
Karimata, 179 km²
We, 175 km²
Penida, 172 km²
Subi, 169 km²
Togian, 148 km²
Kisar, 131 km²
Roma, 130 km²
Saparua, 128 km²
Kambangan, 121 km²
Tidore, 116 km²
Ternate, 106 km²
Panaitan, 122 km²

histories, and for a time the development of historical atlases paralleled the development of the historical discipline. Particularly from the early 19th century, as historians began to turn their attention from rulers and warfare to economic and social history, cartographers added thematic maps showing phenomena such as language, climate and economic standing to the once-standard fare of political boundaries and the movements of armies and travellers. Some historical atlases are still conceived as an adjunct to the whole body of historical writing on a region, but most now adopt the practice, used here, of providing a substantial text to link the maps, to provide context, and to say those things which no map, however well conceived, can say.

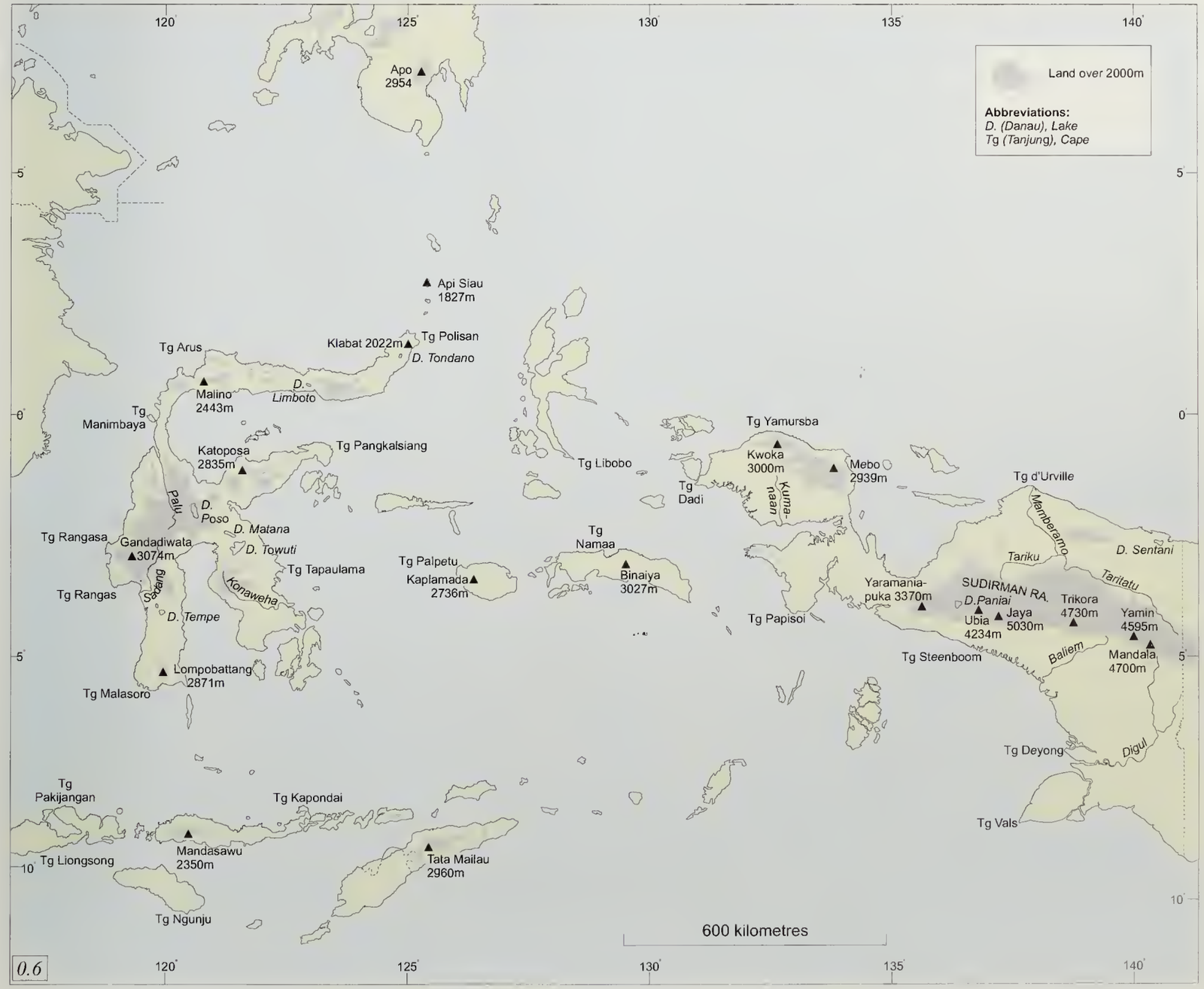
The question of what maps say and do not say has become a matter of some contention in recent years. In the first place, a map is always much more a snapshot in time than is historical prose. Even if the patches on a map are colour-coded to indicate different periods and the map is provided with arrows to show movement, and even when a series of maps is set in historical sequence, the effect is jerky. Few maps have a beginning and an ending in the manner of a prose passage: they demand instead to be explored, pored over, and revisited in a way that prose does not. A good map stops the reader dead in his or her tracks, subverting the narrative drive which lies at the heart of most history-writing.

0.5 Western Indonesia, major geographical features.

A more important objection, however, arises from the fact that historians have become aware of limitations of maps as a vehicle for presenting some kinds of historical analysis. A picture may be worth a thousand words, but not every thousand words can be turned into a picture. These limitations arise especially from the fact that the information on which most historical maps are based is derived one way or another from the activities of the state – and this extends even to the outline of coasts and rivers, which is almost always the product of government-sponsored surveys. Can a map record structures of power without also embodying and legitimizing them? This question is particularly important in mapping regions which were once European colonies, for mapping was very often an integral part of both conquest and exploitation. 'Give me a map', says Tamburlaine (Tamerlane) in Marlowe's poem, 'then let me see how much is left for me to conquer all the world'.

The data which would be needed to present non-official views of the world may be largely or wholly lacking because those views are not of interest to those who sponsor the collection of official data. Sometimes it is possible to use official or officially-sanctioned sources as a mirror to read the minds of subordinate or resisting groups, but much of the material which historians have used in this way is geographically fragmented and not amenable to mapping. *Women in the World: an International Atlas* (Seager and Olsen 1986) is an imaginative attempt to use mapping

0.6 Eastern Indonesia, major geographical features.



technology to bring the experience of women to the fore, but it is able to do so only by using the nation as the main unit of analysis and at the cost of leaving large areas coloured in grey to denote that their status is 'unknown or unclear'. The technology of mapping, moreover, is geared to precise classifications and lines of demarcation of a kind that suit bureaucracies. Transitional conditions and multiple meanings of the same reality are difficult – and sometimes impossible – to render clearly in map form. Like most modern authors of historical atlases, I have sought to make imaginative cartographic use of the material available to me, but most readers will soon notice gaps in the coverage of this atlas which cannot be adequately filled at present. Some critics have gone further in their deconstruction of maps to argue that maps say more about relations of power – political and intellectual – at the time of their creation than about their purported subject. To mark on a map, for instance, the extent of an early kingdom conjures up modern Western conceptions of kingship and territoriality which may be alien to the way in which people of the time viewed their world. To centre a map on an area of land, making the seas a blank periphery may have more to do with modern Western terrestrial conceptions of what is important than with the world-view of people living in that region. These critiques are a valuable corrective to sometimes-held perception that map-making is a technical and value-free exercise, but I confess that have found the techniques of post-modernism more effective in deconstructing maps than in constructing them.

This is not the first historical atlas to depict the Indonesian region. The western parts of Indonesia in particular have frequently appeared in historical atlases of the world or of neighbouring regions. In many such works, Indonesia is given no more than a peripheral place, but some provide an admirable level of detail, notably the *Correlated History of the Far East: China, Korea, Japan* (Penkala *et al.* 1966), the *Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Schwartzberg 1978), the *Historical Atlas of Islam* (Brice 1981), and *Times Atlas of World History* (Parker 1993). In 1928, a historical atlas of the Netherlands (Stapel 1928) published six large, unbound maps showing the archipelago between 1619 and 1791 along with the Asian operations of the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) during the same period; these maps were accompanied by a substantial text, but were too large themselves for easy use as a reference atlas and were very much focussed on the Dutch presence in the region. The great *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* (1938) included a single opening with four detailed maps showing early kingdoms and the expansion of Dutch authority, but these had no associated text and were thus difficult to use.

After the Second World War, Sellman's rather crude *Outline Atlas of Eastern History* (1954) was soon overshadowed in detail and quality by Muhammad Yamin's 1956 *Atlas sedjarah* (Historical atlas), a fine work which was taken less seriously than it should have been because of Yamin's reputation as an unashamed historical propagandist. In 1964, the Dutch publisher Djambatan produced an *Atlas of South-East Asia* with eight historical maps on the end papers and a short general historical text by the renowned historian of Southeast Asia, D.G.E. Hall. There was then a rather long interval before the appearance of Tugiyono's 1982 *Atlas dan lukisan sejarah national Indonesia* (Atlas and illustrations of Indonesia's national history), prolifically provided with simple, mainly hand-lettered black-and-white maps. This volume went through at least three editions before being superseded in Indonesian bookshops by Latif and Lay (1992). In 1985, the Indonesian Department of Education and Culture embarked on an ambitious programme to publish a series of historical atlases of

0.7 Main island groups, seas and straits of the Indonesian archipelago.

Province (1990)	*Census number*	*Usual abbreviation*	*Usual translation*
Daerah Istimewa Aceh	11	Dista Aceh	Special Territory of Aceh
Sumatera Utara	12	Sumut	North Sumatra
Sumatera Barat	13	Sumbar	West Sumatra
Riau	14		
Jambi	15		
Sumatera Selatan	16	Sumsel	South Sumatra
Bengkulu	17		
Lampung	18	Lam	
Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta	31	DKI	Special Capital Territory of Jakarta
Jawa Barat	32	Jabar	West Java
Jawa Tengah	33	Jateng	Central Java
Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta	34	DIY	Special Territory of Yogyakarta
Jawa Timur	35	Jatim	East Java
Bali	51	Bal	
Nusa Tenggara Barat	52	NTB	West Nusatenggara
Nusa Tenggara Timur	53	NTT	East Nusatenggara
Timor Timur	54	Timtim	East Timor
Kalimantan Barat	61	Kalbar	West Kalimantan
Kalimantan Tengah	62	Kalteng	Central Kalimantan
Kalimantan Selatan	63	Kalsel	South Kalimantan
Kalimantan Timur	64	Kaltim	East Kalimantan
Sulawesi Utara	71	Sulut	North Sulawesi
Sulawesi Tengah	72	Sulteng	Central Sulawesi
Sulawesi Selatan	73	Sulsel	South Sulawesi
Sulawesi Tenggara	74	Sultra	Southeast Sulawesi
Maluku	81	Mal	
Irian Jaya	82	Irja	Irian Jaya

0.8 Indonesian provinces and their capitals, 2000.

Indonesia's provinces, but unfortunately the value of these large volumes was reduced by the rigid use of a single base map for each province, by what appears to be an excessively precise delineation of early states, and by a coyness in dealing with recent, politically sensitive events. The *Atlas of Southeast Asia* (Ulack and Pauer, 1989) also contained a brief series of highly generalized historical maps.

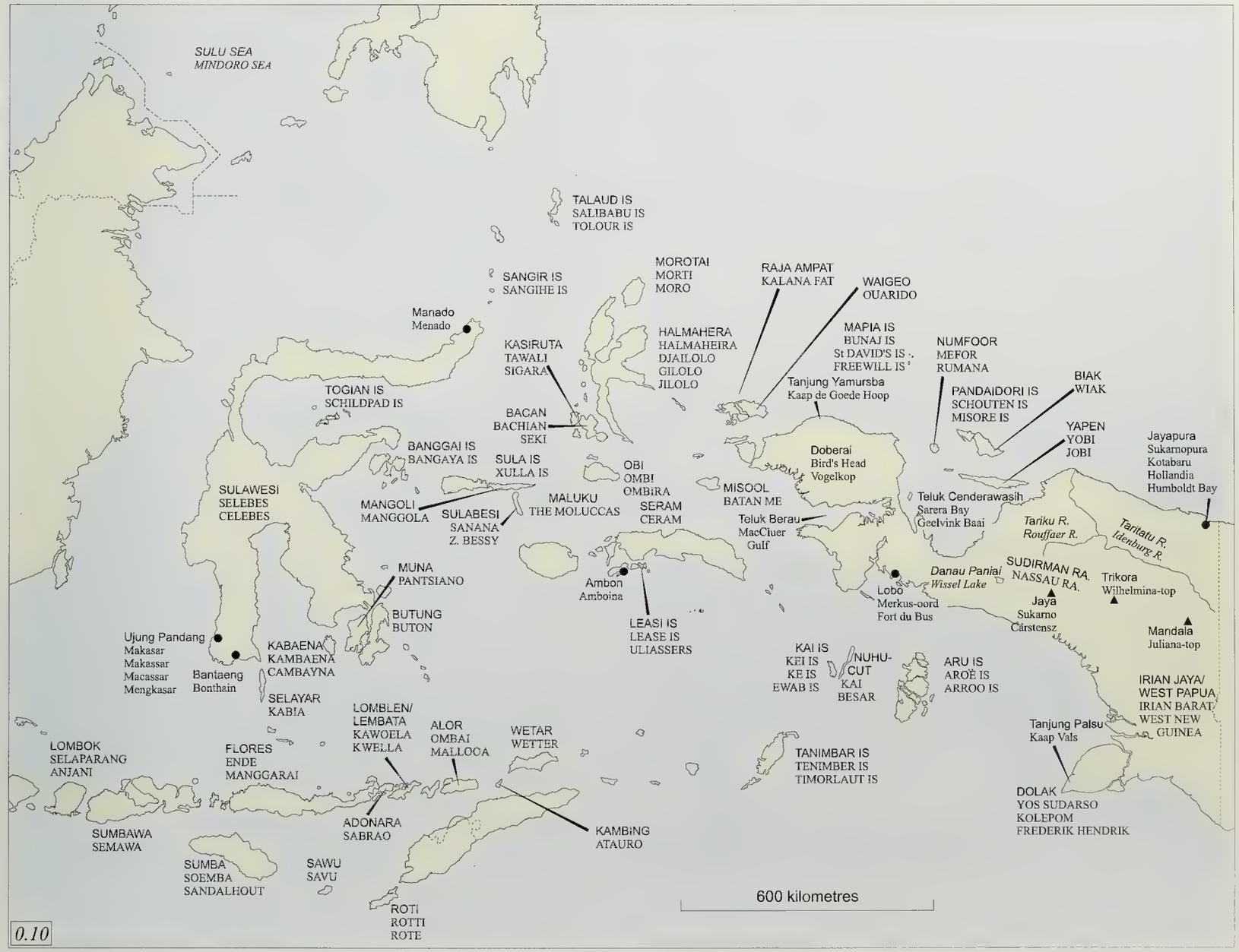
Two works in recent times have gone beyond this relatively unimaginative pattern of historical maps. Hatley (1984) published a stimulating paper entitled 'Mapping cultural regions of Java' and provided several examples of how it might be possible to bring alive the diversity of Javanese civilization using maps to show patterns of language use, consumption, dress and so on. Pluvier's magisterial *Historical Atlas of South-East Asia* (1995) vastly exceeded every preceding work in scope and detail. Its 64 maps offered a sequence closely spaced in time so that for the first time scholars could trace historical events from one map to another. Its rich detail, especially for the 17th to 19th centuries made it a valuable reference work for these centuries. On the other hand, prepared by traditional cartographic methods over more than twenty years, the atlas was unfortunately unable to take account of recent findings, especially on the prehistory of Southeast Asia; nonetheless, it forms a benchmark against which later atlases will be judged.

0.9 Major changes in place names, western Indonesia. *The spelling changes described in the text above are not shown on this map, unless other names or variant spellings are involved.*

Terminology and Spelling

The places covered by this atlas have been referred to in the past using a bewildering variety of names and spellings. Indigenous place names changed over time; Westerners sometimes adopted and transformed local names which they heard, sometimes imposed one or more names of Western origin; and governments since independence have changed place names for practical and political reasons. Maps 0.9–0.10 show some of the most important changes and indicate the scale of the alteration in place names over the centuries.

For other maps in this atlas, the general rule adopted is that names current at the time referred to on each map are used but that these are presented according to the present system of spelling, which came into force only in 1973. Before 1973, the spelling system showed considerable Dutch influence, though Dutch spelling itself only became more or less standardized in the late 19th century. For the most part, the reader will not find non-standard spellings in this atlas, but a brief outline of the main features of colonial-era spelling may be useful when the reader refers from this atlas to other works.



0.10 Major changes in place names, eastern Indonesia. *The map shows a relatively small proportion of the name changes in Irian (West New Guinea), where Europeans more frequently applied Western names to places than they did in Java and Sumatra. A great many of non-indigenous names in this region were changed when Indonesia took charge of the region in 1963.*

The main changes introduced in 1973 were as follows:

ch	became	kh	
dj	became	j	
j		y	
sj		sy	(pron. sh)
tj		c	(pron. ch)

In an earlier reform (1947), oe was replaced with u.

In addition, the Dutch practice of occasionally doubling letters (Minahassa, Patti) was abandoned (Minahasa, Pati). At about the same time, 'u' also came to replace 'o' in a number of place names (Lampong, for instance, becoming Lampung). These and other changes mean that many place names can be found on older maps in four or more variant spellings.

I have made two significant exceptions to the general rule of using the modern Indonesian spelling of the place names current at the time referred to by each map. First, the names Java, Sumatra and Borneo have been used, rather than Jawa, Sumatera and Kalimantan, because the former are standard elements of English-language toponymy. And second, I have generally preserved colonial-era spelling for Dutch administrative names, mainly because many of them have no contemporary equivalent, and they cannot be modernized in the way that place names can. Thus, because Groote Oost has to be preserved in its original spelling, so too are the Lampongsche Districten and Bantam, insofar as these were administrative divisions.

Basic Geographical Information

Official figures concerning Indonesia's exact size are not always consistent, but vary at most by a few thousand square kilometres. According to recent official figures, the Republic (excluding East Timor) has a land area of 1,904,443 km^2 together with 3,272,160 km^2 of sea and ocean, making a total area of 5,176,503 km^2. The country is situated between 94.45°E and 141.05°E and 6.08°N and 11.15°S, and stretches about 5,110 kilometres from east to west and 1,888 kilometres from north to south.

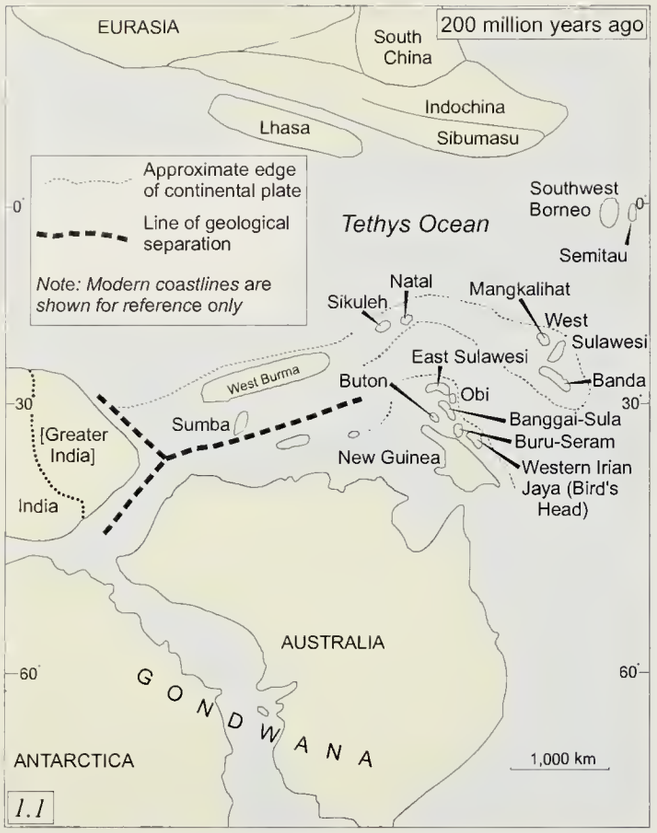
The Indonesian archipelago is formally considered to consist of 17,508 islands. (With the recent loss of East Timor's two offshore islands, Atauro (Kambing) and Jaco, the official figure is presumably 17,506.) This figure was decided in 1994 and replaced the earlier official figure of 13,667, set in 1963. Only about 3,000 of these islands, however, are said to be inhabited and only about 6,000 are officially named, though many more certainly have unrecognized local names. In reality the number of islands – however an island is defined – is in constant flux. Siltation at the mouths of rivers creates new islands and joins old ones to the mainland. The mining of coral islands in the Pulau Seribu archipelago is reported to have caused several islands to disappear through erosion. Samosir in Lake Toba became an island only in 1906, when the Dutch cut a channel though the narrow isthmus which had connected it to the mainland. That channel is now silting up, and Samosir may soon cease to be an island.

Chapter 1

Landscape and Environment

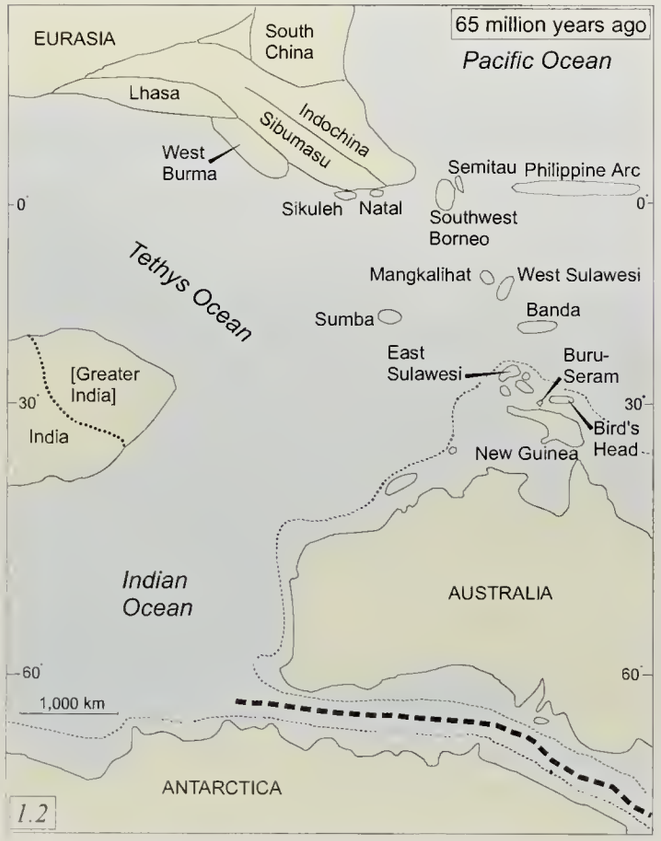
The Indonesian islands and their varied landscapes are the creation of tumultuous geological forces and far-reaching human intervention. The broad outlines of the archipelago's geography were shaped over millions of years by the slow movement of continental plates across the Earth, and new details are continually etched into the surface of the region by volcanic eruptions and earthquakes and by the slower processes of erosion and sedimentation. Human beings, however, have further transformed the landscape, removing forest cover, carving rice terraces into volcanic slopes, introducing new species of animals and plants, and harvesting or hunting others, sometimes to the point of extinction. The earliest human impact on the environment can be traced to about nine thousand years ago, but the pace of ecological change has increased dramatically in the last hundred years. Destruction of the environment by deforestation, pollution and overfishing loom as the most serious issues facing Indonesia in the twenty-first century. Knowing how the environment has changed in the past, however, is important in understanding the likely impact of recent changes, and this chapter explores the many ways in which the face of the Indonesian archipelago has been transformed in time.

1.i Ricefields (*sawah*), bananas and coconuts. *Many features of the Javanese landscape were a product of far-reaching human intervention into the environment.*



1.1 Continental plates and plate fragments, 200 million years ago.

1.2 Continental plates and plate fragments, 65 million years ago.



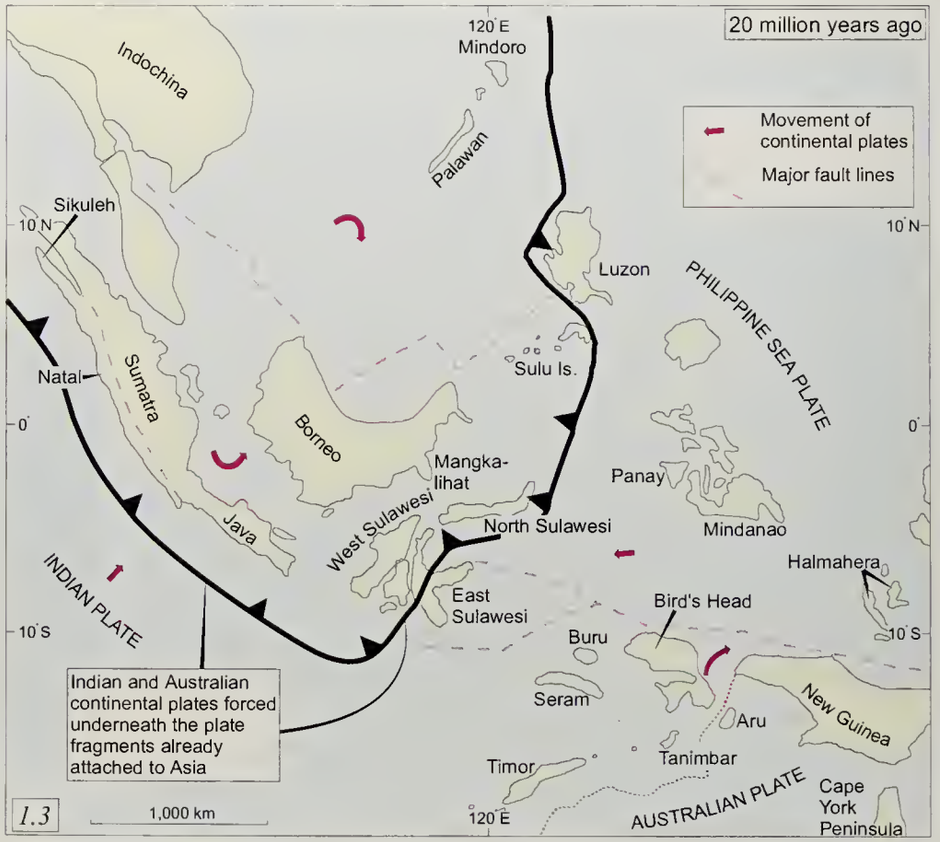
Moving Continents and Fiery Mountains

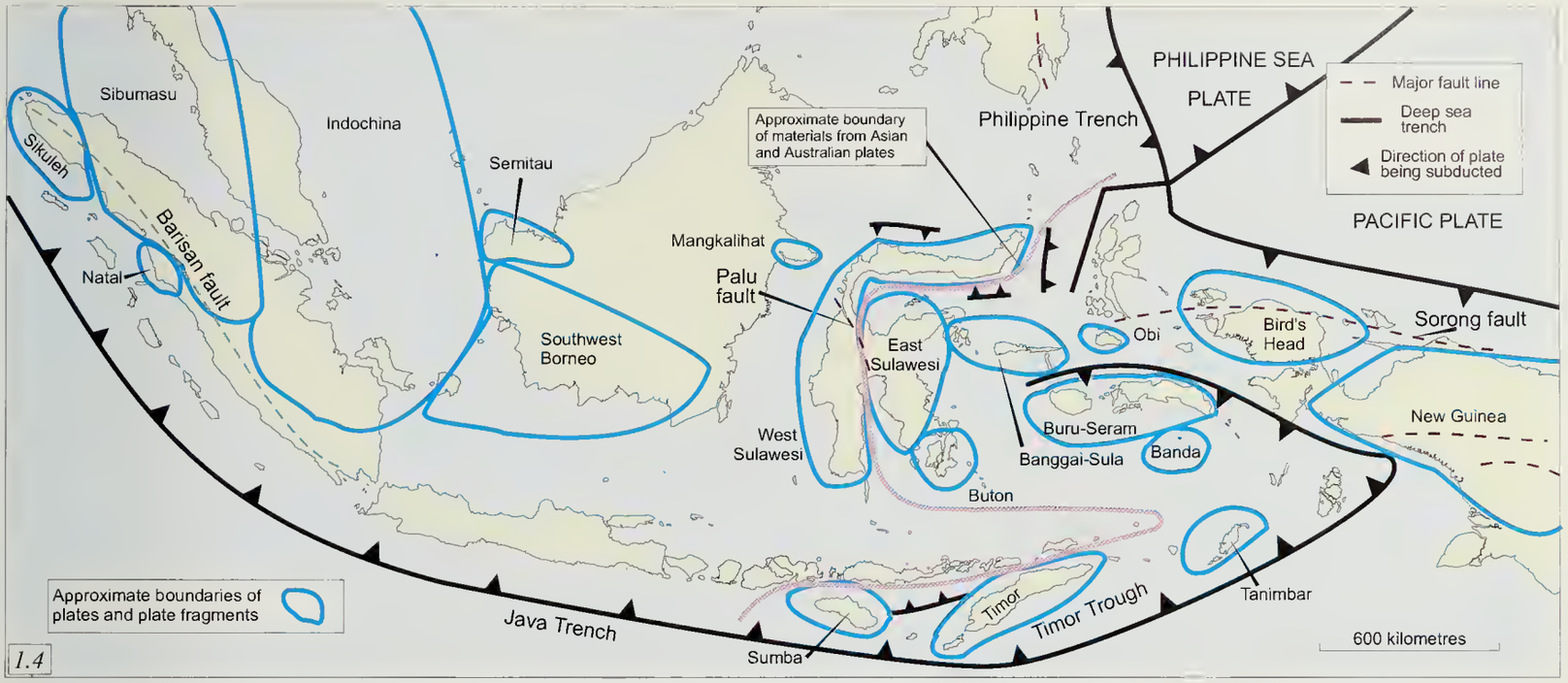
Most of the world's dry land is carried on continental plates, huge rafts of rock which have drifted slowly about the surface of the Earth for hundreds of millions of years. Three hundred and thirty million years ago, the continental plates carrying what is now Indonesia were part of an enormous southern continent now called Gondwana, which comprised the present Antarctic, Australian, Indian, African and South American plates, as well as numerous smaller fragments. Gondwana was separated from the northern continent, Laurasia, by the so-called Tethys Ocean. Each continent carried its own distinctive flora and fauna: Gondwana was home to marsupials and Araucaria pine trees, while Laurasia was the home of tigers, monkeys and cattle, and of trees such as oaks and dipterocarps.

Approximately two hundred million years ago, fragments of Gondwana began to break off and drift north. One of the first of these fragments was a long sliver of continental plate which geologists now call 'Sibumasu', because today it coincides with the regions Siam (Thailand), Burma, Malaya and Sumatra. The West Burma plate, together with fragments which later attached themselves to Sumatra, Borneo and Sulawesi, separated from Gondwana about 135 million years ago. By the end of the Cretaceous period, 65 million years ago, India had broken away from Gondwana and a chain of plate fragments stretched between Australia and Asia.

Indonesia's underlying geological shape continues to change, as the northward movement of the Australian and Indian plates compresses the southern and eastern rims of the archipelago, while the northeast is influenced by movement of the Pacific plate. Movement is slow – a few centimetres a century – but over long periods enough to transform the archipelago profoundly.

1.3 Continental plates and plate fragments, 20 million years ago.

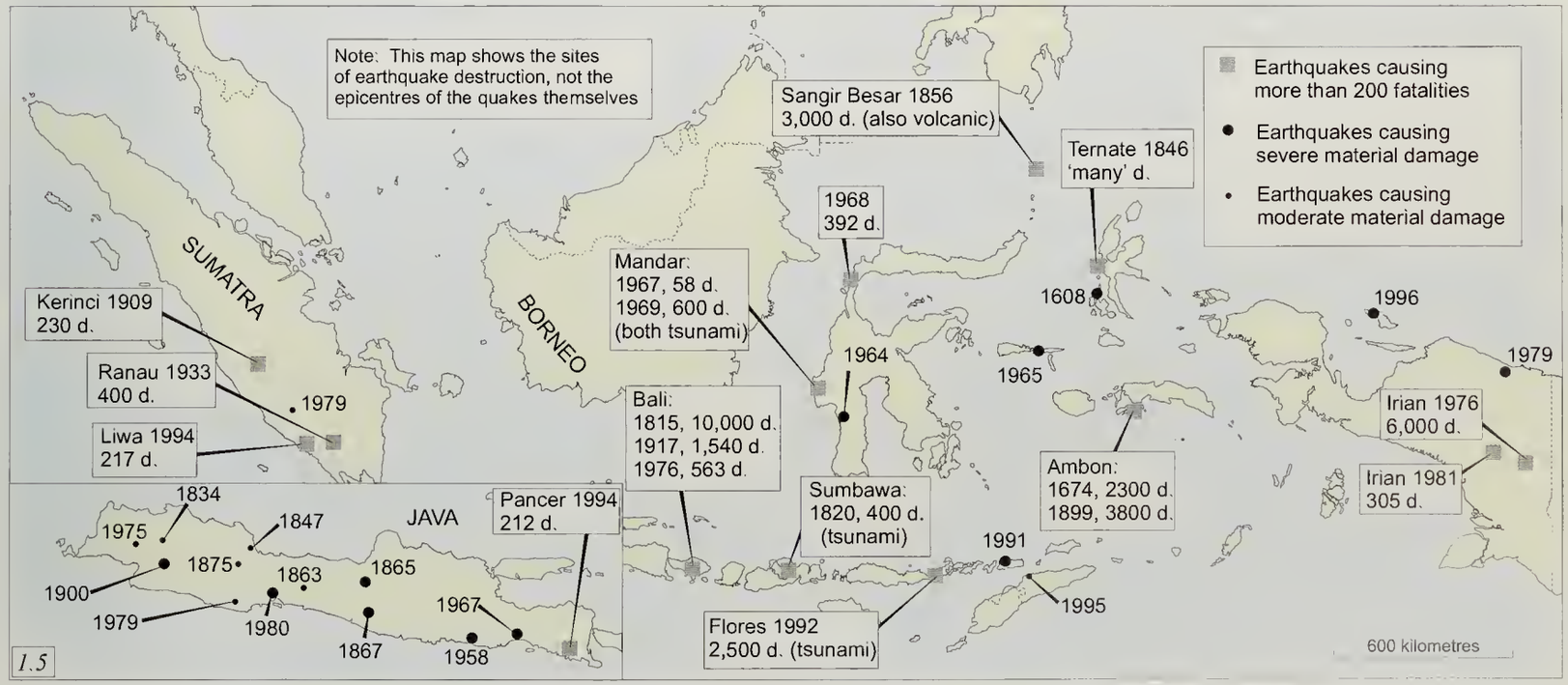




The abundance of junctions between continental plates and plate fragments makes Indonesia a region of great geological instability. Earth tremors are common, and major earthquakes have caused great destruction on many occasions. The historical record of earthquakes before the twentieth century is extremely patchy. Only in a few cases can the scale of the destruction or the number of casualties be given with any certainty.

1.4 The tectonic structure of the Indonesian archipelago, showing approximate boundaries of plates and plate fragments.

1.5 Major destructive earthquakes in Indonesian history. *In many cases the worst destruction was caused not by earthquakes themselves but by associated tsunami ('tidal waves').*



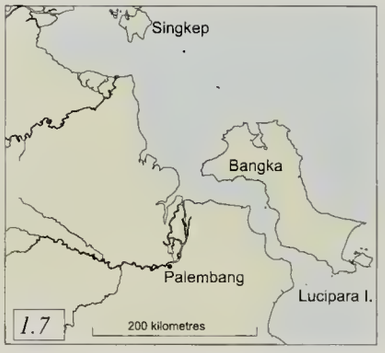
1.6 Coastlines of the archipelago, c. 17,000 years ago.

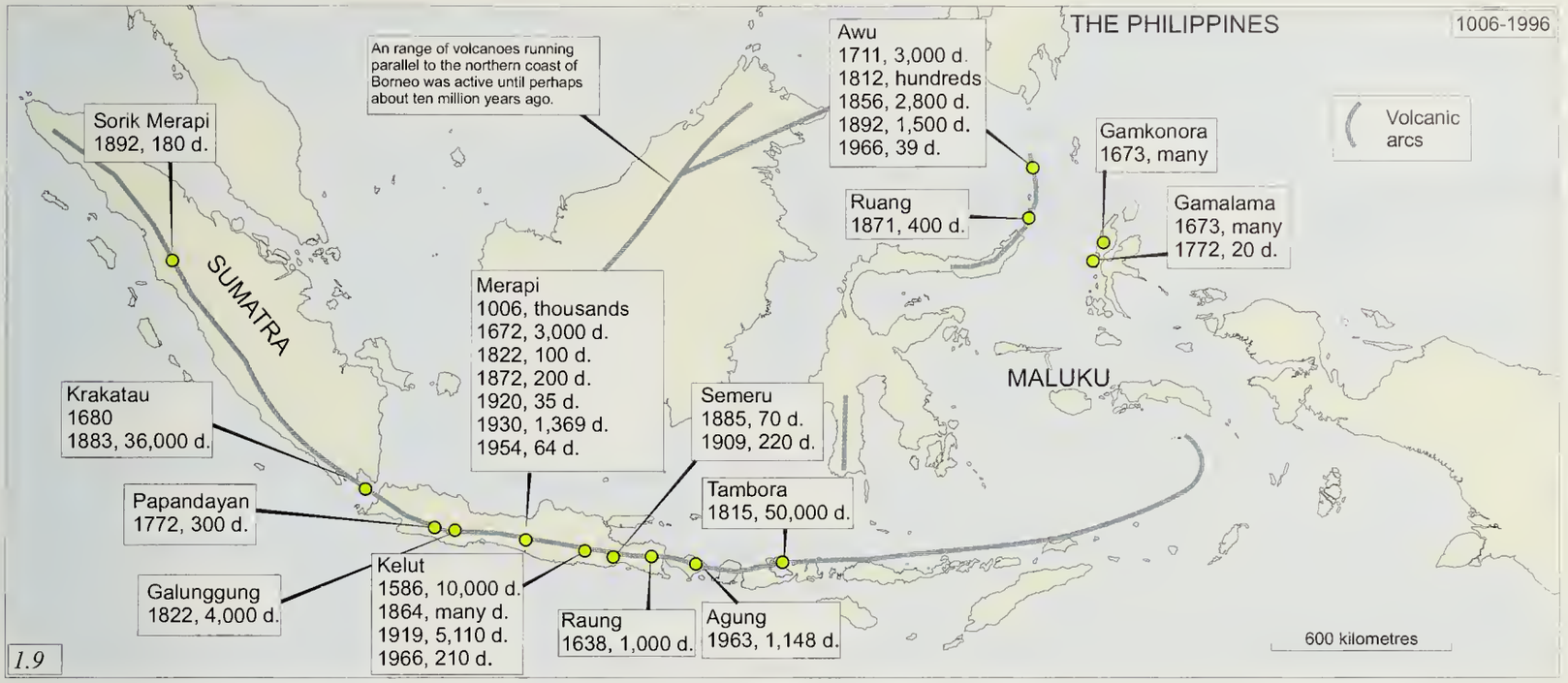
Although the underlying geological structure of the Indonesian archipelago was produced over many millions of years, the present outline of the islands of the archipelago is of relatively recent origin. Global sea levels have changed many times during the last million years as water has been locked up in icecaps during ice ages or released during periods of warmer climatic conditions. During the last ice age, which was at its peak about 17,000 years ago, sea levels were about 200 metres lower than today. The islands of western Indonesia then formed a sub-continental peninsula, sometimes called Sundaland, stretching southeast from the Asian mainland. In the same period, New Guinea and its adjacent islands formed a northern extension of Australia, sometimes called Sahulland. Archaeological and palaeological evidence suggests that the region was considerably drier than it is now, and that the lowland plains were probably covered with savannah and sparse scrub.

A second cause of change in the physical outline of the Indonesian islands has been sedimentation. The young volcanic rocks of Java and Sumatra erode easily, and during the last two thousand years the northern coastlines of both islands have grown. Determining how much they have grown, however, is difficult. Early maps and descriptions are seldom precise or reliable enough to give definitive information, and ancient historians have had no more than fragmentary materials to work with. Some historians have speculated that most of the areas which are now lowland swamp in Sumatra were sea in fairly recent historical times, but recent archaeological investigation suggests that the coastline two thousand years ago was not greatly different from today.

More reliable evidence of coastal change comes from Java, where coastlines have advanced significantly since the arrival of the Dutch and the start of record-keeping on such matters. The deltas of the Citarum and Brantas rivers in West and East Java have grown considerably, while the former coastal city of Demak in Central Java is now nearly twenty kilometres inland.

1.7–1.8 The Sumatra coastline near Bangka today (left) and according to an eighteenth-century map (right). *Although many of the geographical details on the older map can be matched to points on a modern map, it is impossible to say whether the differences are a matter of changing geography or different degrees of accuracy.*



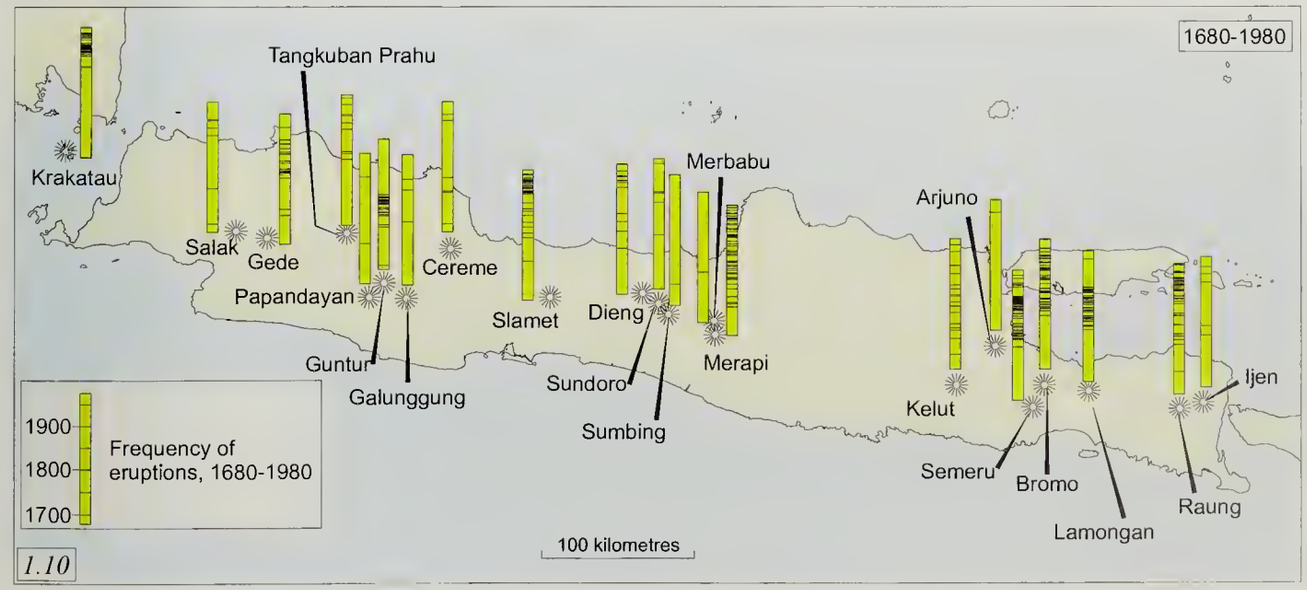


1.9 Major destructive volcanic eruptions in Indonesian history, 1006–1996.

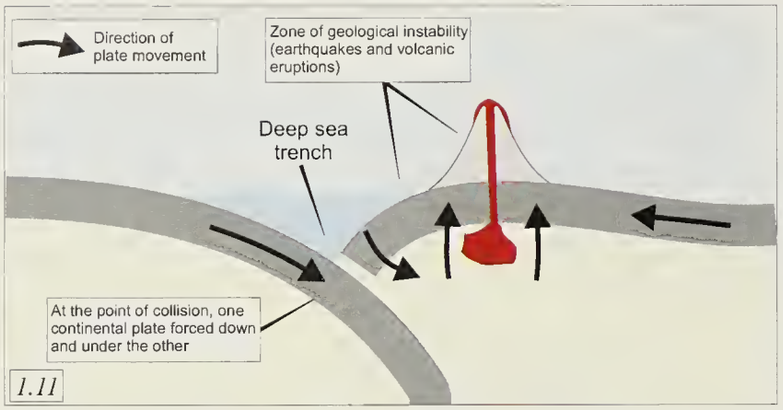
Volcanic activity and earthquakes are the most striking consequence of the archipelago's geological instability. Indonesia's volcanoes stretch in an arc along the length of Sumatra and Java before fanning into a broad zone of instability in Maluku which continues on up into the Philippines.

The historical record of eruptions throughout the archipelago is fragmentary. Relatively complete records were kept only in the 19th and 20th centuries; for earlier eras, only the most destructive events were recorded. The best record of volcanic eruptions comes from Java, where court chronicles, combined with the correspondence and reports of Dutch colonial officials, allow a reasonably complete picture of volcanic activity since the late 17th century. In addition to Java's 21 active volcanoes, there are ten major *solfataras*, or sulphur fields, many of them in the craters of volcanoes which are not presently considered active.

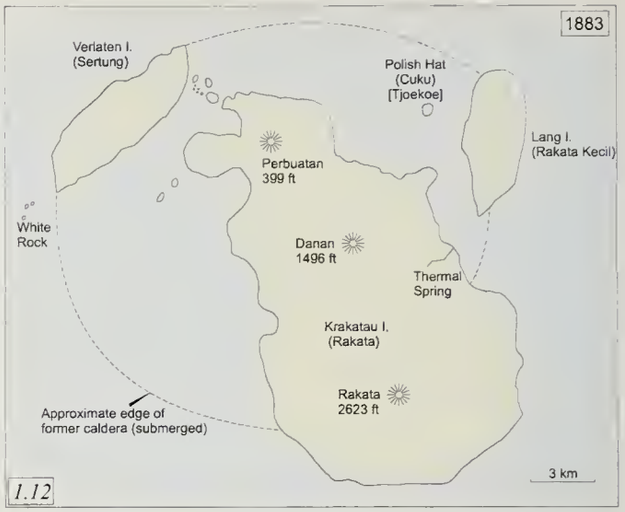
Java's volcanic history shows how unpredictable volcanoes are in the long term: some have erupted persistently through recorded history, while others have made their presence felt only in brief, destructive paroxysms. The density of human settlement in Java, however, means that any major eruption in the future will be costly of property and, probably, life.



1.10 Volcanic eruptions in Java, 1680–1980.


Direction of plate movement
Zone of geological instability (earthquakes and volcanic eruptions)
Deep sea trench
At the point of collision, one continental plate forced down and under the other
1.11

1.11 Schematic diagram of the collision between two continental plates.



1.12 Krakatau before the 1883 eruption.

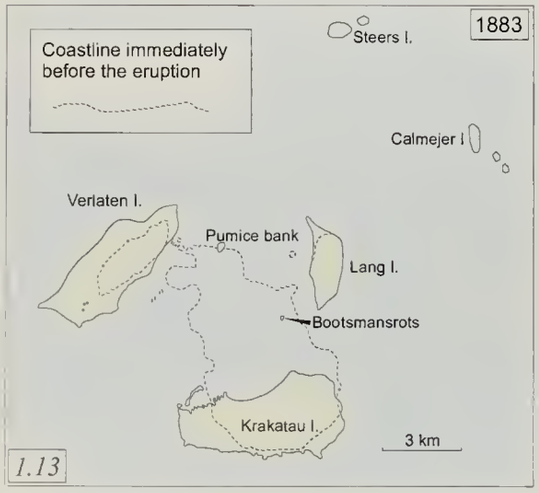
The most destructive volcanic eruption in Indonesia in recent times was that of Tambora on the island of Sumbawa in April 1815, when two small kingdoms were destroyed and perhaps 50,000 people were killed. Because few Europeans were in the immediate vicinity, not many records of the uprising have survived. In contrast, the 1883 eruption of Krakatau (sometimes called Krakatoa), although less explosive and less destructive than Tambora, has been much better documented.

In early 1883, Krakatau was an uninhabited jungle-clad island in the Sunda Strait. It had erupted in 1680, and its three main islands were perched on the rim of a caldera, or volcanic basin, which had been created by a massive eruption at some time in the more distant past. In 1883, however, most observers believed that the volcano was extinct or dormant. In May 1883, an eruption began, with earthquakes, explosions and discharge of ash and pumice, but there was still no inkling of the catastrophe which was to follow.

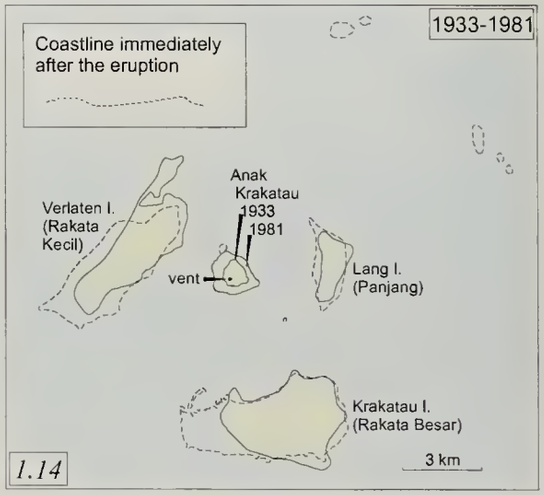
On 26 August 1883, Krakatau exploded in a series of paroxysms which continued until the morning of the 28th. The pressure generated by super-heated steam trapped behind layers of cooled lava was probably responsible for the enormous force of the explosions, which blew away more than half of the main island of Krakatau, leaving a submarine cavity over 300 m deep. The surrounding regions were strewn with ash and pumice, creating new islands (which soon disappeared) and blanketing the land with a thick layer of volcanic materials. The explosions were described as 'deafening' in Batavia, and an area 250 km in radius was plunged into darkness by the clouds of ash.

Tsunamis ('tidal waves') swept against the coasts near Krakatau, reaching a height of fifteen metres as they beached, killing at least 36,000 people and destroying 165 villages. The noise of the eruption was heard as far as Rodriguez, 4,800 km away in the Indian Ocean, and the tsunamis could be observed without instruments in Madagascar. In several parts of the Indonesian archipelago, the explosions were mistaken for military attacks. Ash entering the upper atmosphere gave rise to brilliant sunrises and sunsets throughout the world.

Krakatau became quiet again in September 1883, but in 1927 volcanic activity was again reported and in 1928 Anak Krakatau (Child of Krakatau) first broke the surface. By 1933, Anak Krakatau was a permanent feature of the region's geography.

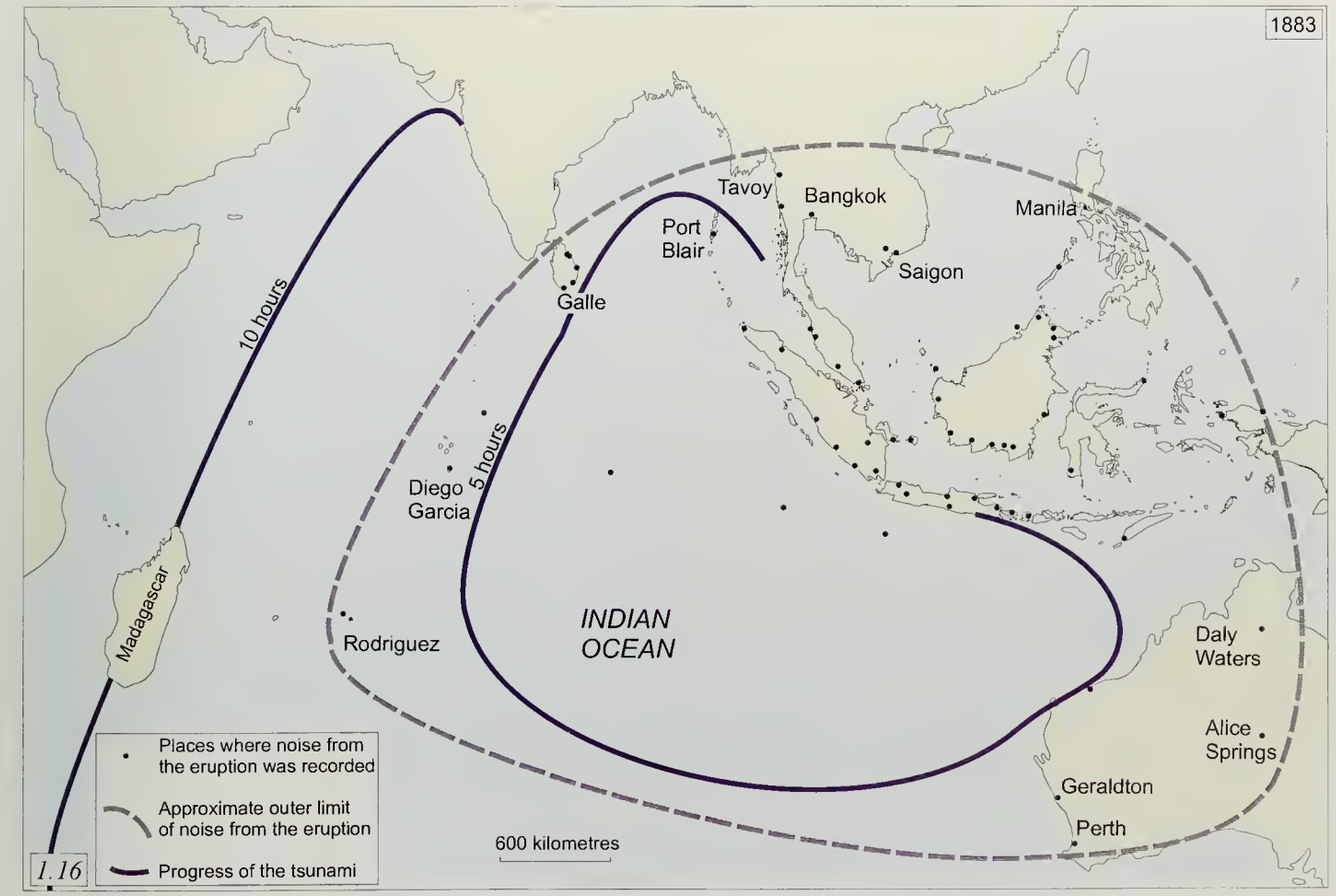


1.13 Krakatau after the 1883 eruption.



1.14 Krakatau, 1933–1981.

1.15 Ash fall and tsunamis in the vicinity of Krakatau, August 1883.



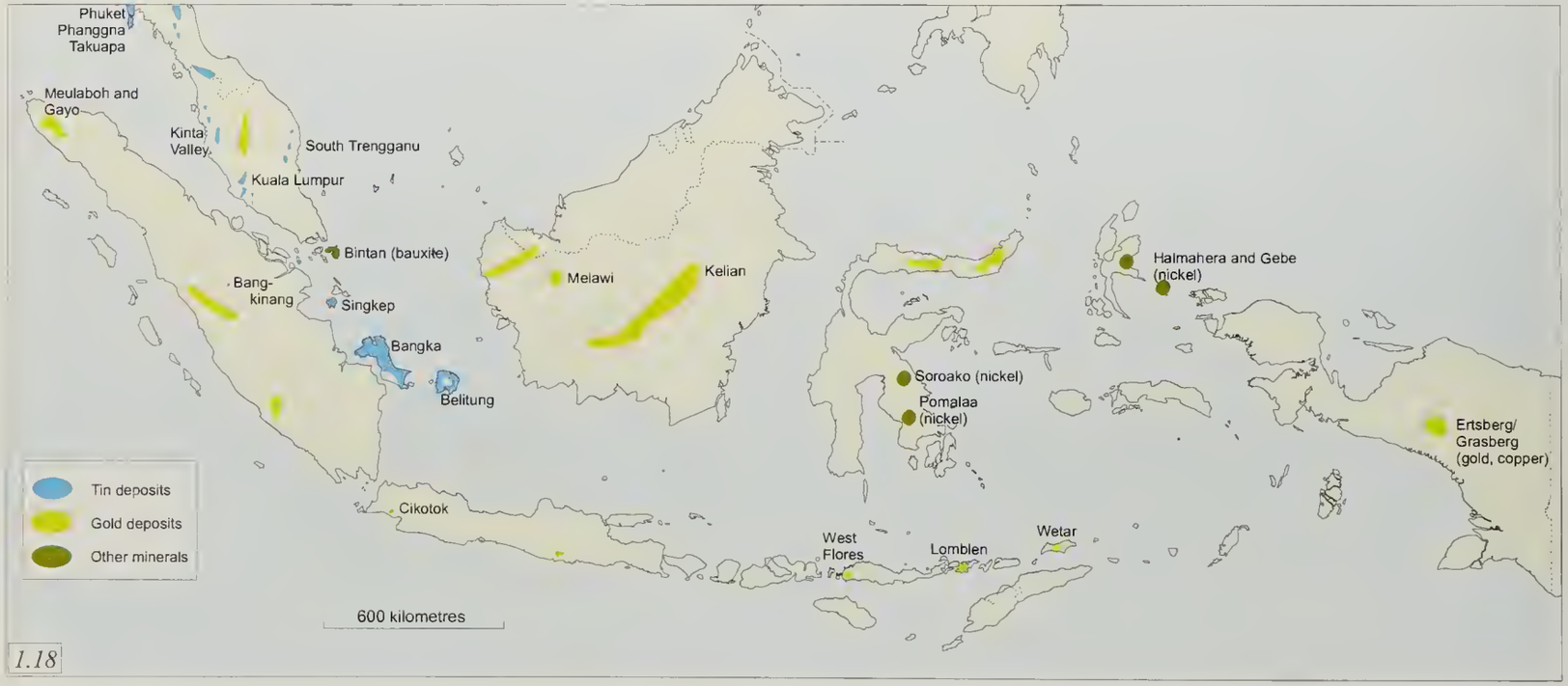
1.16 Krakatau noise and tsunamis in the Indian Ocean, August 1883.

Earth, Wind and Water

Indonesia's turbulent geological history left the region with abundant mineral wealth, whose extraction has been an important source of foreign exchange and which now provides raw materials for Indonesia's own industrial development. Scattered across the archipelago are subterranean basins containing vast deposits of oil and gas; coal resources are also extensive. Of the world's major mined minerals, iron ore is relatively scarce and bauxite is present only in limited quantities, but tin, gold, copper and nickel are present in large quantities.

1.17 Coal deposits and oil-gas basins in Indonesia.

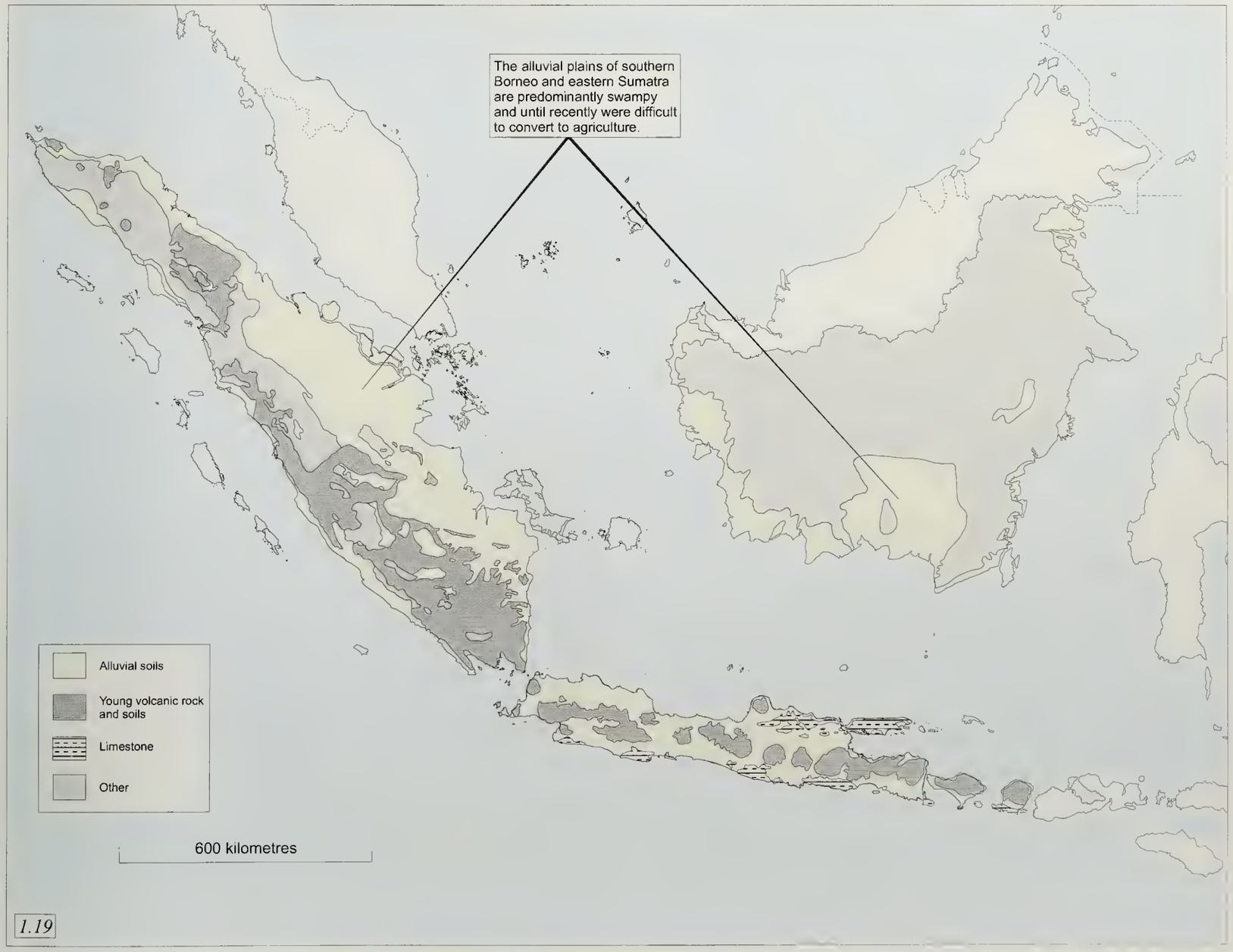
1.18 Other mineral fields in Indonesia (major deposits only).

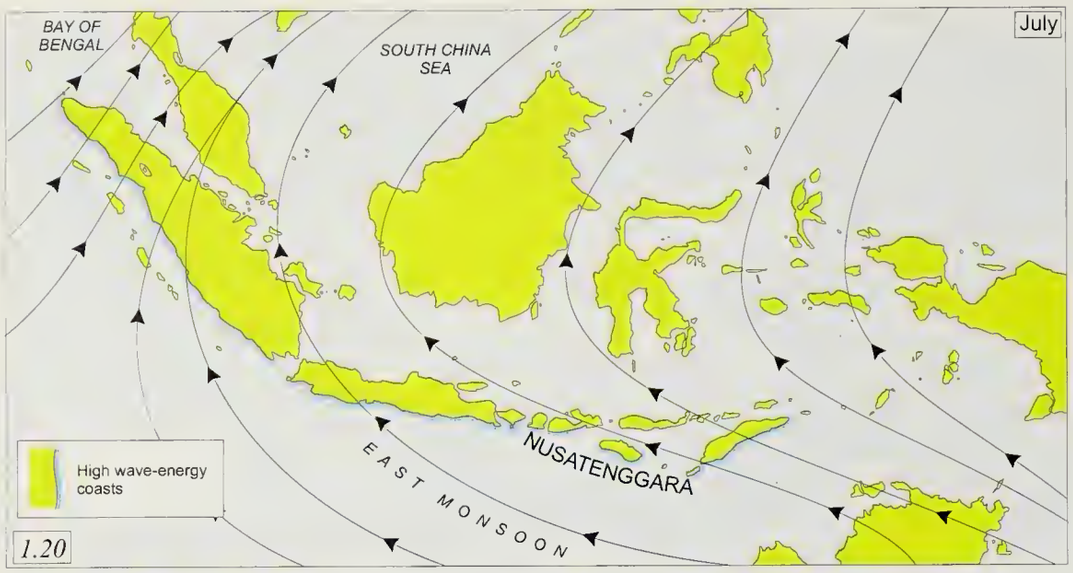


The soils of the Indonesian islands vary enormously in fertility. In a few parts of the archipelago – central and eastern Java, Bali, and parts of northeastern Sumatra – recent volcanic activity has left a rich legacy in the form of deep, fertile soils. The volcanic ash in these regions is neutral-basic, providing ideal conditions for intensive agriculture. The volcanic soils in western Java, most of Sumatra, Sulawesi and Maluku, on the other hand, are more acidic and are correspondingly less favourable. Still more difficult for agriculture are the older soils of the archipelago, even where they are volcanic in origin. Heavy tropical rain tends to leach nutrients from the ground, leaving a barren laterite subsoil. In Kalimantan and other regions, these soils were once covered with dense tropical rainforest, which gave the impression of great fertility and thus of agricultural potential. The nutrients which sustained that rainforest, however, tended to be recycled from a rather thin layer of decomposing vegetation on the surface. When the rainforest is removed, this source of nutrients also disappears and the soil which remains rapidly declines in fertility.

Even in Java, the contrast between fertile valleys and plains and the infertile limestone hills of the south and centre is striking.

1.19 Soils of western Indonesia.


The alluvial plains of southern Borneo and eastern Sumatra are predominantly swampy and until recently were difficult to convert to agriculture.
Alluvial soils
Young volcanic rock and soils
Limestone
Other
600 kilometres
1.19



1.20 Wind patterns in the Indonesian archipelago, July. *The energy with which ocean waves strike a coastline has a major impact on the form of that coast. Low wave-energy coasts tend to have gentle gradients, are subject to much siltation, and favour the use of small, shallow-draught vessels. High wave-energy coasts, on the other hand, tend to demand larger, more robust ships. A shortage of good harbours on Indonesia's high wave-energy coasts has tended to focus shipping on inter-island communication.*

1.21 Wind patterns in the Indonesian archipelago, January. *Almost all of Indonesia is outside the cyclonic or typhoon zones in which severe tropical storms can cause enormous destruction.*

Winds and the rain they bring influenced both the suitability of the Indonesian archipelago for human settlement and the traditional patterns of communication between Indonesia and the outside world. Tropical thunderstorms are an important source of rain in some areas, but most of Indonesia's rainfall is governed by the two monsoons, which blow alternately during the year. During winter in the southern hemisphere, a stable high pressure system over the Australian desert pushes air northward. The rotation of the earth deflects this airflow so that it reaches Indonesia from the southeast. The dry air of this East Monsoon produces a dry season, which is most pronounced in the Nusatenggara and which is a major obstacle to agricultural development there. During the northern winter, on the other hand, similar high pressure systems over Central Asia and India drive the West Monsoon, which picks up moisture over the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea and produces a distinct wet season. Within these broad patterns, of course, there is much local variation, especially as a result of local topography. Palu in Sulawesi is reputed to be Indonesia's driest place, yet it lies only a few kilometres from lush rainforest. A few areas in Java and Sumatra suffer from locally hot, dry winds (foehn).

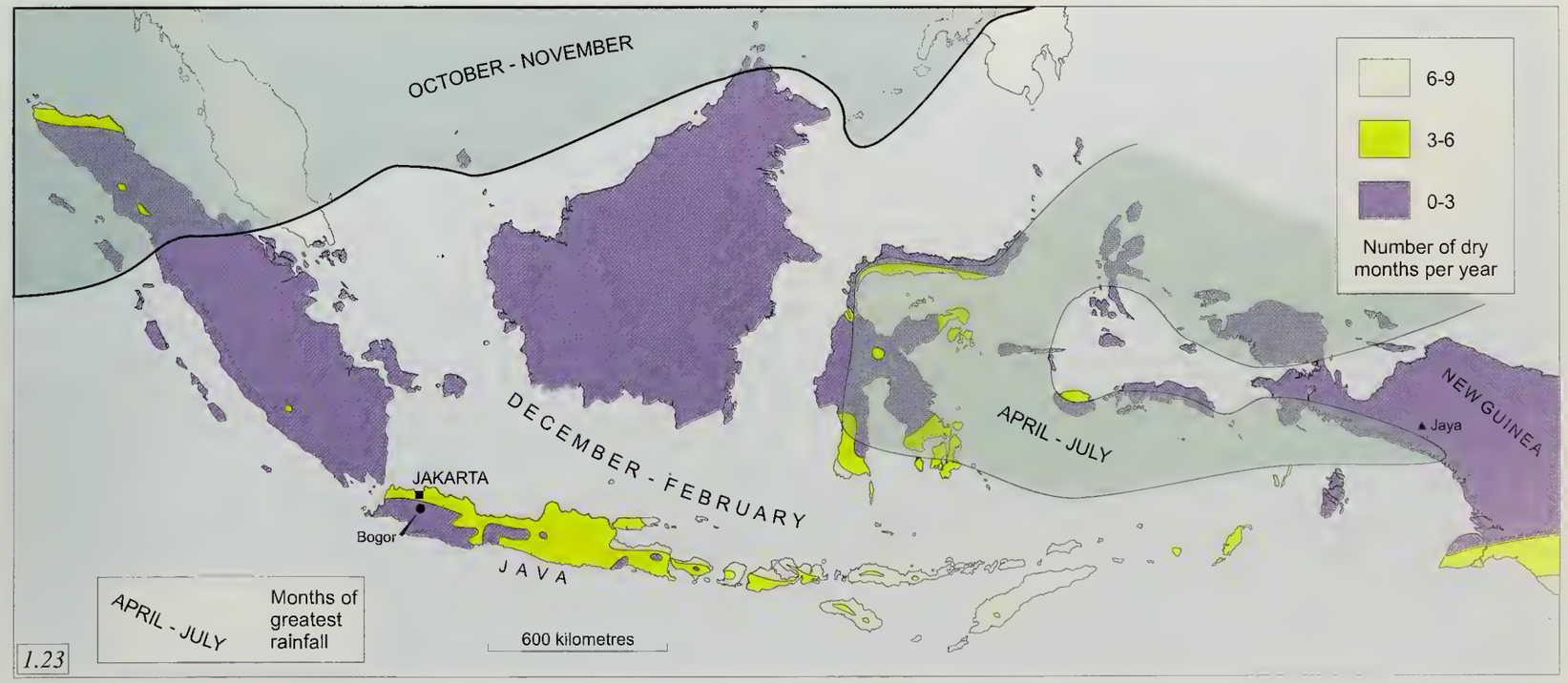
In some years, the monsoons fail, for reasons which are not fully understood but which are connected especially to changes in ocean currents in the Pacific. These years, which can be identified far back in the historical record, produce catastrophic droughts.

Except on such occasions, the reliability of the monsoons has been a mainstay of traders from the archipelago. The steady alternation of the monsoons led to a trading rhythm, in which vessels caught the East Monsoon on their way from the archipelago to India and China, and picked up the West Monsoon on their return. This change in wind direction meant that it was not possible to travel between India and China in a single season, and the traders' need to wait for a change of wind at the southern end of the South China Sea contributed to the emergence of major port cities in that region.

Most of Indonesia's rainfall is produced orographically, that is, when moisture-laden winds meet mountainous terrain, rise, and drop their moisture as rain (or as snow on the highest peaks of Irian). Monsoon winds produce most of this rain, but in some places so-called zenithal rains are important. These are produced by local winds generated by the sun's movement during the day. Localized thunderstorms can also be a major source of rain. Bogor in West Java, which experiences heavy rain on average 322 days per year, receives more than twice as much rain as Jakarta, which is only about sixty kilometres to the north.

1.22 Average annual rainfall. *Snow falls on the peaks in Irian Jaya above a height of 4,300 metres, and there are five permanent glaciers or icefields on the highest regions around Puncak Jaya. All these ice masses, however, are in rapid retreat. The Meren glacier shrank from 5.6 km² in 1850 to 1.9 km² in 1972, and it has been predicted that all the ice fields will disappear within a century.*

1.23 Seasonal distribution of rainfall.



1.ii Orangutan, as portrayed by A.R. Wallace. *The striking similarities between human beings and apes such as the orangutan were one of the scientific observations which pointed in the direction of an evolutionary origin for humankind.*

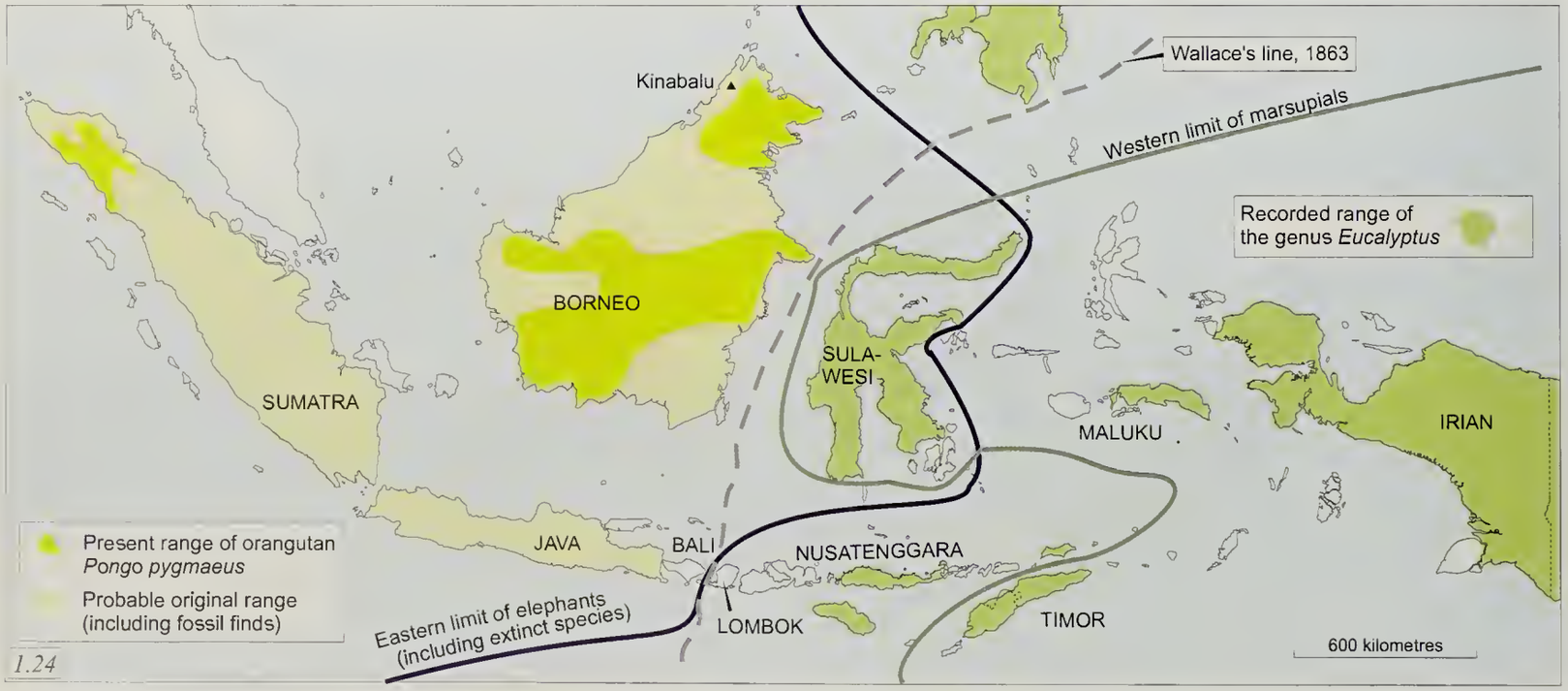
1.24 Biogeographical boundaries in Indonesia. *Great apes and elephants are amongst the most distinctive elements of the ecology of the former Laurasia, while marsupials and eucalypts are characteristic of Gondwana. The present day distribution of flora and fauna in Indonesia only broadly reflects the geological origin of the different islands, because there have been many opportunities for species to move naturally across geological boundaries.*

Ecological Change

The fragment of Gondwana which eventually became western Indonesia carried with it a population of plants and animals which had evolved during millions of years when the Tethys Sea separated Laurasia and Gondwana. In the north, evolution had for the most part produced more robust species than in the south, and in the competition for living space after western Indonesia had collided with Laurasia the southern species were largely eliminated. Only in a few ecological niches, such as the peak of Mount Kinabalu in northern Borneo, do Gondwana species still predominate.

The process began to repeat itself when the Australian plate encountered Southeast Asia 19 million years ago. Adaptable animals such as the pig gradually spread across the narrowing ocean gaps, developing distinct species as they moved. Because, however, the collision was relatively recent in evolutionary terms, the eastern Indonesian archipelago still forms one of the most important bio-geographical frontiers in the world. The sharp contrast between Asian flora and fauna in the west and Australian flora and fauna in the east was first noted in the mid-19th century by the British naturalist Alfred Russell Wallace, who identified the frontier as running between Bali and Lombok and between Borneo and Sulawesi. Scientists now see the whole region encompassing Sulawesi, Maluku and Nusatenggara as a transitional one and refer to it as Wallacea.

The most dramatic ecological impact on the Indonesian archipelago in recent times has come from human beings. Since agriculture began in the highlands of New Guinea about 7000 B.C., Indonesia's natural environment has been under pressure. Forest has been cleared for farming and plundered for firewood, building timber and useful forest products. Animals of the forest have been hunted, either for food and



trade or because they represented a hazard to humans. The landscape has been reshaped and new species have been introduced on a vast scale. Serious work on Indonesia's environmental history has begun only recently and it is too early to present a comprehensive picture of modern ecological transformation in the archipelago. The task is made difficult by the imprecise identification of plant and animal species in many early accounts, and by uncertain evidence of the extent of Indonesia's vegetation before the 20th century.

The onslaught on Indonesia's forests has taken place in three overlapping phases. For many millennia, the dominant agricultural mode of people living in the Indonesian region was swidden, or shifting cultivation. An individual or community would clear a patch of forest, generally burning the felled trees and shrubs, and would plant a crop. Taro, yams, sago, millet, bananas and sugar cane were probably prominent amongst these early crops, though the exact mix of plants depended on local circumstances. After two to three years, the fertility of the tropical soil began to diminish and the farmer moved on to a new clearing, leaving the old plot to revert to jungle over a period of perhaps twenty to thirty years.

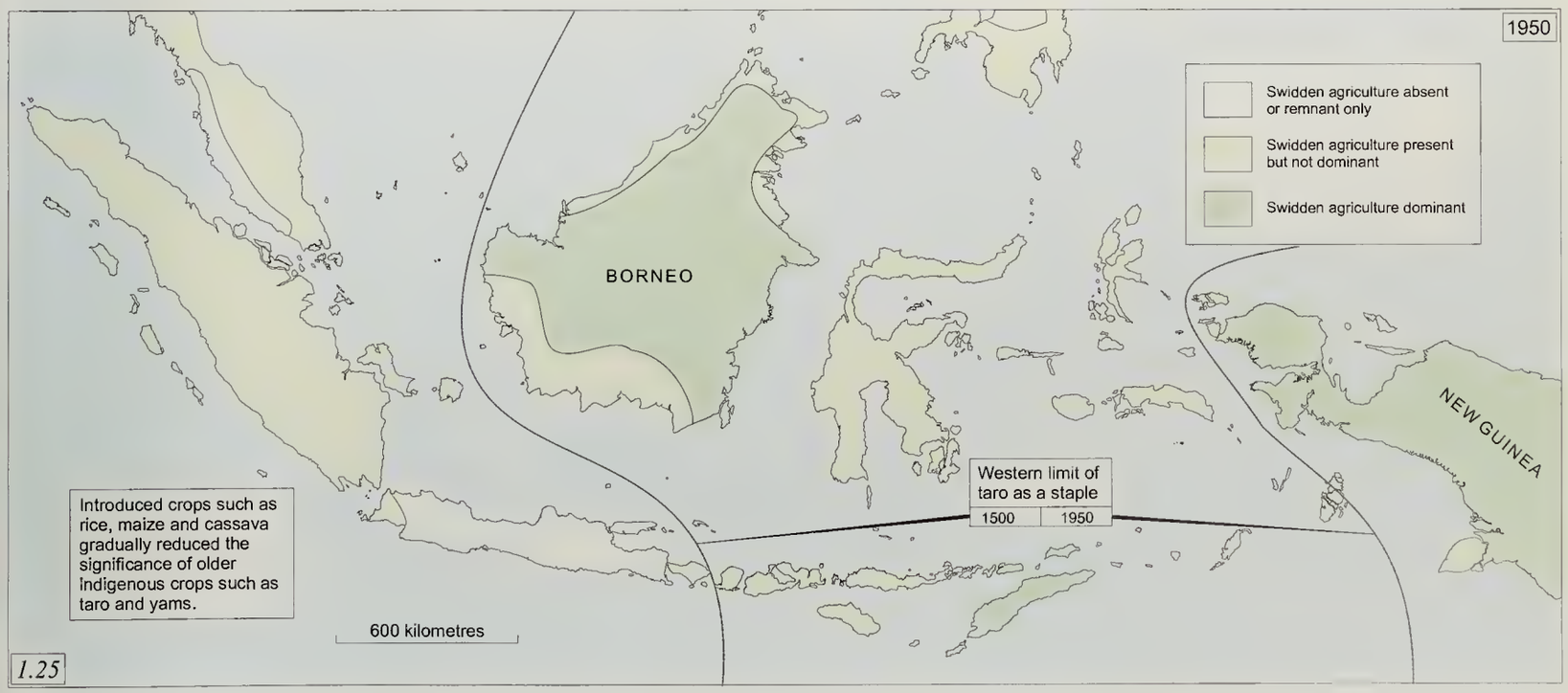
Swidden agriculture certainly affected the structure of tropical forests, but opinions differ over whether it was any more significant than natural destructive forces such as landslides and lightning strikes. In some areas of the archipelago, especially Java, swidden agriculture was largely replaced by settled agriculture in early historical times, but it persisted, especially in Borneo and New Guinea, well into the 20th century. The fact that it is now seldom practised in Indonesia is due partly to the hostility of governments which – against a considerable body of evidence – see swidden as inefficient, uncivilized and environmentally destructive, and partly to the destruction of swiddeners' forests by large-scale commercial logging.

Trade also contributed to forest destruction. Individual plant species with a high value in international markets – camphor (*kapur*) in early times, and more recently sandalwood (valued for its fragrance), *jelutung* (a precursor to rubber) and ebony – have been ruthlessly removed from forests.

A second phase of forest destruction began as a result of settled cultivation, for both subsistence and trade. Very little is known of the earliest settled agriculture of the archipelago, except that rice was probably not a dominant part of the local diet, even in Java, until well into historical times. Rice cultivation probably developed in the more temperate regions in what is now northern Southeast Asia and southern China, and it was many centuries before varieties suited to the moist tropics were developed. There is abundant evidence, however, of settled communities feeding themselves on the produce of permanent fields and finding products – first spices and later other food crops – to trade with other communities. The human population of the archipelago began to grow, and pressure on the forests for firewood and building timber increased. Contact with the Americas from the early 16th century added maize and cassava to the agricultural repertoire and allowed cultivation to expand into new areas. Nonetheless, even in the early 20th century, more than half the area of the archipelago was still densely forested.

The scale of forest destruction in Indonesia has increased enormously since 1967, when the Indonesian government began to encourage large scale logging for export. Although relatively sound regulations were put in place to ensure the sustainability of the logging industry, there was

1.25 Shifting cultivation in approximately 1950. *Since 1950, the area under swidden cultivation has shrunk rapidly and swiddeners are often involved part time in other economic activities, such as working for timber companies or cultivating permanent lowland fields.*

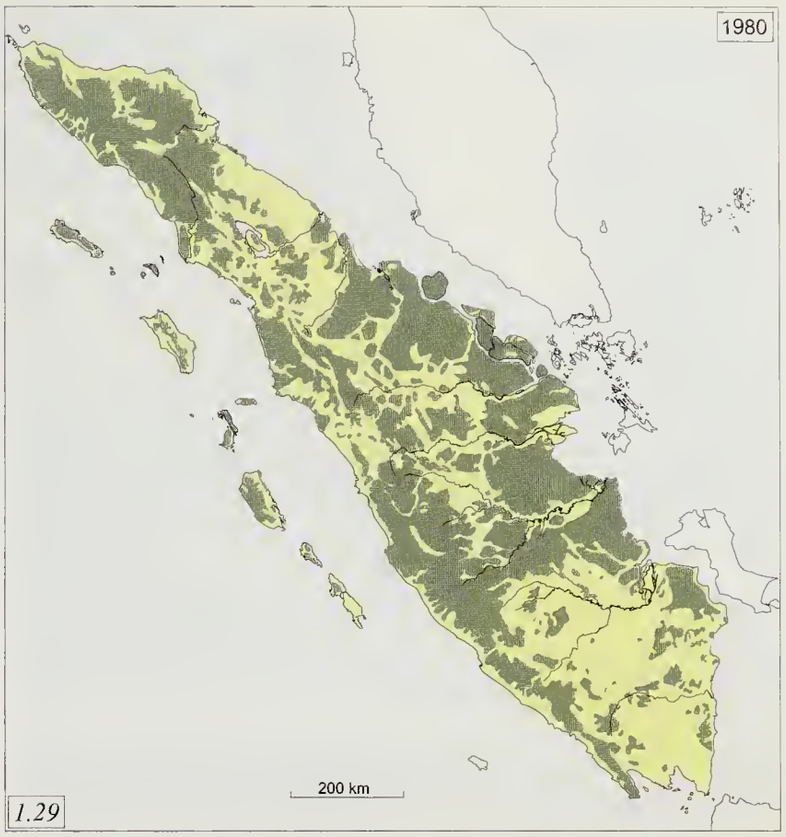

1950
Swidden agriculture absent or remnant only
Swidden agriculture present but not dominant
Swidden agriculture dominant
BORNEO
NEW GUINEA
Western limit of taro as a staple
1500
1950
Introduced crops such as rice, maize and cassava gradually reduced the significance of older indigenous crops such as taro and yams.
600 kilometres
1.25

little supervision and infringements were rife, especially in the early decades. Just how much forest has been lost is difficult to say, partly because destruction has been deliberately concealed, partly because regrowth forests and even plantations are sometimes recorded as forest cover alongside old-growth natural forest. Consequences of forest clearing include more acute flooding during the wet season, erosion and the loss of forests as a source of harvested products such as rattan. Some logged-over areas have regrown, but others have become covered with hardy *alang-alang* grass (*Imperata cylindrica*). *Alang-alang* forms a dense mat in which forest cannot easily re-establish itself and it thrives on regular fires, which destroy tree seedlings.

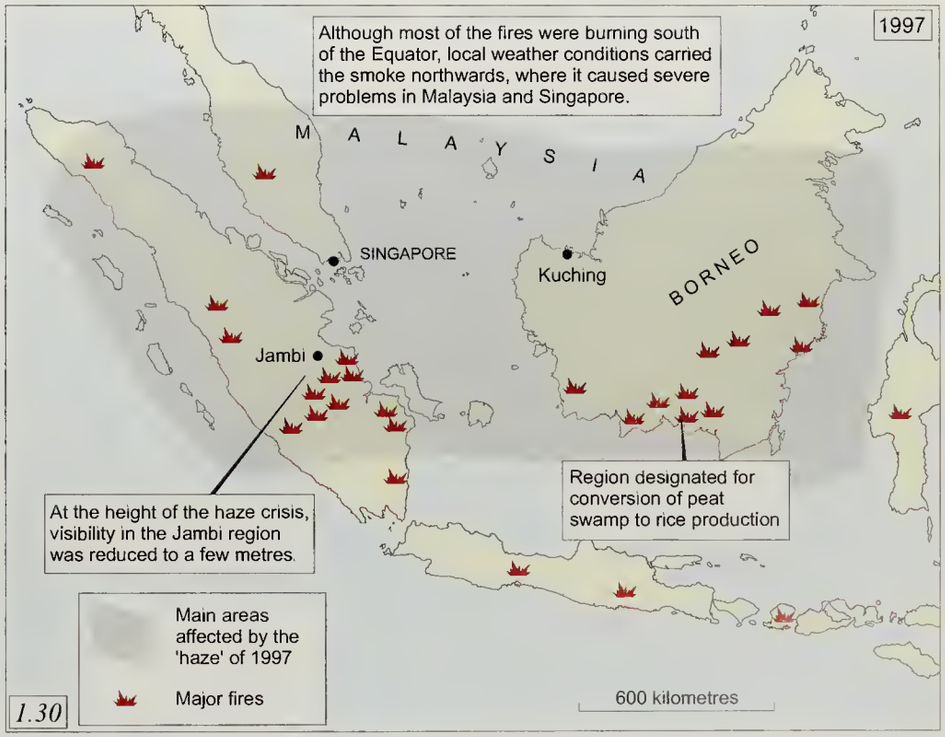
1.26 Teak forests in Java, ca 1937. *The teak tree* (Tectona grandis) *is probably native to India, but extensive stands apparently existed on Java in early times. Teak wood, durable and easily worked, was used widely in shipbuilding, house construction and furniture manufacture, and was one of the items which the Dutch East Indies Company sought in its activities on Java from the 17th century. Preserving and managing the teak forests was the principal task of the Forestry Service from its foundation in the 19th century until the felling of rainforest timber became important after 1967.*

1.27 Areas of Java under irrigated rice cultivation (*sawah*), ca 1937. *Especially on the crowded island of Java, the clearing of forest for food production had a dramatic effect on the landscape. Although rice can be grown in so-called 'dry fields', that is without irrigation, it does best in 'paddy' fields submerged in water for considerable periods. Producing these conditions in a hilly landscape requires extensive terracing and diversion of water. By the end of the colonial era, vast areas of Java had been transformed in this way.*

1.28 Forest in Sumatra, 1930.



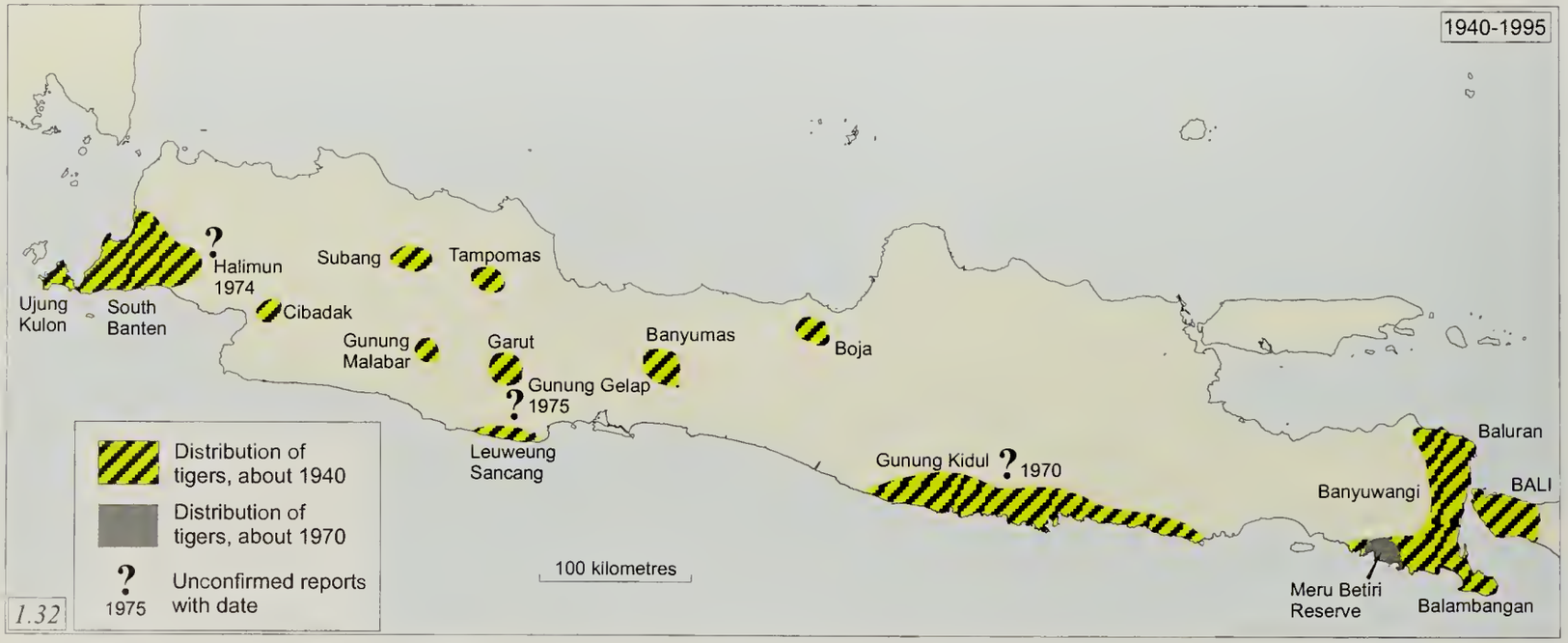
1.29 Forest in Sumatra, 1980. *In about 1930, only a few areas of Sumatra had been thoroughly deforested. By 1980, however, forest cover had been dramatically thinned. Large areas in northern and southern Sumatra had been cleared and in other regions the forest was dissected by roads and human settlement.*

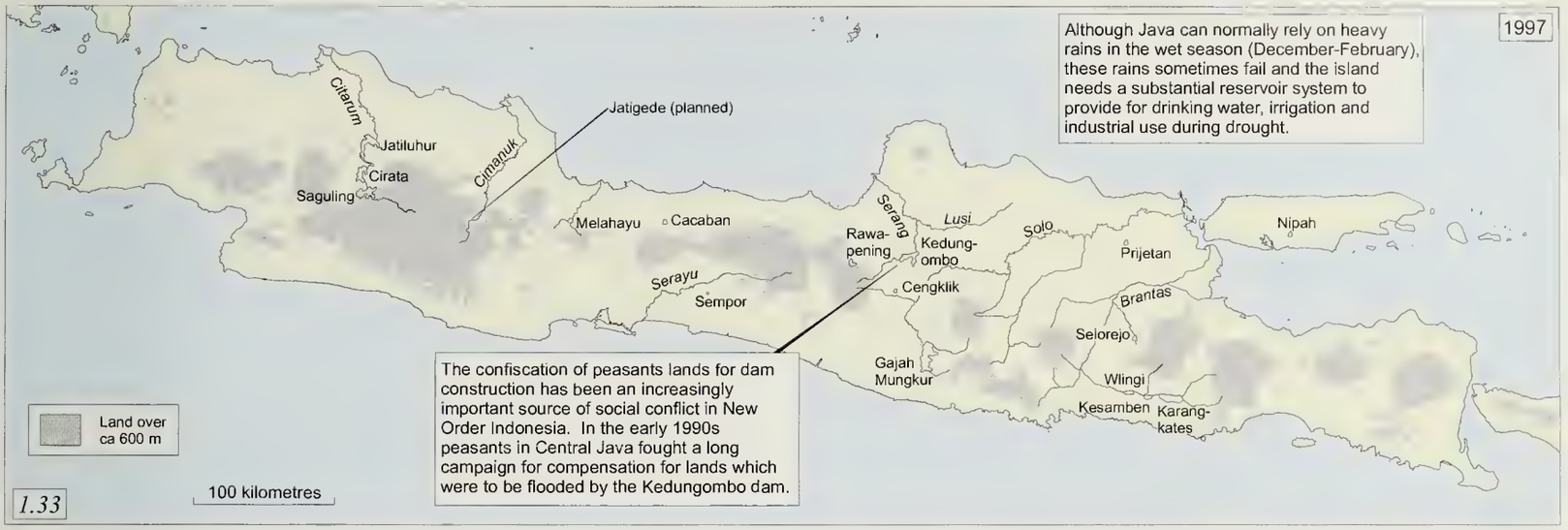

1997
Although most of the fires were burning south of the Equator, local weather conditions carried the smoke northwards, where it caused severe problems in Malaysia and Singapore.
MALAYSIA
SINGAPORE
Kuching
BORNEO
Jambi
At the height of the haze crisis, visibility in the Jambi region was reduced to a few metres.
Region designated for conversion of peat swamp to rice production
Main areas affected by the 'haze' of 1997
Major fires
600 kilometres
1.30

1.30 The great haze of 1997. *In 1997, a combination of exceptionally severe drought and indiscriminate burning of land intended for new rubber and oil palm plantations in Sumatra and Kalimantan, and for a massive rice-growing project in central Borneo, led to widespread fires. For several months, a pall of smoke covered large parts of western Indonesia, severely disrupting communications and causing health problems for millions of people.*

1.31 (above) National parks. *Independent Indonesia inherited a scattering of mainly small nature reserves from the Dutch colonial administration, but little was done to promote nature conservation until the early 1980s, when several national parks were declared. Since that time, Indonesia has developed a system of parks and reserves covering over two million hectares of forest, swamp, plain and reef. The legal status of many reserves, however, remains uncertain, and relatively few are patrolled well enough to prevent poaching and encroachment by agriculture.*

1.32 (below) The extinction of the Java Tiger. *Tigers once ranged widely over the whole of Java and Bali, preying on larger animals of the forest margins, such as deer and pig. During the 19th century population growth, forest clearing and more effective firearms put growing pressure on the tiger population, which was increasingly confined to remote mountain areas and isolated tracts along the south coast. Until the 1970s, the tiger population in the Ujung Kulon Reserve (later National Park) in the far west of Java appeared to be relatively secure. Disease amongst the deer, which were the main local prey of the tigers, however, led the Ujung Kulon tigers to die out. Meru Betiri in eastern Java continued to sustain a small tiger population until the late 1980s, but the region was not ecologically well suited to the tiger, and it is probable that the last Java tiger died in the jungle in the mid-1990s.*

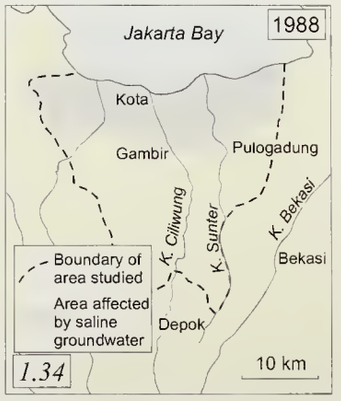




1.33 Dams in Java.

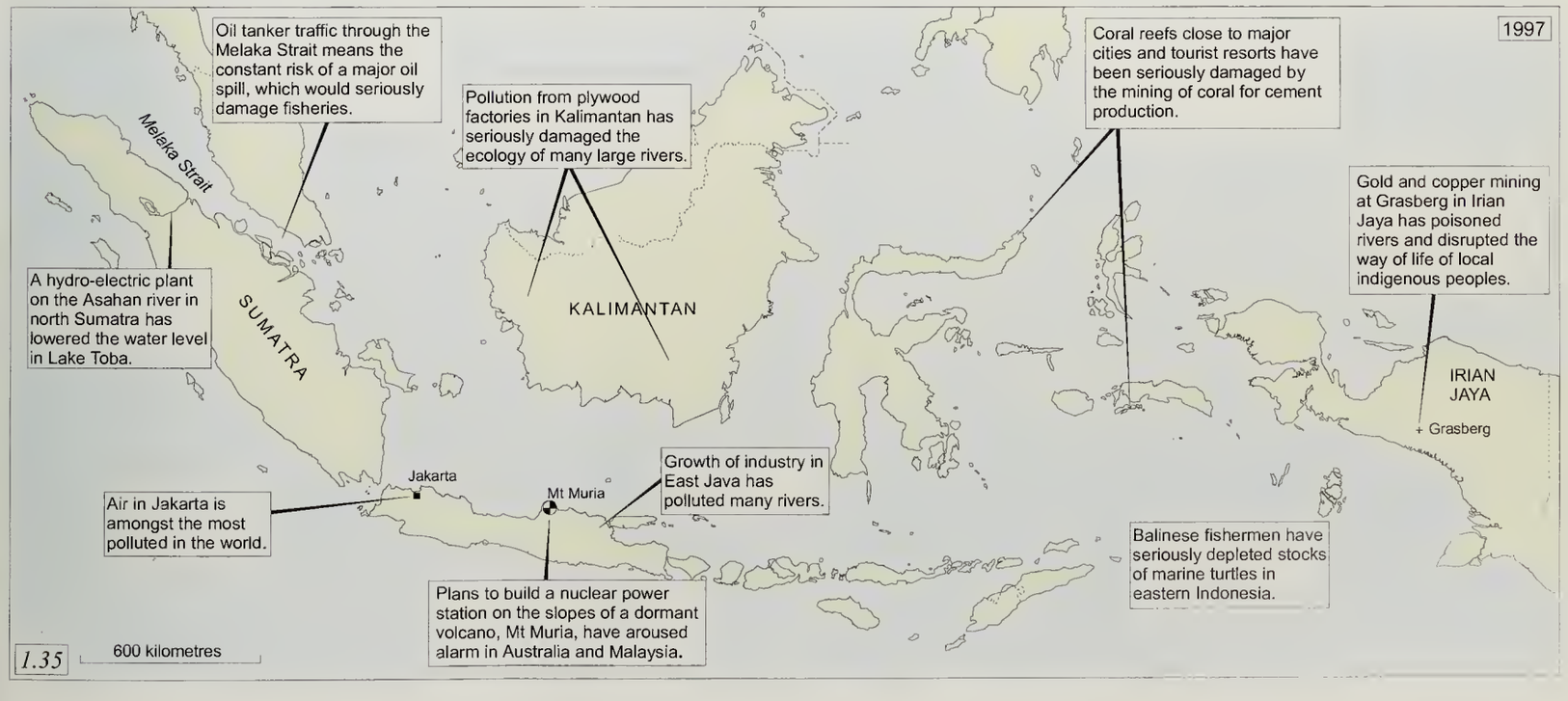
A multitude of environmental problems now besets Indonesia. Industrial pollution affects air, water and land in many parts of the archipelago; population growth and rising affluence also increase demands on natural resources, from forest products and fish to water and fuel.

Indonesia's record of dealing with these problems has been mixed. On the one hand, the government has adopted the rhetoric of long-term sustainability and has enacted legislation and regulations based on some of the best modern practice. Indonesia's record in managing environmental problems arising from the Green Revolution has been especially impressive. In the fields of pollution control and forest management, on the other hand, a combination of officially-sanctioned disregard for regulations and a lack of administrative capacity has permitted serious environmental degradation.



1.34 (right) Salination of groundwater in Jakarta. *Over-extraction of groundwater has pulled seawater into the water table under Jakarta, making many household wells unusable.*

1.35 Other environmental problems.


1997
Oil tanker traffic through the Melaka Strait means the constant risk of a major oil spill, which would seriously damage fisheries.
Melaka Strait
Pollution from plywood factories in Kalimantan has seriously damaged the ecology of many large rivers.
Coral reefs close to major cities and tourist resorts have been seriously damaged by the mining of coral for cement production.
Gold and copper mining at Grasberg in Irian Jaya has poisoned rivers and disrupted the way of life of local indigenous peoples.
A hydro-electric plant on the Asahan river in north Sumatra has lowered the water level in Lake Toba.
SUMATRA
KALIMANTAN
IRIAN JAYA
Grasberg
Jakarta
Mt Muria
Growth of industry in East Java has polluted many rivers.
Air in Jakarta is amongst the most polluted in the world.
Balinese fishermen have seriously depleted stocks of marine turtles in eastern Indonesia.
Plans to build a nuclear power station on the slopes of a dormant volcano, Mt Muria, have aroused alarm in Australia and Malaysia.
600 kilometres
1.35

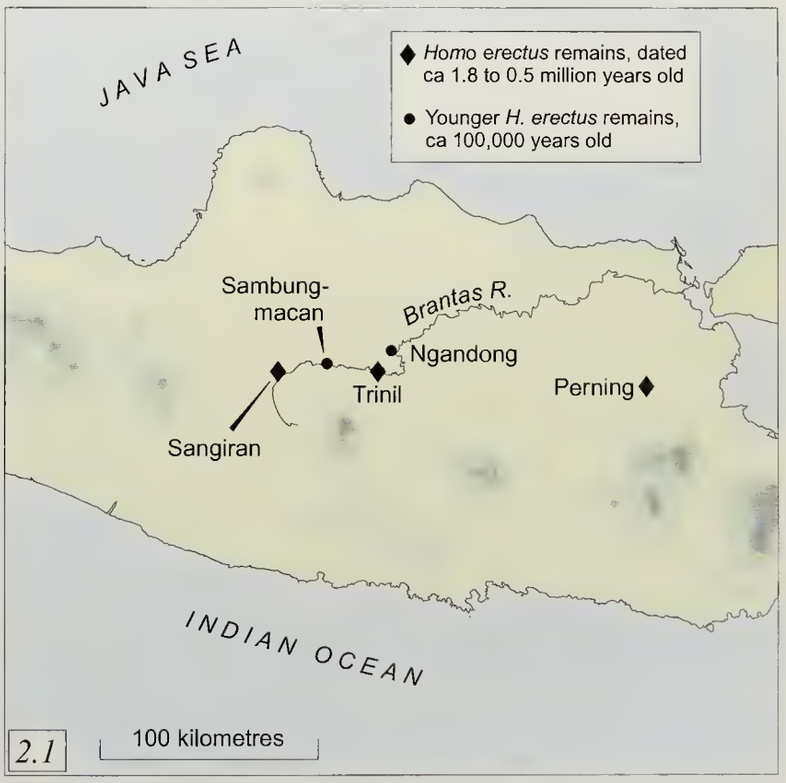
Chapter 2

Peoples

The Origins of Ethnic Diversity

The continental plates which brought the plants and animals of Gondwana into contact with those of Laurasia carried no human beings. The broad geophysical outlines of the archipelago had been set for about ten million years before hominids – the direct ancestors of modern humans – appeared in what is now Indonesia. Many prehistorians believe that these hominids evolved in Africa and spread from there throughout the rest of the world. Fossil remains in the Brantas river valley in central and eastern Java suggest a hominid presence from perhaps as early as 1.8 million years ago. The discovery of these remains, then called 'Java Man', by Eugene Dubois at Trinil in East Java in 1891 was instrumental in directing the attention of scientists beyond Europe and the Middle East in their search for the origins of humankind.

Whether 'Java Man' was the ancestor of the first human beings (*Homo sapiens*) in what became the Indonesian archipelago is still uncertain, though other Java remains dated to 100,000 years ago appear to represent a transitional stage between early *Homo erectus* and true humans, whose earliest traces in the region date from about 40,000 years ago. There is no reason to doubt, however, that those first humans were of the broad ethnic group we now call Australo-Melanesians and that they were the ancestors of the Melanesians of New Guinea, the Australian Aborigines and the small Negrito communities of the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines.



2.1 Sites of hominid remains in Java.

As we have seen, the global climate has changed a number of times during the last 40,000 years and these changes certainly had a major effect on early humans. As hunters and gatherers, they probably did best in relatively open forest, along the coasts and on the margins of tropical rainforest. As the sea levels rose and the climate grew wetter after the end of the last ice age, from about 17,000 years ago, human settlement seems to have been concentrated in the drier eastern part of the archipelago. There, by 7000 B.C., in the highlands of New Guinea, the Melanesians made a major technological breakthrough with the development of agriculture based on taro, sugar cane, pandanus and bananas. Agriculture sustained much more densely settled communities than hunting and gathering had done, further strengthening the Melanesian presence in the east of the archipelago.

The western and central parts of the archipelago, by contrast, probably had relatively few inhabitants in about 3000 B.C., when a Mongoloid people from Taiwan, whom we call the Austronesians, began moving south in significant numbers.

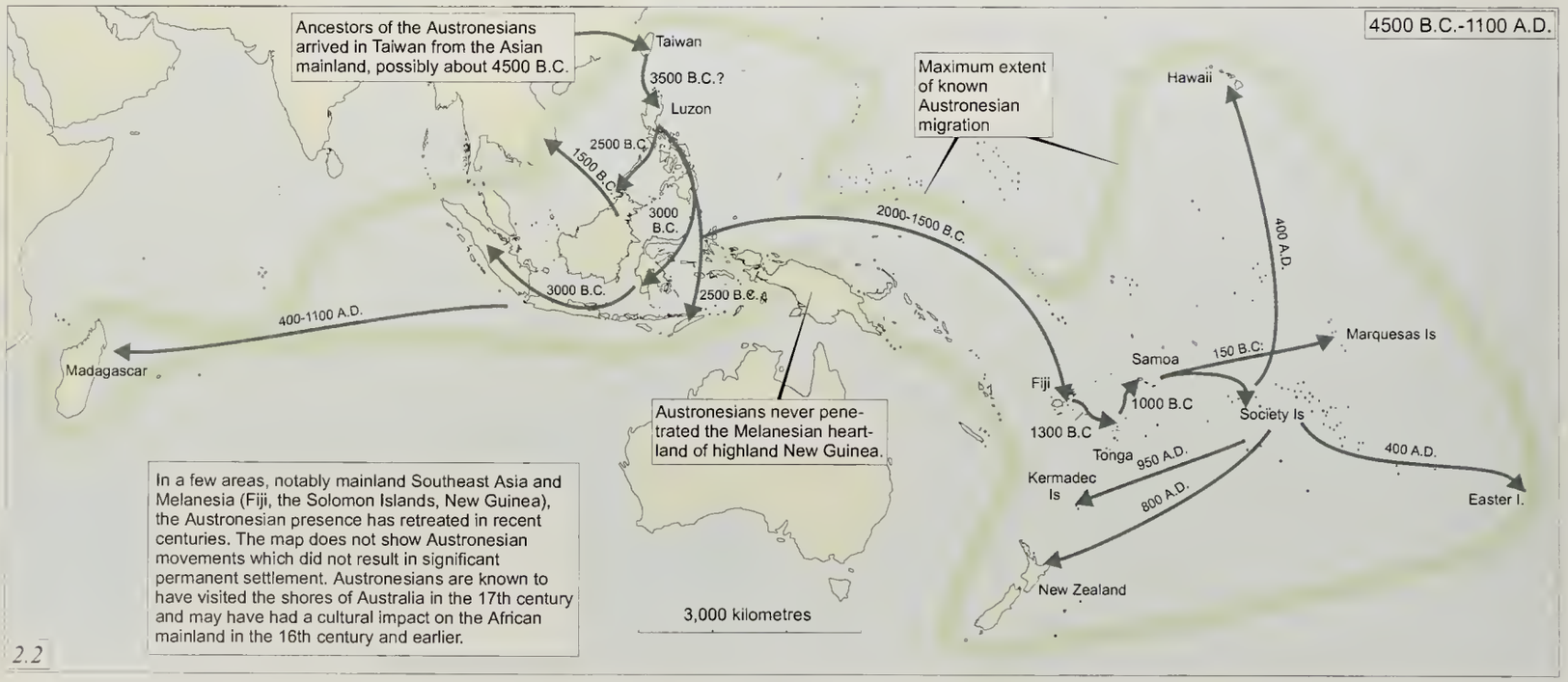
The Austronesians brought with them the technologies of pottery, outrigger canoes, and bows and arrows, as well as domestic pigs, fowl and dogs, and they cultivated rice and millet, along with other crops. Rice and millet at this stage were crops suited to temperate and subtropical climates, and they apparently did not become established in Indonesia until somewhat later; their place in the Austronesian diet was taken by taro, breadfruit, bananas, yams, sago and coconut.

The great wave of Austronesian migration lapped at the coasts of New Guinea and then divided. To the east, Austronesian seafarers reached Fiji and probably Tonga by 1500 B.C. and swept on through the Pacific to populate Polynesia, a huge area stretching as far as New Zealand, Easter Island and Hawaii. To the west, the Austronesians took control of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Malay peninsula. Some settled on the Southeast Asian mainland, becoming the ancestors of the Cham, who are still a small minority in southern Vietnam. A good deal later, in a series of migrations starting around the 5th century A.D. and ending in the 12th, Austronesians settled the then-uninhabited island of Madagascar. The spread of Austronesians over an arc stretching more than half way around the world is one of the most spectacular human migrations before modern times.

We know nothing of the contact between Melanesians and Austronesians in this early era, but the physical appearance of modern Indonesians shows that there must have been considerable genetic mixing in some areas: many Indonesians have a physical appearance part way between the dark skins, rounded eyes and curly hair of the Melanesians and the paler skins, Mongoloid eyes and straight hair of the Austronesians.

Indonesians today recognize amongst themselves dozens of major ethnic groups and hundreds of minor ones, but there is no official formal system for classifying these groups. Instead, physical appearance, language, religion, personal name, place of birth and social customs are used loosely to differentiate between people according to circumstance. Formal ethnic classification is applied only to the descendants of also more recently arrived immigants, principally Chinese, Arabs and Europeans.

2.2 **The great Austronesian migrations.** *The history of the Austronesian migrations is still only imperfectly known, although its broad outlines have been deduced by comparing archaeological, linguistic and ecological evidence. The dates shown here are those suggested by current research, but they may change as further excavation takes place.*


4500 B.C.-1100 A.D.
Ancestors of the Austronesians arrived in Taiwan from the Asian mainland, possibly about 4500 B.C.
Taiwan
3500 B.C.?
Luzon
2500 B.C.
1500 B.C.
3000 B.C.
3000 B.C.
2500 B.C.
Maximum extent of known Austronesian migration
2000-1500 B.C.
400-1100 A.D.
Madagascar
Austronesians never penetrated the Melanesian heartland of highland New Guinea.
Hawaii
400 A.D.
Marquesas Is
150 B.C.
Samoa
Fiji
1000 B.C
1300 B.C
Society Is
Tonga
950 A.D.
400 A.D.
Kermadec Is
800 A.D.
Easter I.
New Zealand
In a few areas, notably mainland Southeast Asia and Melanesia (Fiji, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea), the Austronesian presence has retreated in recent centuries. The map does not show Austronesian movements which did not result in significant permanent settlement. Austronesians are known to have visited the shores of Australia in the 17th century and may have had a cultural impact on the African mainland in the 16th century and earlier.
3,000 kilometres
2.2

Language

The Austronesian invaders of the archipelago probably spoke a single language. Over the course of the centuries, however, as different groups lost contact with each other, their speech diverged. Languages can change rapidly – once-similar dialects can become mutually unintelligible in a couple of centuries – and there is virtually no record of the process of language change in the archipelago before 1800. In modern Indonesia, however, it is possible to identify over two hundred Austronesian and over one hundred and fifty Papuan (Melanesian) languages, most of which linguists have been able to group into larger clusters which almost certainly indicate more recent descent from a common ancestral language. The affinities between languages give researchers some clues to the early history of their speakers.

The close relationship, for instance, between Madurese – spoken on Madura and in neighbouring eastern Java – and Malay suggests that the island was first settled by migrants from Sumatra, rather than settlers from the Javanese mainland. The survival of Papuan languages on Timor and neighbouring islands supports archaeological evidence that this region was an important centre of Melanesian settlement before the arrival of the Austronesians. And the fact that a number of isolated forest peoples – the Badui in West Java, the Kubu in South Sumatra and the Penan in Borneo – speak the languages of surrounding peoples suggests that they may not have been as reclusive in the past as they are now.

Southern Sumatra may once have been as linguistically diverse as northern Sumatra and the northern Malay Peninsula, but from the 7th to the 11th centuries it came under the powerful cultural influence of the trading kingdom of Srivijaya, based in Palembang. It is likely that many small ethnic groups were absorbed into the Malay-speaking communities during these centuries.

2.3 The languages of Sumatra. *This map does not show the impact of recent migrations on language distribution.*

Acehnese is generally classified as an Austronesian language, but some scholars suggest that it may be a language of mainland Southeast Asia into which Austronesian grammar and vocabulary have become deeply embedded.

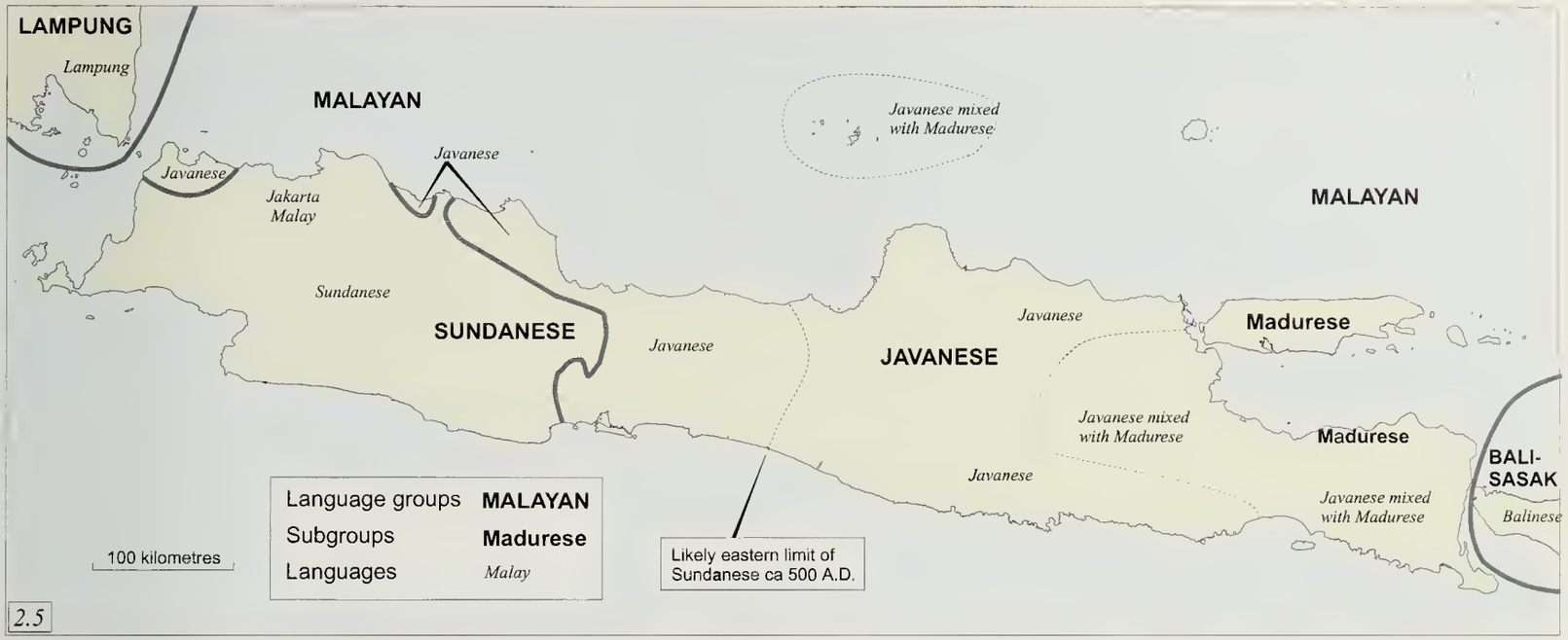
The status of Kenaboi and Lom, which apparently died out in the 19th century, is disputed.

Although small kingdoms emerged on the island of Borneo from time to time, especially at the mouths of the great rivers, Borneo was never the centre of a large, long-lived empire like Srivijaya, and it has remained linguistically complex. Complexity, however, does not necessarily mean isolation. The peoples of Borneo's northern coast were in regular contact with other Austronesians in Champa on the coast of what is now Vietnam and with China. The Ma'anyan language of southeastern Borneo, moreover, is related to the Malagasy language of Madagascar.

Especially since the 15th century, however, Malay has become the dominant language of the coastal regions. This dominance is partly for commercial reasons – from the 15th century Malay was the most important language of trade in the archipelago – and partly for religious reasons. Malay was the language of the large Muslim kingdom in the region, the sultanate of Melaka on the Malay Peninsula, and became the main language of Islam as it spread eastwards.

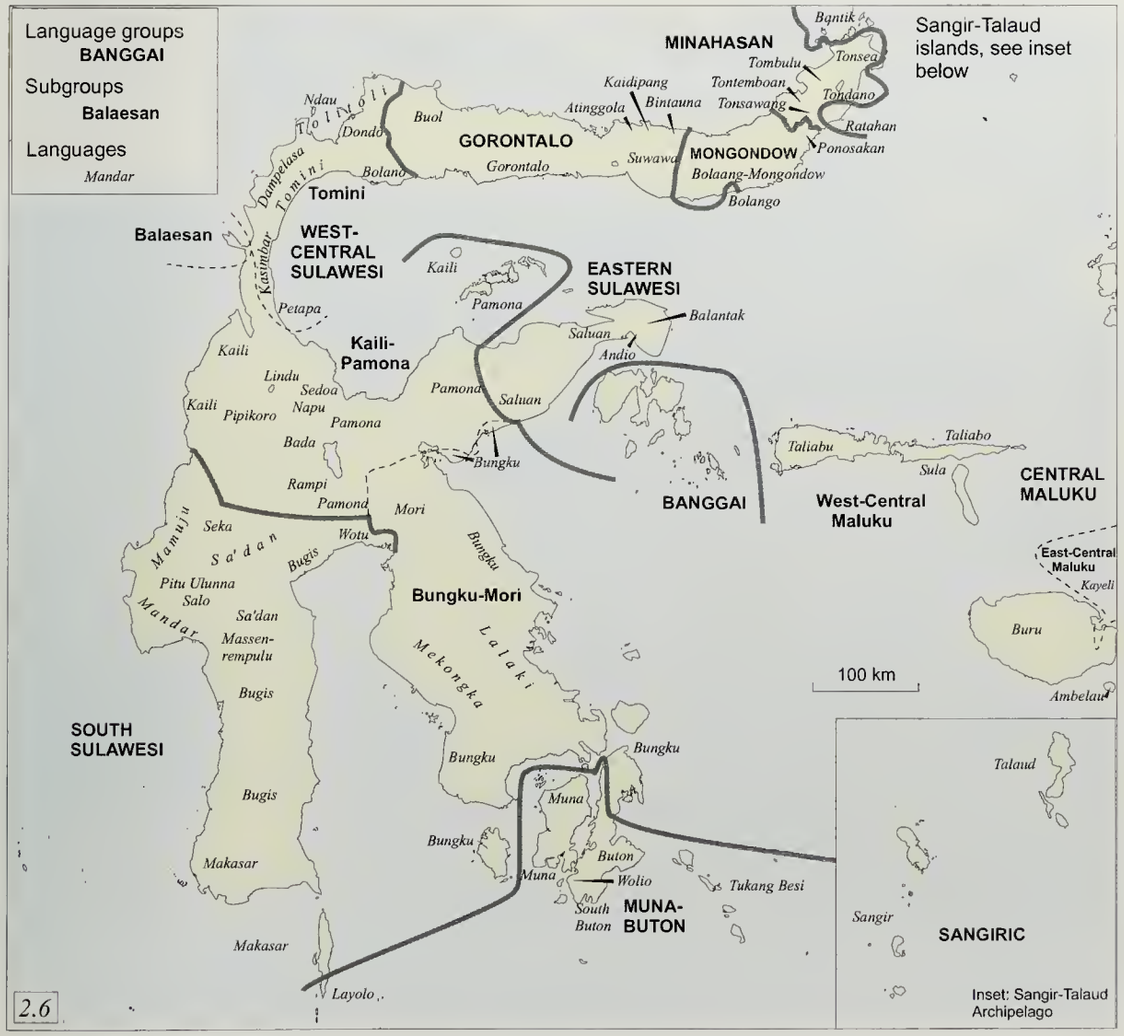
On a much smaller scale, the Kapuas (Ngaju) language has become a lingua franca in the southeastern corner of Borneo as a result of its use by Christian missions in the region.

2.4 Languages of Borneo.



2.5 Languages of Java.

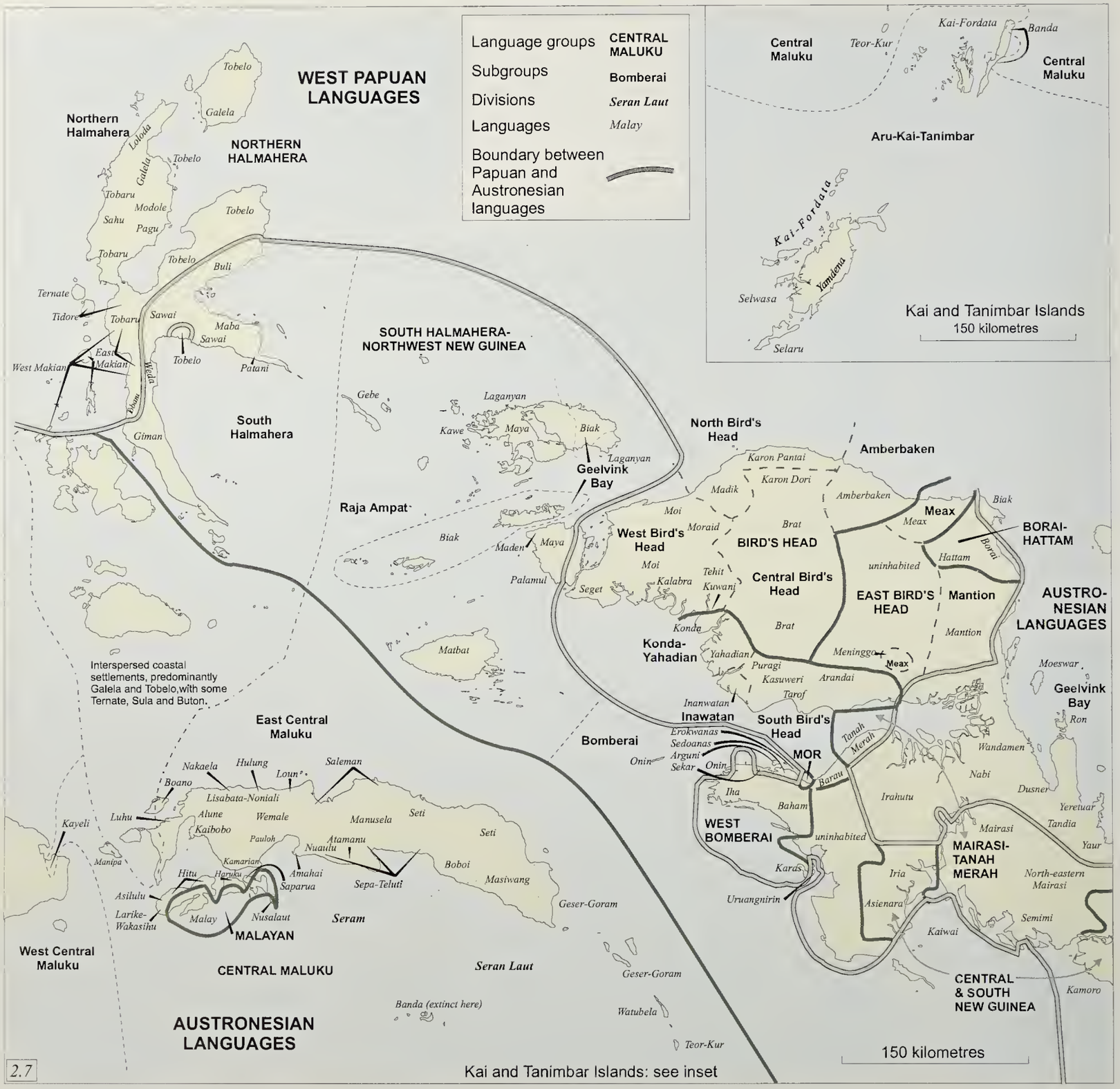
2.6 Languages of Sulawesi.



Just as the Malay language spread widely along the shores of the Melaka Straits thanks to successive empires in the region, so did the Javanese language dominate densely populated central and eastern Java, where a series of agriculture-based empires developed from the 8th century A.D.

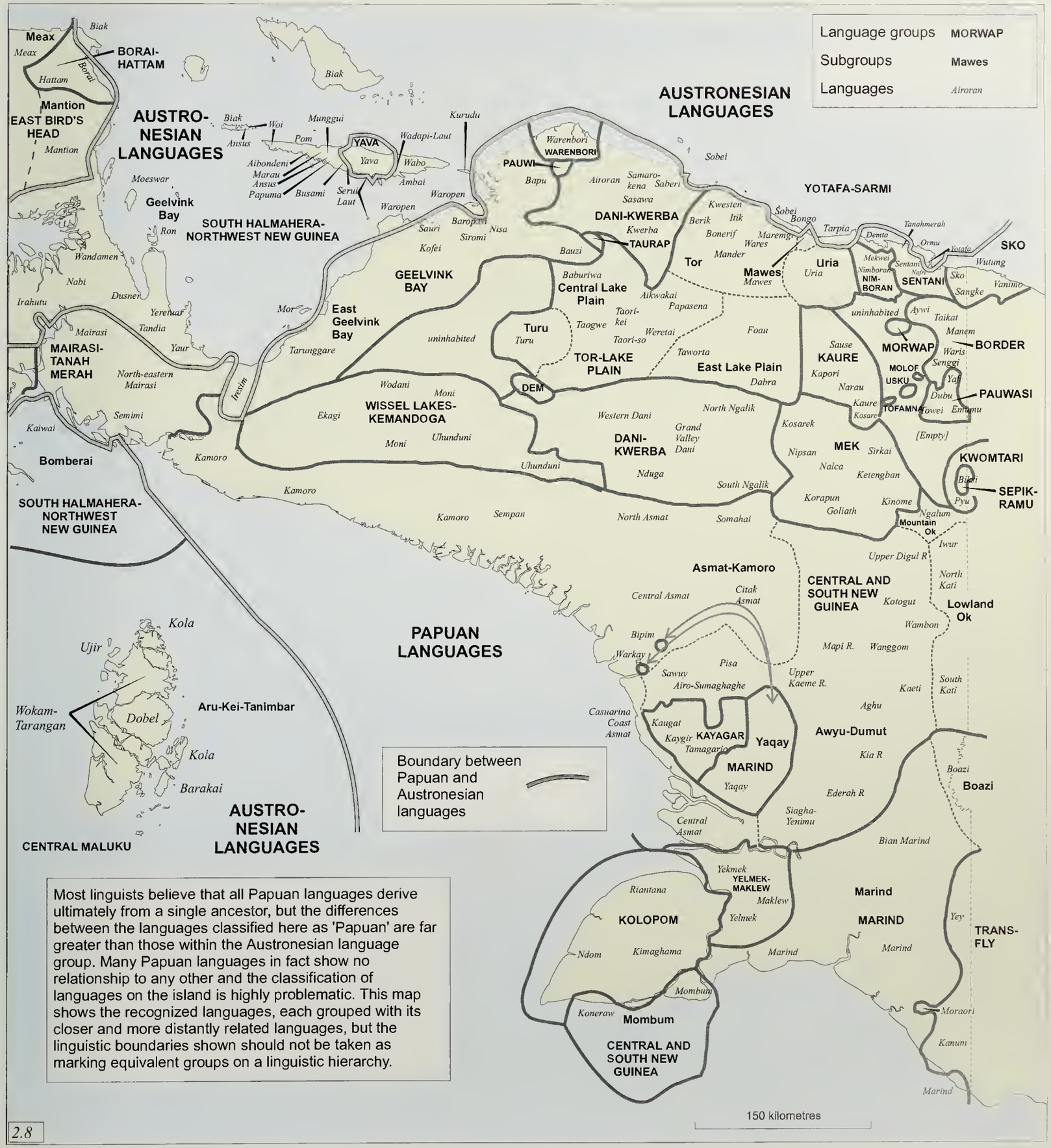
Javanese is a complicated language, not only grammatically but socially: the vocabulary which a Javanese speaker uses depends on the speaker's status in relation to the person being addressed. Correct use of Javanese, therefore, is only possible when the relative social position of the speakers is clear. For the traders of the archipelago, Javanese was too complex for everyday use, while Malay became the principal language of Islam. In pre-colonial times, therefore, the Javanese had considerable influence on other languages in the archipelago in vocabulary, but Javanese itself did not spread as a language of communication beyond the territorial limits of the successive Javanese kingdoms.

The social stratification embedded in Javanese also worked against it during the colonial era. The relationship between the Dutch and their main Javanese agents, the quasi-feudal regional officials called *bupati*, was inherently ambiguous: the Dutch officials



2.7 (above) Languages of northern Maluku, the Bird's Head Peninsula and the Tanimbar and Kai Islands.

2.8 (opposite page) Languages of New Guinea and the Aru Islands.



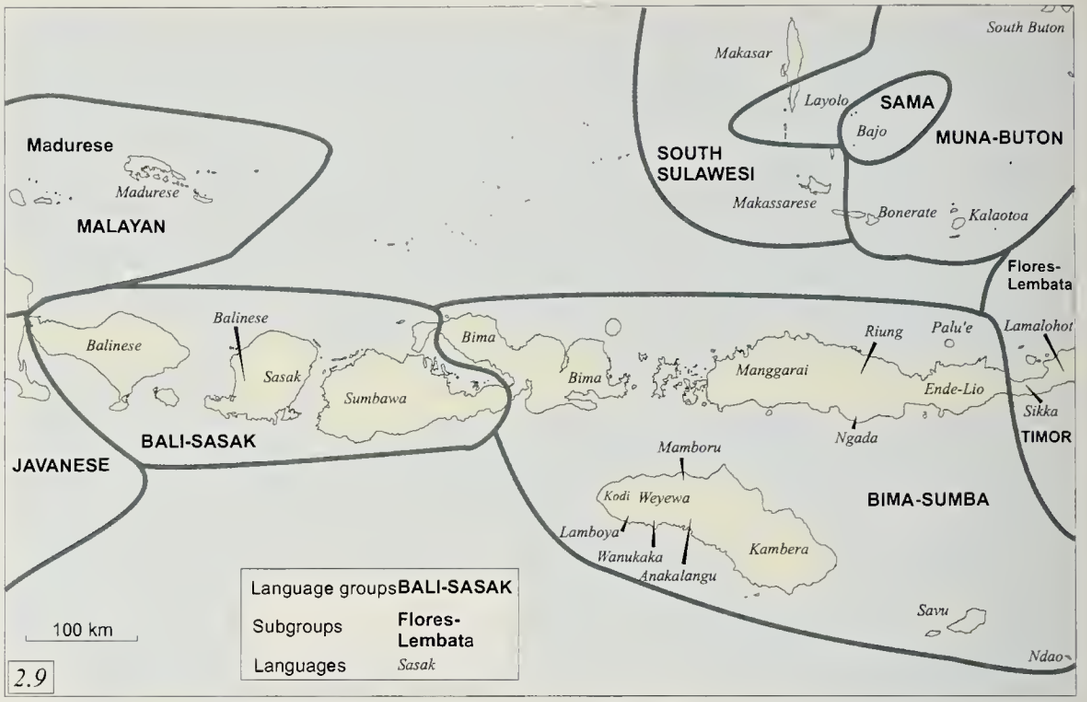
Most linguists believe that all Papuan languages derive ultimately from a single ancestor, but the differences between the languages classified here as 'Papuan' are far greater than those within the Austronesian language group. Many Papuan languages in fact show no relationship to any other and the classification of languages on the island is highly problematic. This map shows the recognized languages, each grouped with its closer and more distantly related languages, but the linguistic boundaries shown should not be taken as marking equivalent groups on a linguistic hierarchy.

2.8

treated these Javanese aristocrats in some respects as superiors, in some respects as inferiors. Instead of Javanese, therefore, the Dutch chose Malay as their language of administration and law. This fact not only required more and more people in the archipelago to speak Malay, but helped equip the language with the vocabulary and grammatical forms necessary for expressing more complex administrative concepts.

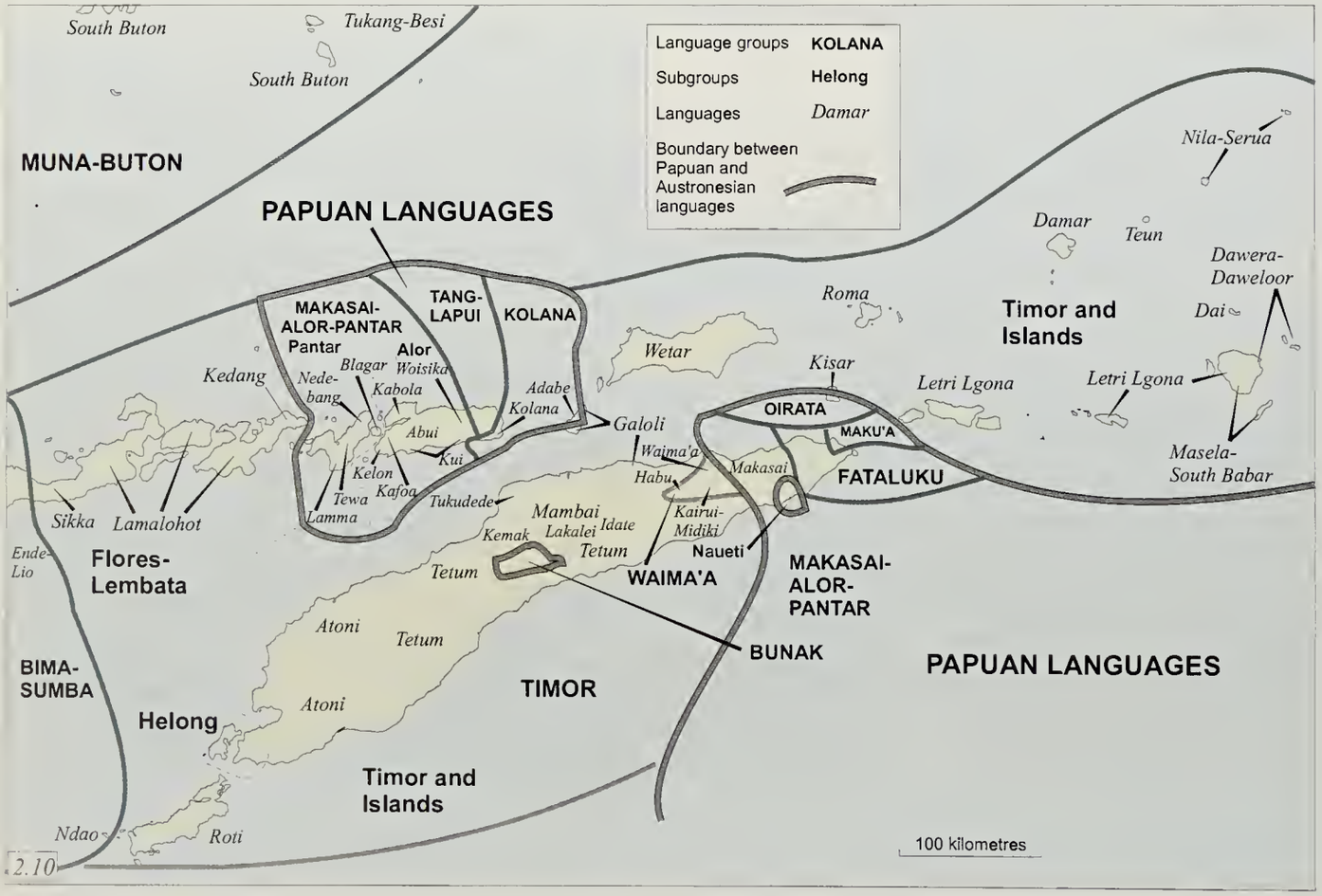
A further boost to Malay came from the emergence of a Malay-language publishing industry in the early 20th century, partly in the hands of Malay-speaking Chinese businessmen. The publications they produced helped to give Malay wider currency, as well as broadening the range of topics it could be used to discuss.

In 1928, the Indonesian nationalist movement adopted Malay as the language of the future independent state of Indonesia, calling it Indonesian, or Bahasa Indonesia. They chose it because it was already widely known and it lacked the hierarchical rigidities of Javanese. Indonesian became the principal language of modernity for Indonesians.

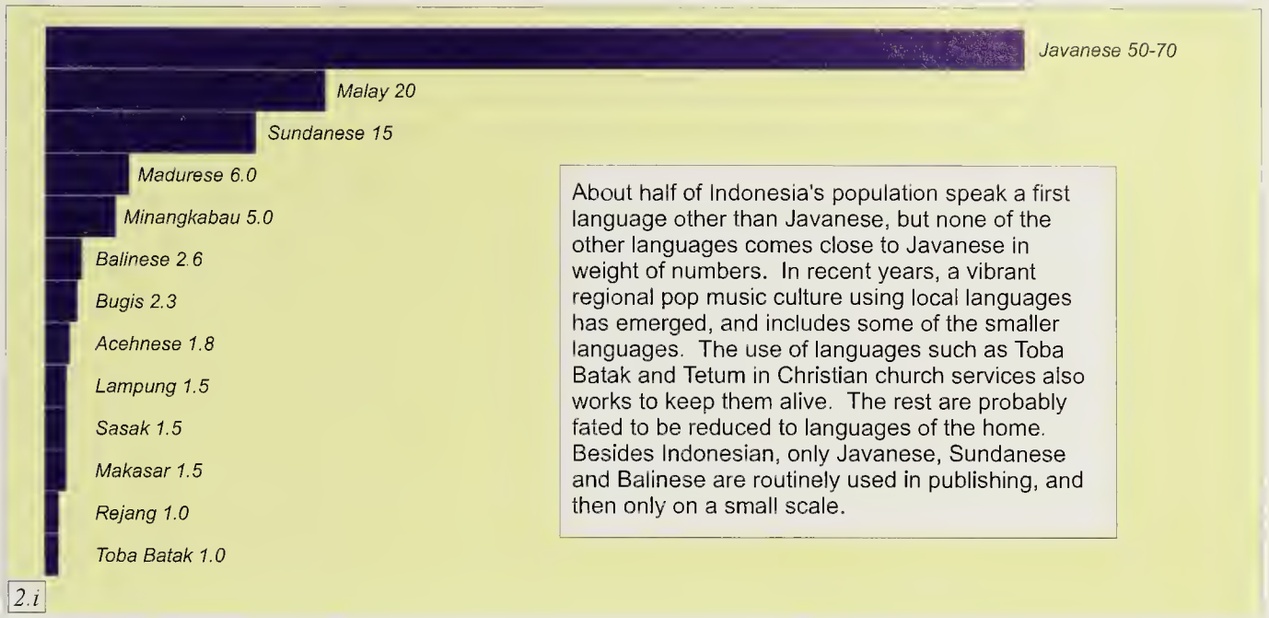


2.9 (above) Languages of western Nusatenggara.

2.10 (below) Languages of eastern Nusatenggara.



2.i Number of speakers (in millions) of the major Indonesian languages (excluding Bahasa Indonesia), ca 1980.


Javanese 50-70
Malay 20
Sundanese 15
Madurese 6.0
Minangkabau 5.0
Balinese 2.6
Bugis 2.3
Acehnese 1.8
Lampung 1.5
Sasak 1.5
Makasar 1.5
Rejang 1.0
Toba Batak 1.0
About half of Indonesia's population speak a first language other than Javanese, but none of the other languages comes close to Javanese in weight of numbers. In recent years, a vibrant regional pop music culture using local languages has emerged, and includes some of the smaller languages. The use of languages such as Toba Batak and Tetum in Christian church services also works to keep them alive. The rest are probably fated to be reduced to languages of the home. Besides Indonesian, only Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese are routinely used in publishing, and then only on a small scale.
2.i

Indonesian has continued to change and develop. Spelling has been reformed to remove a number of Dutch conventions, and grammar and vocabulary have been vastly extended, both by the deliberate coinages of the national language commission and by the inventions and borrowings of the Indonesian public. Indonesian is now the sole language of the educational system and overwhelmingly dominates the media, radio and television as well as print. The national language of Malaysia, Bahasa Kebangsaan, is also a modern version of Malay, while Malay is specified as the national language in both Singapore and Brunei (though in Singapore it is almost never used in public affairs).

Since the 17th century, many languages in the archipelago have become extinct. Some were wiped out: the violent Dutch capture of the Banda Islands in 1621 led to the extermination of most of the indigenous people and the extinction of their language, except in a couple of small villages established by exiles in the Kai Islands. Many more, however, have disappeared as a result of the integration of small communities into wider regional, national and global affairs. Only thirteen Indonesian languages have a million or more native speakers; linguists generally believe that languages with fewer than this number are vulnerable to extinction.

2.11 Fluency in Indonesian, by province, 1990.

Literacy

The Indian cultural and religious influences which began to transform the Indonesian archipelago in the 4th century A.D. included the art of writing. The earliest inscriptions to be found so far are a series of brief announcements by Mulavarman, who was king in what is now the Kutai region of East Kalimantan in the late 4th century. These writings were in South Indian Pallawa script which seems to have been widely adopted by courts in the archipelago. By the middle of the 8th century, however, Pallawa had evolved into a distinctive local script, Kawi, which has been found in Java, Sumatra, Bali, and the Malay peninsula. The range of both scripts stretches beyond any known political boundaries, suggesting that there may have been a relatively free intellectual interchange between the courts of western Indonesia during these early centuries.

By the 14th century, however, Kawi had begun to diversify. Distinct scripts emerged in the east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, the west Javanese kingdom of Pajajaran, in the central Sumatran domain of the Minangkabau king Adityavarman, and possibly even in Aceh. Modified Javanese scripts were used in Bali, Madura and Sumbawa.

Unfortunately, there is a yawning gap in the records of writing in Indonesia in and around the 16th century. Kawi and its immediate descendants ceased to be used and in their place appeared four distinct families of scripts, Batak, South Sumatran, Javanese-Balinese and Bugis-Makasar. All are clearly Indic, that is descended ultimately from Indian models, but their precise evolution remains a mystery.

In modern times, Batak script was used almost exclusively for the writing of texts on magic and divination, but it is still occasionally seen on public notices and there is evidence that it was once used on a much wider range of documents. All except a few contemporary Batak texts are written in books (*pustaha*) made of bark which is folded in concertina-fashion to form the pages. Slightly different forms of the script are used for writing the Toba, Dairi and Mandailing Batak languages.

Three distinct scripts are known from the Bugis-Makasar group. Old Makasar, now extinct, was used for the text of the Treaty of Bungaya between the Dutch and the Makasar kingdom of Goa in 1667. Bima script, which was evidently used in parts of Sumbawa and Flores, is long extinct and is known only from the records of European observers. Modern Bugis-Makasar was used for a very wide range of documents, from court chronicles and royal diaries to epic poems, medical treatises and mundane personal notes.

The South Sumatra family of scripts was found in an area stretching from Lampung in the south to the borders of the Minangkabau country in the north. They are sometimes known as *ka-ga-nga* scripts, from their first three letters. The best known of these scripts, which is used by the Rejang people to write Old Malay, is also known as Rencong. The

2.12 Pallawa and Kawi inscriptions, 4th–12th centuries. *Kawi texts have been found widely in eastern and central Java; the map here shows only two of the earliest inscriptions.*

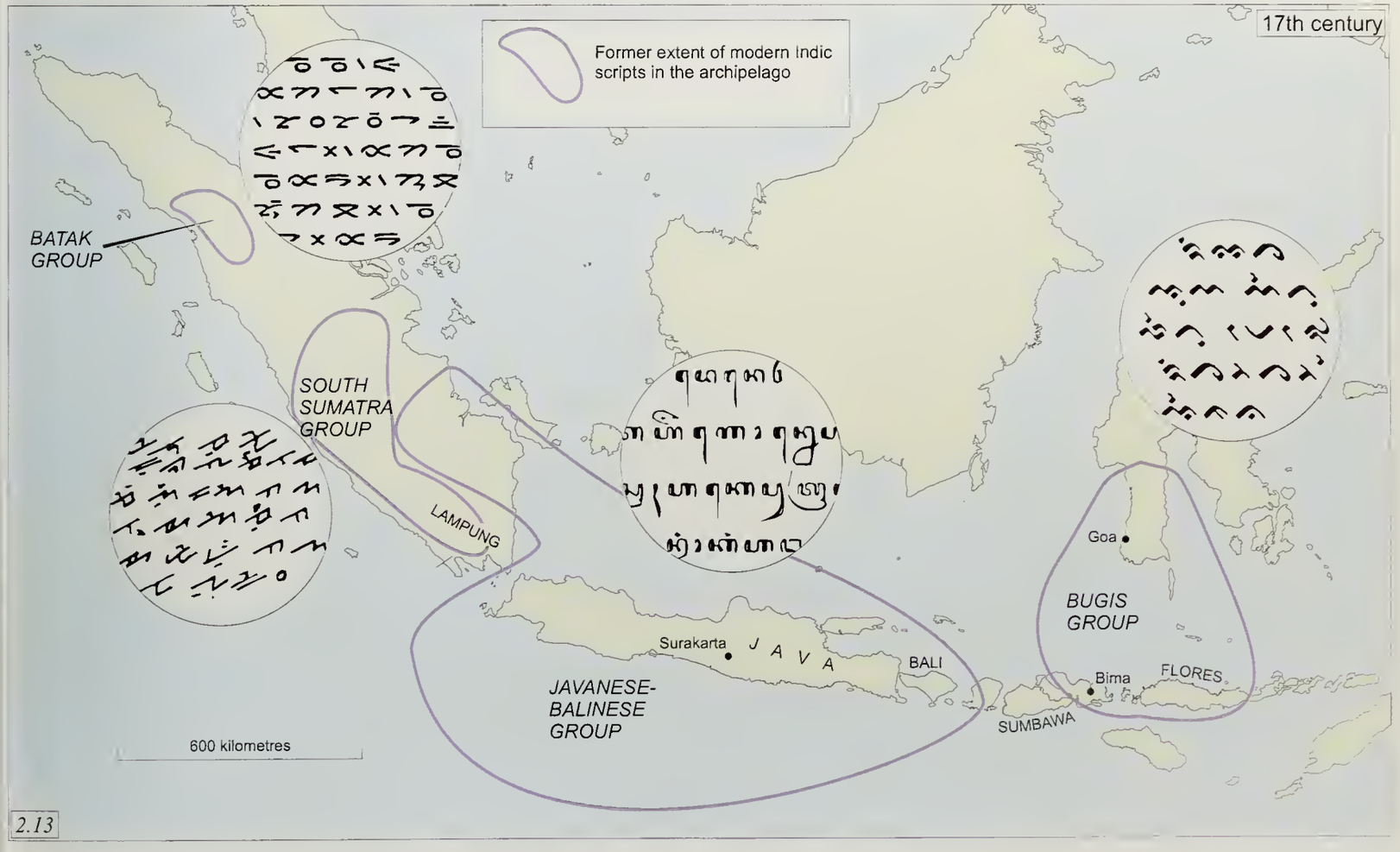
Javanese-Balinese script which emerged from the uncertainty of the 16th century is the most elaborate of the Indonesian Indic scripts, and it soon came to be used for decorative as well as informative functions. Many regional variants developed. During the 19th century, Dutch typographers favoured the elegant style of the Surakarta kraton, which has now become standard. Some scholars treat Balinese and Javanese as separate scripts, but each can be read by anyone who is fluent in the other and the differences are better seen as stylistic.

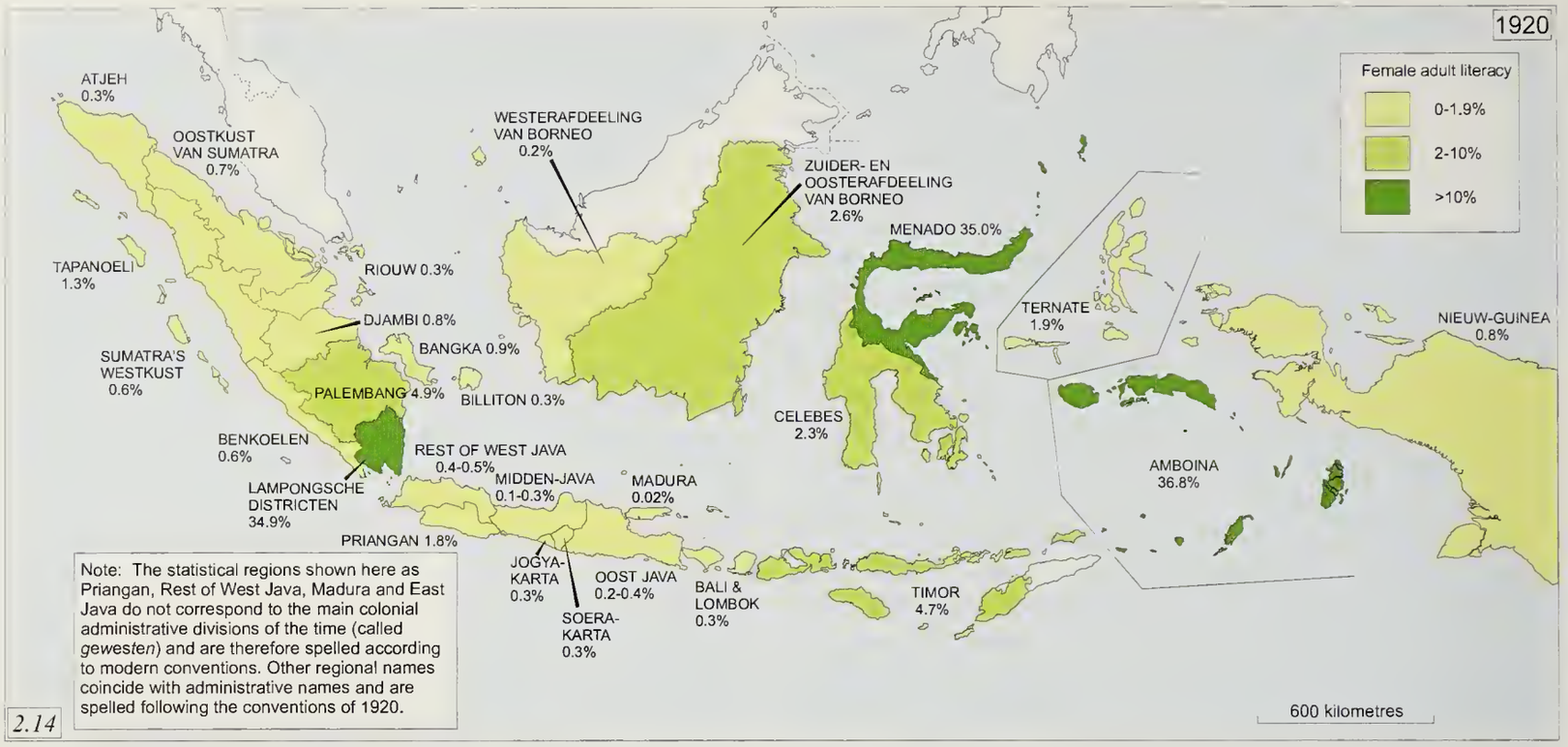
How widely were these scripts known? It has traditionally been assumed that literacy was the preserve of elite scribes and clerks attached to the courts of rulers. Several scholars, however, have pointed out reasons to believe that knowledge of the Indic scripts of the archipelago was once widely spread throughout society. These reasons include the fact that the early scripts have a form more suited to writing on paper or palm-leaf than to stone-carving; this means at least that the main media for writing were relatively accessible to society as a whole. Moreover, the range of Kawi inscriptions extends beyond the boundaries of any known state, and later inscriptions show very great diversity even within powerful entities such as the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. This suggests that writing had a life beyond the ruler's court. Many early European accounts of Indonesia, moreover, report that a large part of the population, both men and women, were literate.

The arrival of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago brought major changes to the world of writing, because Muslim practice demanded that Islamic texts be written in Arabic script. Arabic script was not especially suited to writing Austronesian languages, and therefore distinct archipelagic versions of Arabic emerged. In Java, Pegon script was used to write Javanese and Sundanese religious texts; from the 16th century Malay came to be written almost exclusively in another Arabic script called Jawi. Because the curves and dots of Arabic script could not easily be reproduced on palm leaves, paper, both imported and locally made, became much more widely used. Because paper tends to be more durable than leaves, a great many more texts have survived from the Islamic period than from earlier eras.

After Europeans entered the archipelago in the 16th century, many local languages in time came to be written in Roman script. Missionaries keen to have the Bible available in indigenous languages were especially active in standardizing systems for writing down languages which had no script of their own and for transliterating from existing scripts. The use of printing gave these Romanized versions of the Indonesian languages an overwhelming advantage, and today the old Indic scripts are for the most part used only for ceremonial and decorative purposes.

2.13 The distribution of modern Indic scripts, prior to the impact of Western printing technology.

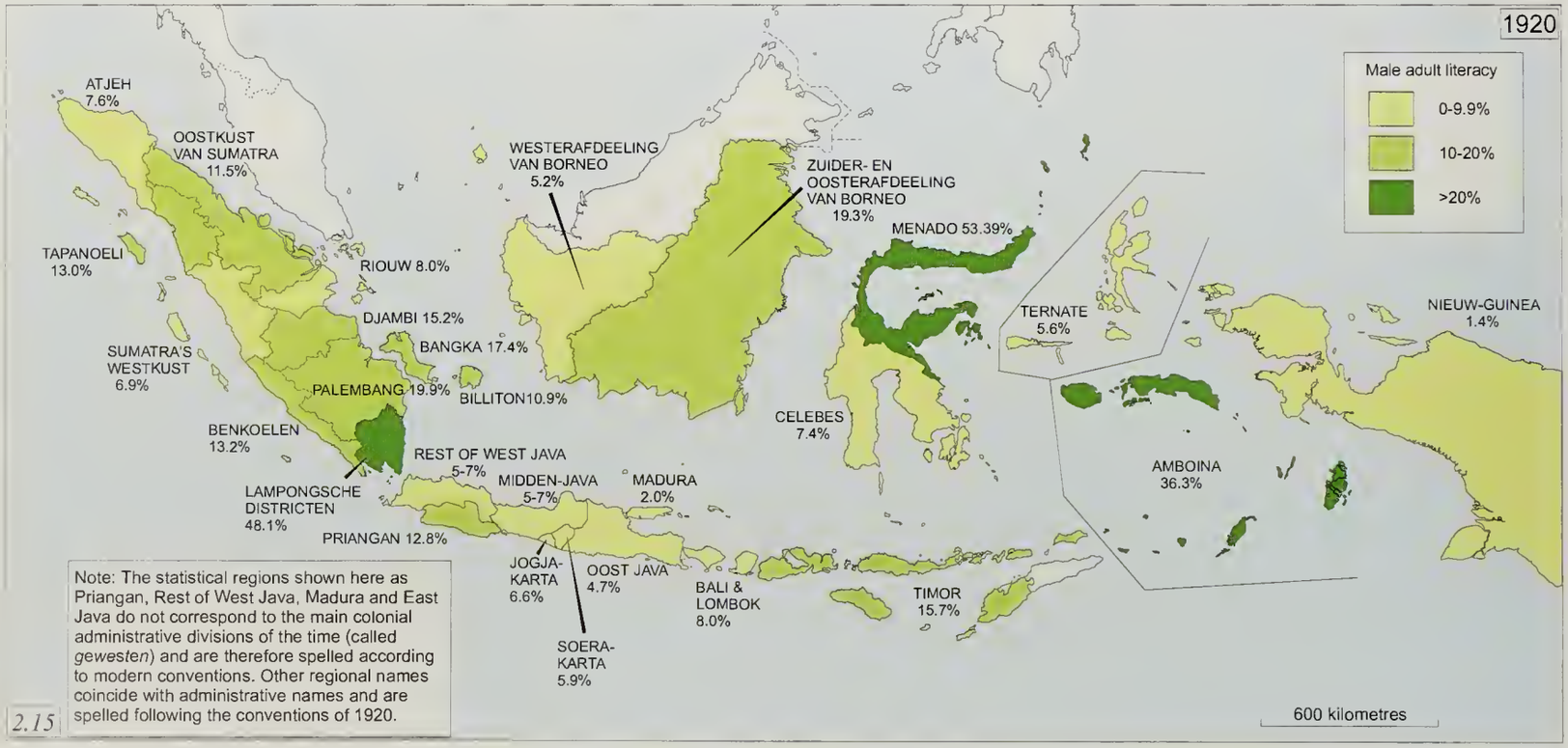


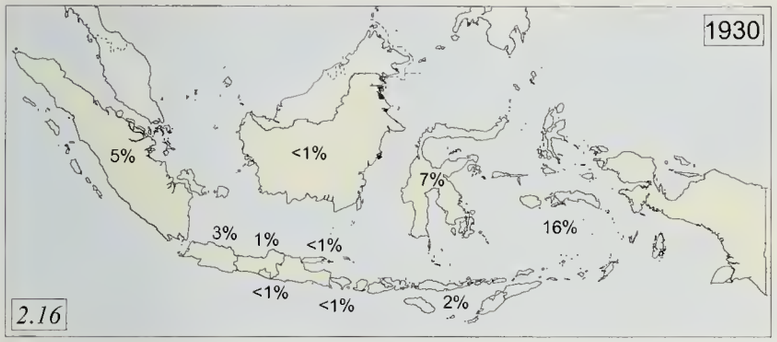


2.14 Female literacy (indigenous Indonesians), 1920.

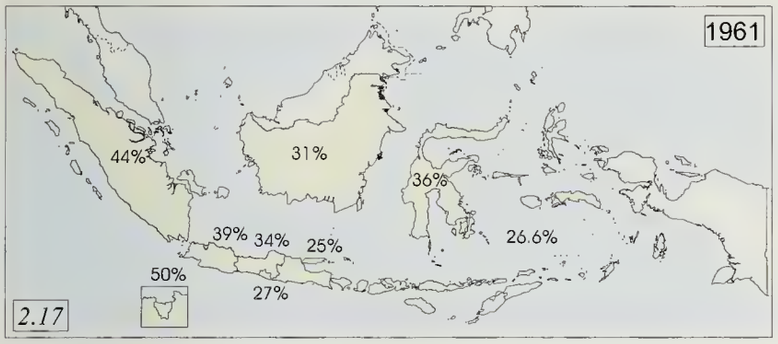
Colonial authorities began to measure literacy in the 1920 census. The results showed depressingly low levels of literacy throughout the archipelago, especially for women, with two significant exceptions. Southern Sumatra, where indigenous scripts were still widely known, and the eastern regions of Manado (Menado) and Ambon (Amboina), where Christian missionary activity had been strong, recorded relatively high levels of literacy for both men and women. Only well after independence, with the expansion of education, did literacy levels rise dramatically.

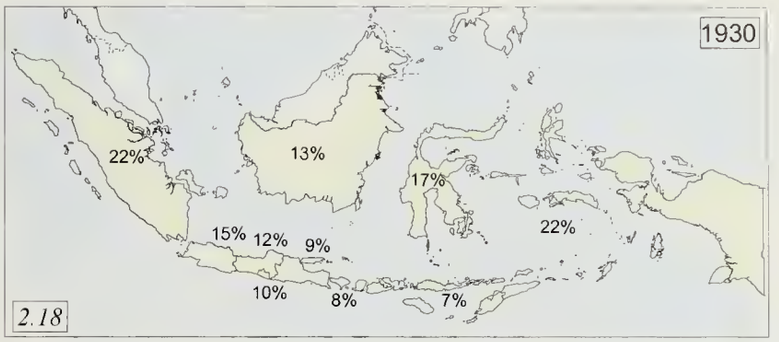
2.15 Male literacy (indigenous Indonesians), 1920.



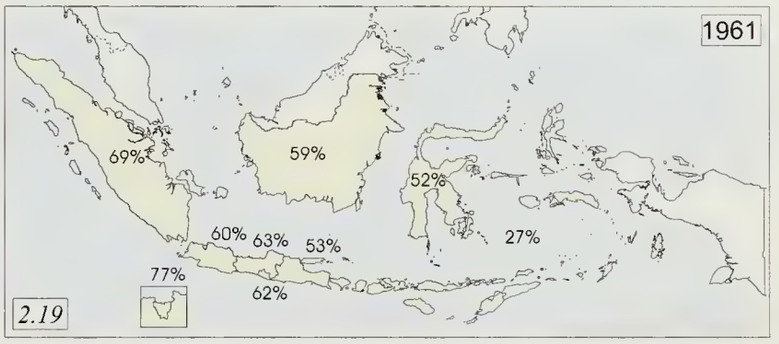


2.16 (above) Female literacy (indigenous Indonesians) in 1930.
2.17 (below) Female literacy (entire population), 1961.



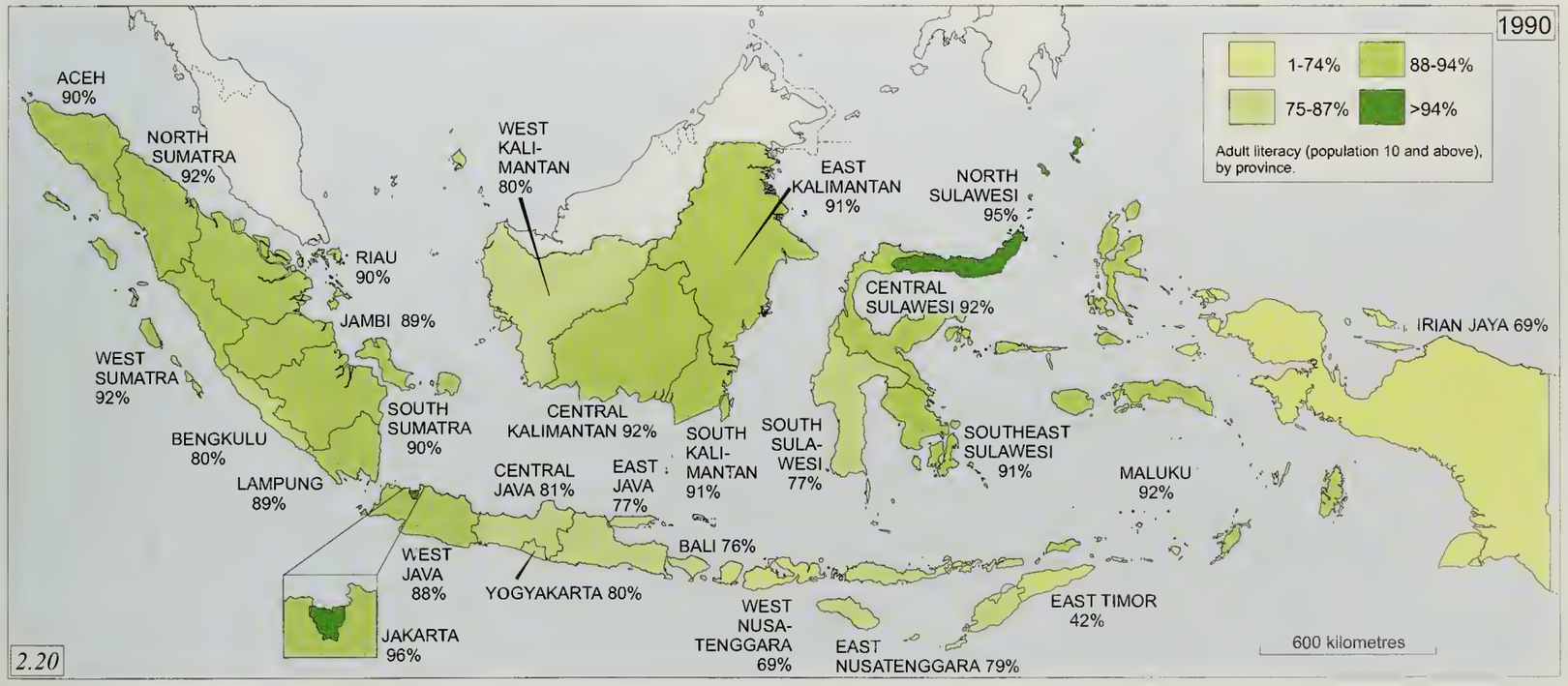


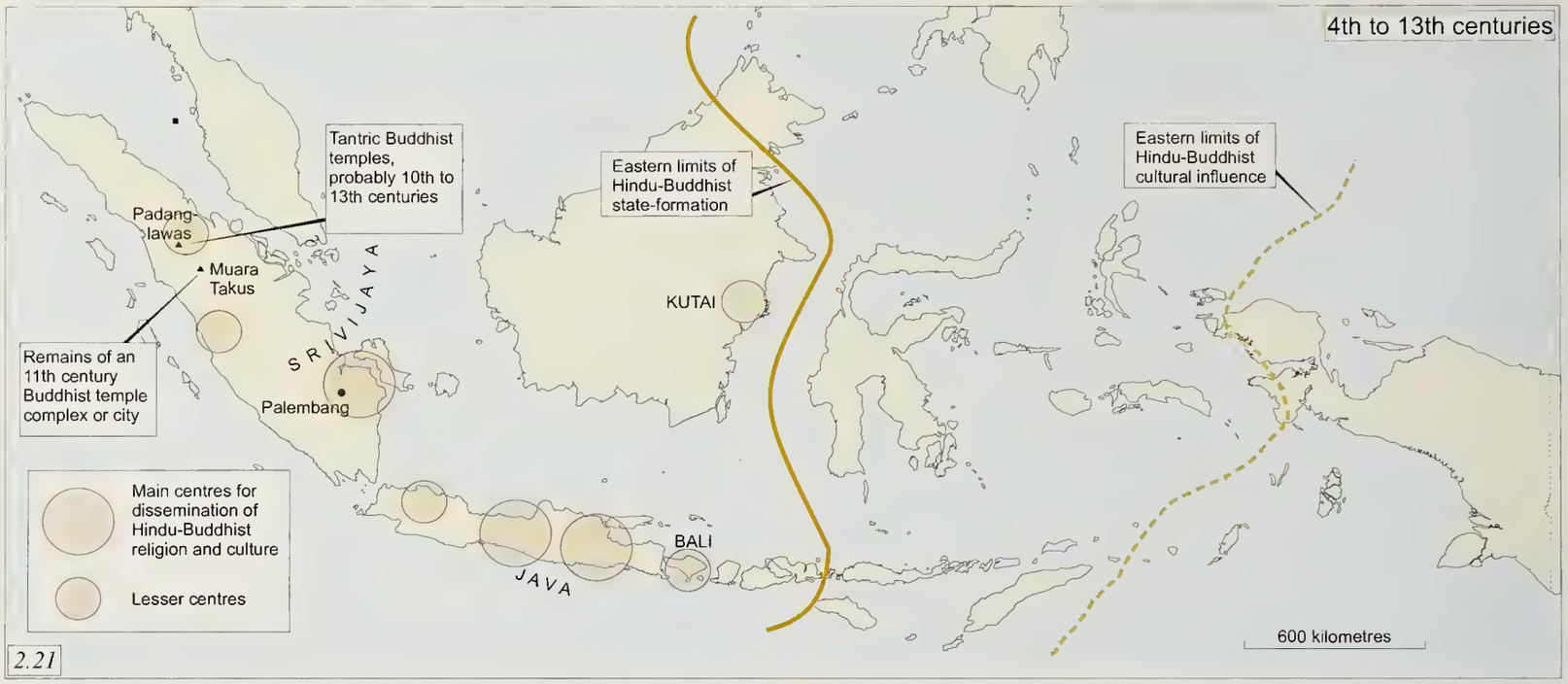
2.18 (above) Male literacy (indigenous Indonesians), 1930.
2.19 (below) Male literacy (entire population), 1961.



Statistics on literacy have been kept by authorities in Indonesia since 1920, but care needs to be taken with them. The point at which a person was considered adult for enumeration purposes varied: in the colonial era, males over 15 years and females over 14 over were adult, whereas in independent Indonesia 10 was taken as the cut-off point. In the colonial era, the different racial categories were measured separately; indigenous Indonesians, whose results are shown above, had consistently much lower levels of literacy than Europeans and 'Foreign Orientals'. All residents, on the other hand, were enumerated in the censuses after independence. Finally, it is not clear how diligently census takers counted people who were literate in indigenous scripts or in Arabic.

2.20 Adult literacy, 1990.





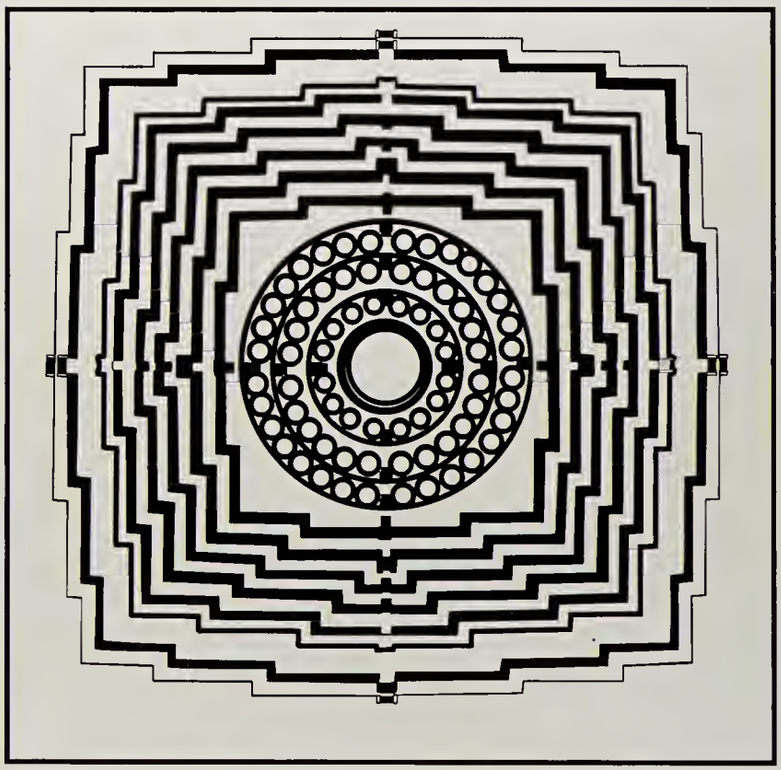
2.21 Hinduism and Buddhism in the archipelago, 4th–13th centuries.

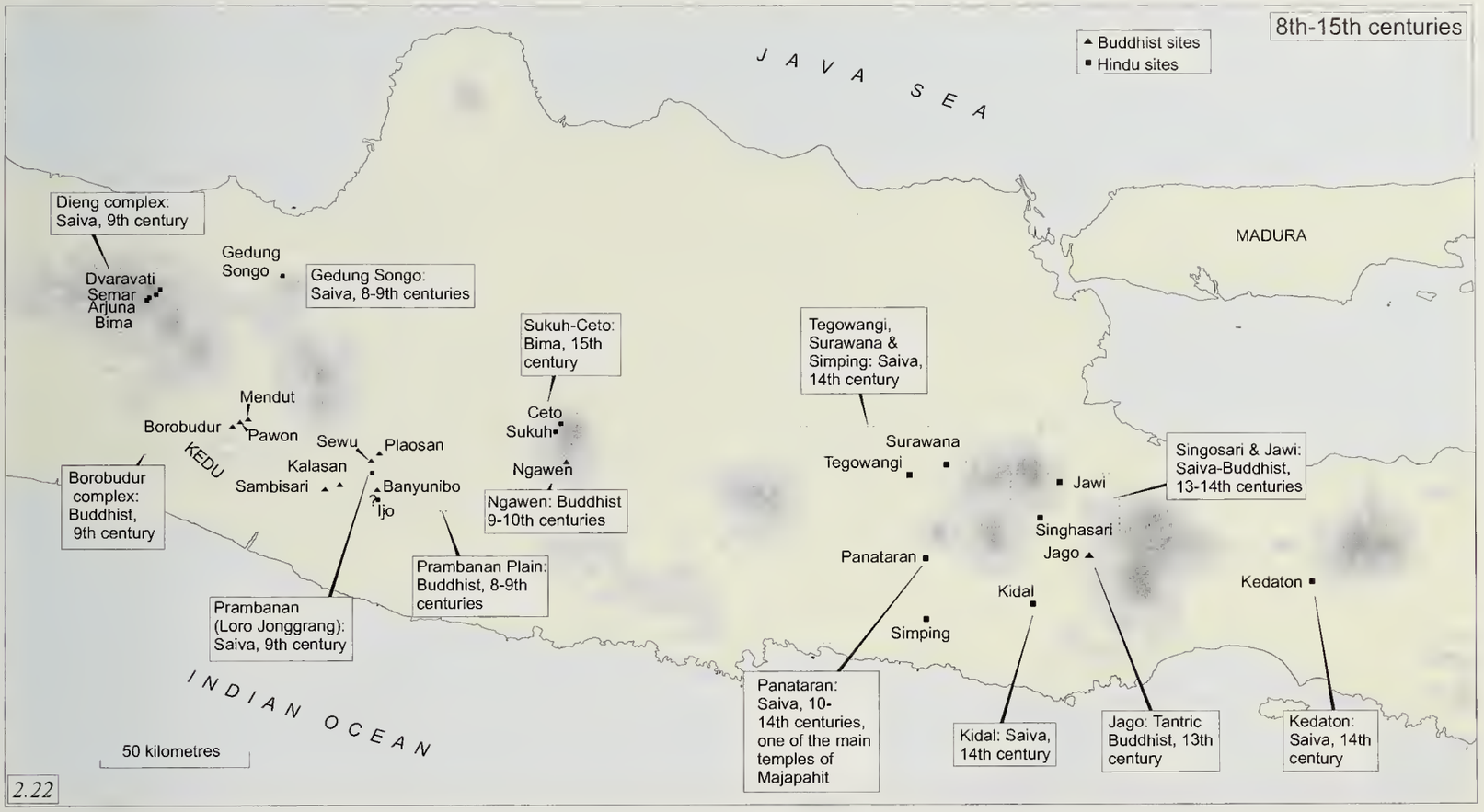
World Religions

Indian religious conceptions began to spread into the Indonesian archipelago during and after about the 2nd century A.D. Hinduism and Buddhism gradually became major religions in the region, not by a dramatic process of converting people from traditional indigenous beliefs but by a process of selective adoption, in which Southeast Asians moulded elements of Indian belief to deepen and enrich existing beliefs. Thus, traditional reverence for local spirits – the gods of rocks, trees, pools and so on – was extended by seeing those gods as manifestations of Hindu gods. Although many elements of the Hindu class structure – dividing the community into Brahmans, Ksatria, Vaisyas and Sudras – were taken over in the archipelago, there is almost no trace of the much more finely differentiated caste system, in which society is broken into a vast number of small, occupation-specific castes.

The first significant Indian religious elements were brought to the Indonesian archipelago by the Brahman priests whom local rulers called to their courts as advisers on cosmology of royal power. The earliest known inscription in the region, from Kutai in eastern Borneo, dated to the late 4th century, records a gift of cattle, gold and other treasures by King Mulavarman to Brahmans. Within a few centuries, however, Brahmanism had been joined and somewhat overtaken by Saivism (worship of the Hindu god Siva) and by Mahayana Buddhism. By the 7th century, the archipelago presented a rich tapestry of religions and beliefs, in which older Austronesian elements were interwoven with newer Indian forms. Formerly Indian beliefs moved beyond the courts and, at least to some extent, out into the community, where they were shaped by the existing belief systems of the people. Specific temples, shrines and religious sects paid respect not only to the three main gods

2.ii Borobudur, the largest of Indonesia's Buddhist monuments. *Borobudur was constructed between about 780 and 833 A.D. on the Kedu plain in central Java. The squared-off lower galleries are decorated with reliefs showing the lives of the Buddha, while the unadorned circular upper terraces are said to represent the achievement of Nirvana. The monument was reconstructed under UNESCO auspices in 1973–1983.*

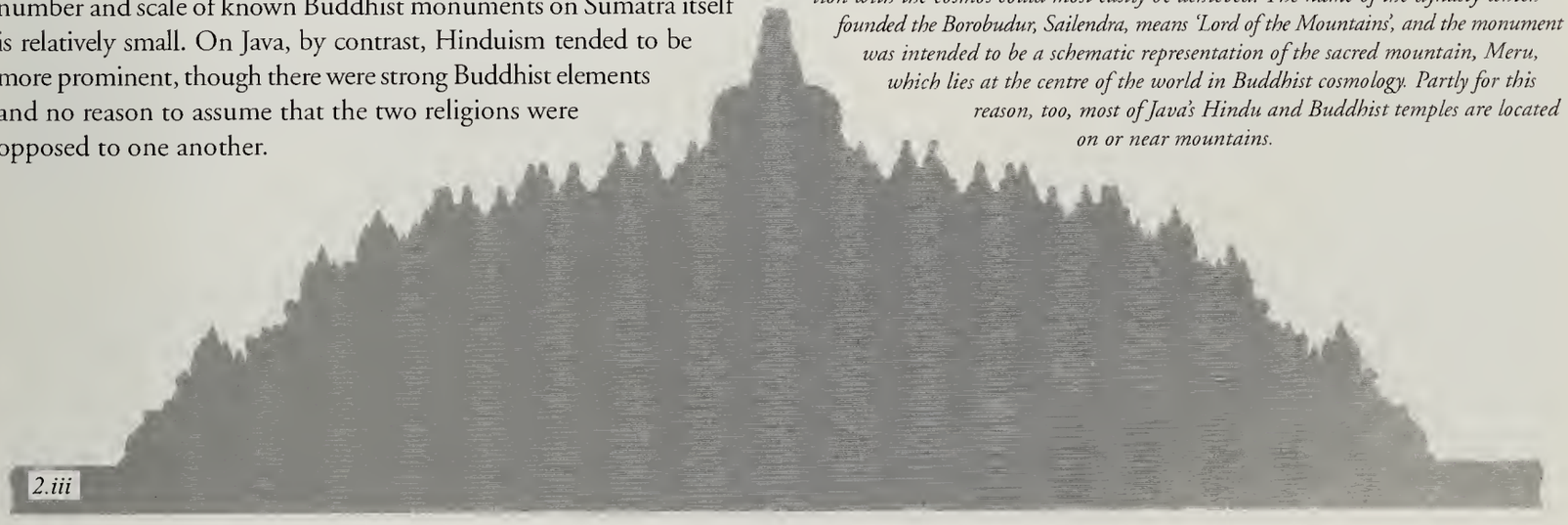




2.22 Hindu and Buddhist temple complexes in Central and East Java.

of the Hindu pantheon, Brahma, Visnu and Siva, and to the Buddha, but also to other supernatural figures, such as the eagle Garuda, and the elephant god Ganesa. Visnu's consort, Laksmi or Sri, became transformed in time into the rice goddess, Dewi Sri, who was still honoured by nominally Muslim Javanese peasants in the 20th century.

For reasons still not entirely clear, the main religious interest on Sumatra in this era was Buddhism. Srivijaya became a major centre of Mahayana Buddhist studies, and the rulers of Srivijaya even sponsored Buddhist temples and monasteries in India and China, although the number and scale of known Buddhist monuments on Sumatra itself is relatively small. On Java, by contrast, Hinduism tended to be more prominent, though there were strong Buddhist elements and no reason to assume that the two religions were opposed to one another.



2.iii Profile of the Borobudur. *Mountains played a major role in Southeast Asian Buddhist cosmology. They were the abode of gods and a place in which communication with the cosmos could most easily be achieved. The name of the dynasty which founded the Borobudur, Sailendra, means 'Lord of the Mountains', and the monument was intended to be a schematic representation of the sacred mountain, Meru, which lies at the centre of the world in Buddhist cosmology. Partly for this reason, too, most of Java's Hindu and Buddhist temples are located on or near mountains.*

In about the 13th century, Islam began to win converts in the archipelago. Evidence for the process of conversion is fragmentary, but there is a general scholarly consensus that several factors were important in the spread of Islam. One element was the strength of Sufism, a form of Islam which had blended mystical elements into the formerly austere religion of the Arabian peninsula. It seems likely that people of the archipelago often saw Sufis as holders of religious knowledge which might enrich their spiritual lives, rather than as missionaries for an alien religion. To some extent, therefore, the adoption of Islamic beliefs preceded any consciousness of being Muslim, in much the same way that Hinduism and Buddhism had spread by grafting their complex cosmologies on to compatible local beliefs.

The differences between Islam and the established religions, however, also contributed to the process of conversion. Islam appears to have been especially attractive to traders, who appreciated the egalitarianism of Muslim commercial law and the brotherhood of Muslim traders and who, in some cases at least, found that conversion to an outside religion was a convenient way to avoid the onerous community obligations to share wealth, whether with family members or with rulers, which was a feature of many societies in the archipelago.

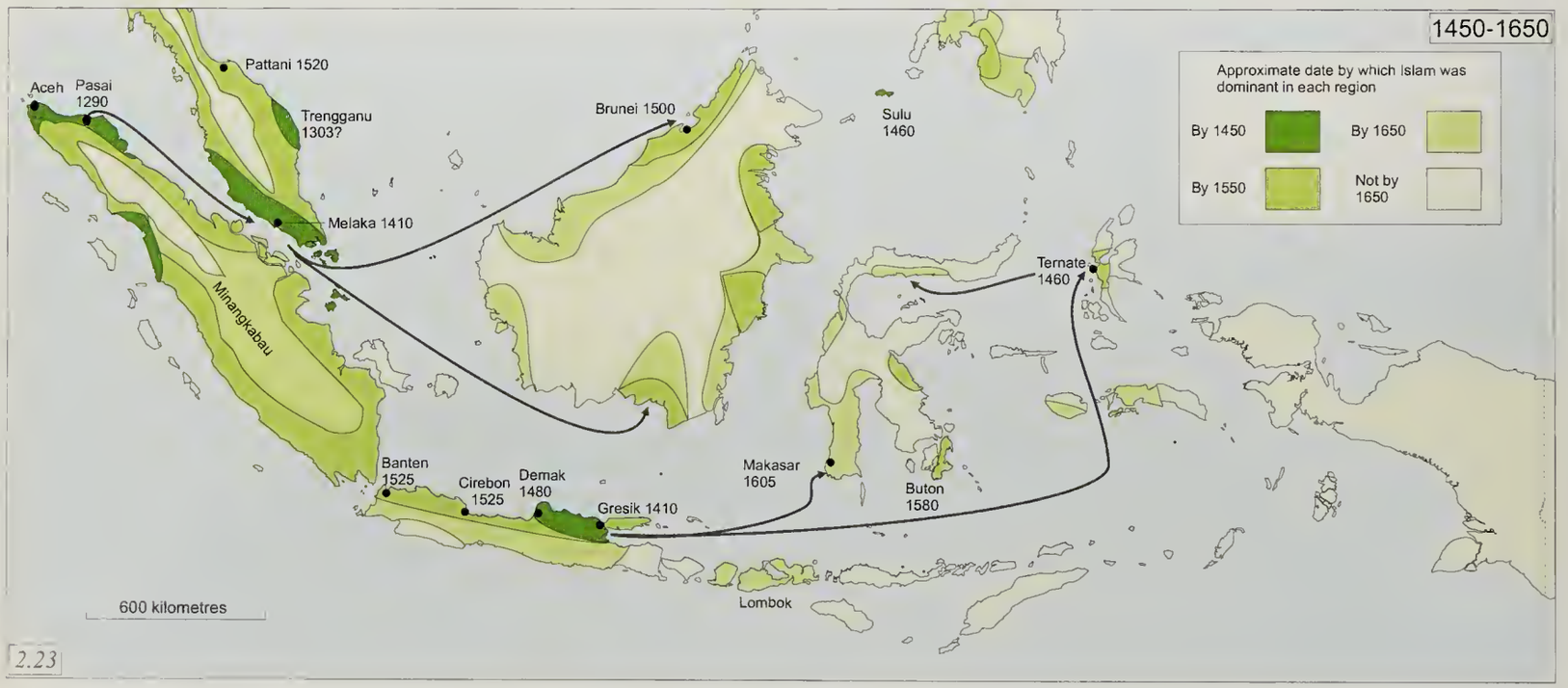
There is little doubt, too, that the missionary vigour of Islam played a significant role in conversion in some places. Believers determined to magnify the name of Allah and to save others from perdition made strong efforts to convert unbelievers.

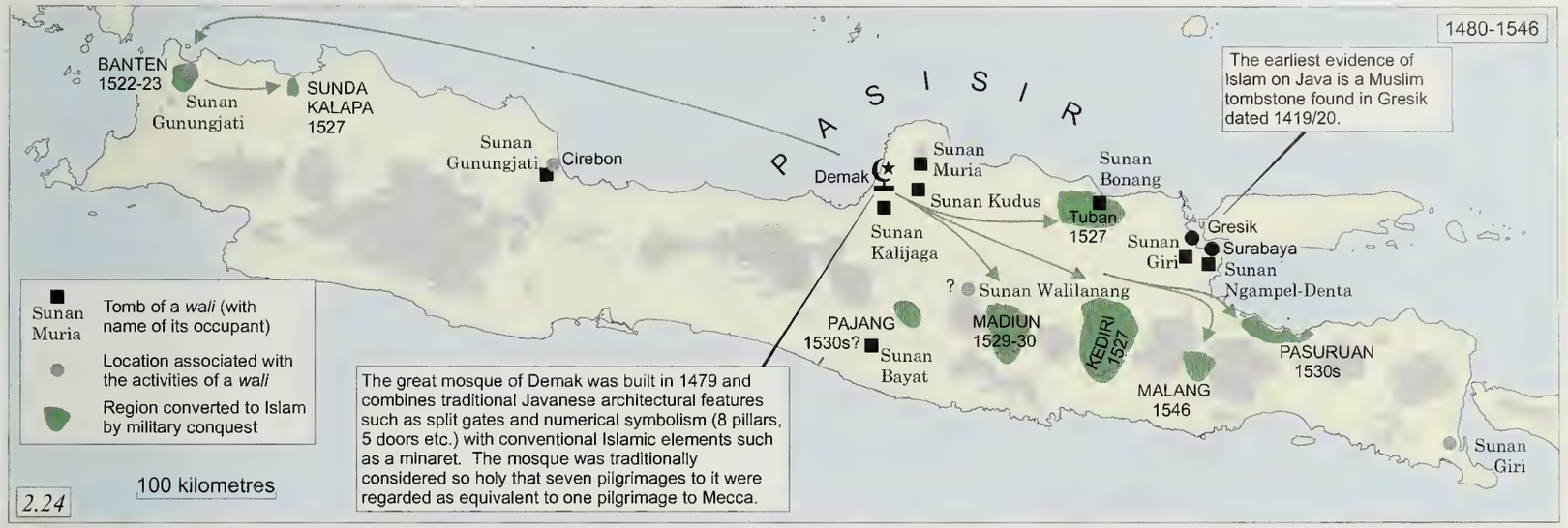
Finally, political factors played a role, especially after the arrival of Christian Europeans in the archipelago in the form of the Portuguese in the early 16th century. No external Islamic power ever threatened the independent states of the Indonesian region as the Portuguese did, and from that time on Islam became both a potent symbol of resistance to Western domination and a basis for broader regional alliances, though such alliances seldom came to much in practice.

The complexity of the conversion process means that it can be mapped in only the most general terms. Although Islamic philosophy makes a sharp distinction between the Islamic and non-Islamic worlds, Islam did not move across the face of the archipelago behind neat boundaries. Rather, for the most part there was a process by which Islam gradually obtained dominance, both numerically and intellectually, over the older beliefs. Only occasionally can we recognize decisive instances of voluntary conversion or cases of religious war between believers and non-believers leading to an Islamic victory.

Even today, with about 88% of the Indonesian population formally considered to be followers of Islam, the religious beliefs of many Indonesian Muslims include elements which are far from strictly Islamic. The followers of Kejawen, sometimes called Javanism, consider themselves Muslim, but their religious practice contains many elements drawn from Hinduism, Buddhism and animism. Similarly, the followers of Waktu Telu on the island of Lombok, include many elements from earlier traditions in their observance. Even amongst ethnic groups recognized locally as especially orthodox, such as the Minangkabau and the Acehnese, many local elements survive in religious practice, sanctioned by the Islamic term *adat*, or custom.

2.23 Approximate dates of conversion to Islam and lines of Muslim religious influence in the archipelago.





2.24 The Islamization of Java, 1480–1546.

Java's conversion to Islam was a complicated process drawn out over several centuries. Javanese tradition, and some historical evidence, puts great weight on the role of the so-called 'wali songo', nine (perhaps fewer, perhaps more) saints who received knowledge of Islam by supernatural means and who set about spreading the new religion. Several of them seem to have been foreigners, in some cases perhaps Chinese or at least subjects of the Chinese emperors, and many of their tombs are still sites of pilgrimage and reverence for Javanese Muslims.

On the other hand, the spread of Islam was greatly hastened by the military activities of the trading city of Demak. In a series of campaigns between 1527 and 1546, Demak's king, Trenggana, subjugated the most important river valleys of eastern Java, made inroads into the interior of central Java, and established new Muslim outposts in western Java.

The complicated pattern of Islam's spread, and its interaction with earlier religious belief, led to the rise of many different variants of Islam. Although orthodox Islam was established very early, it had to compete with influential heretical doctrines, especially the identification of God with humankind. Sunan Sitijenar is revered as one of the nine saints, but his followers were considered heterodox and were often in conflict with Sunan Kudus and his followers.

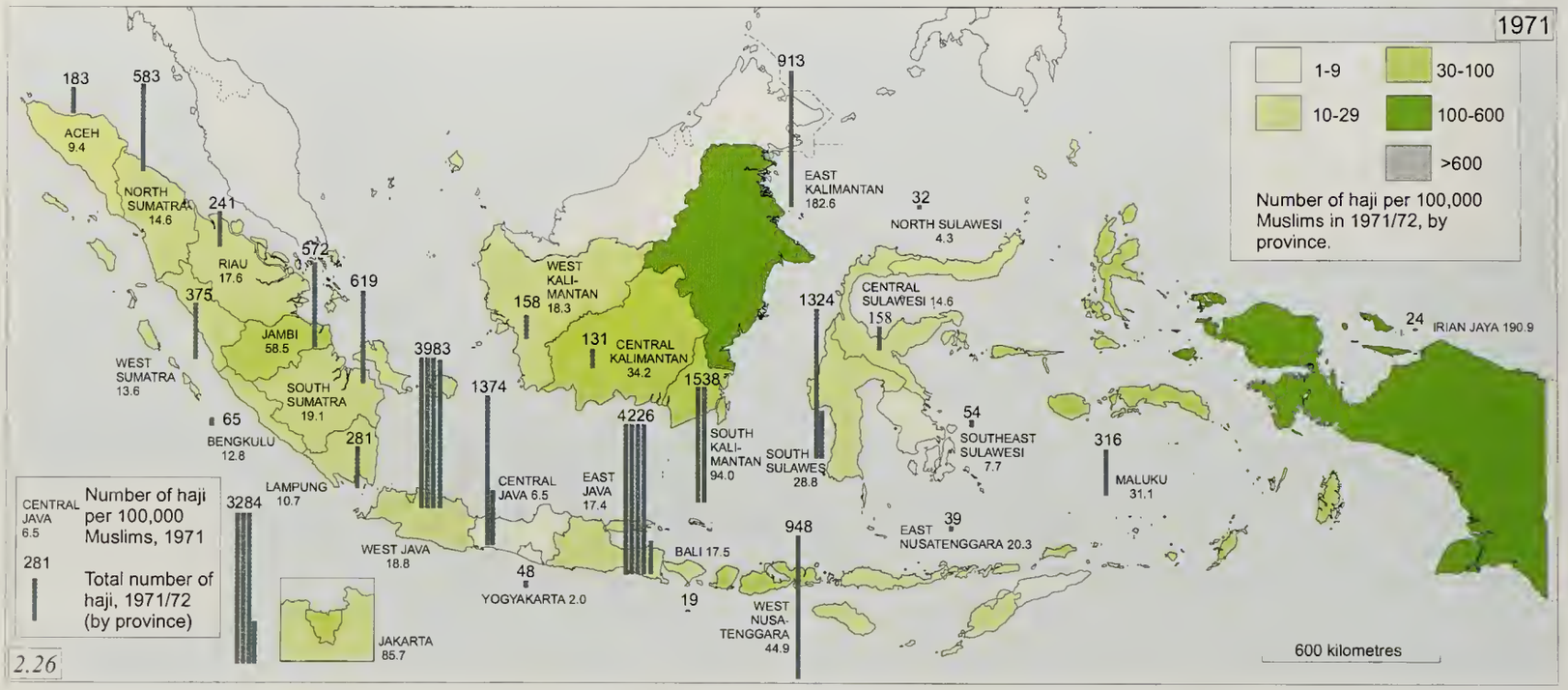
2.iv *Wayang kulit* (shadow puppet) figure: the hero Arjuna. *The nine* wali *are reputed to have played a major role in the development of one of Java's most distinctive cultural forms,* wayang kulit *or shadow puppetry. In classical* wayang kulit, *a* dalang *or puppeteer operates a vast array of intricately carved flat leather puppets from behind an illuminated screen. Performances, which last a whole night, cover a single episode (*lakon*) modified from the Indian epic* Mahabharata. *Because Islam bans the representation of living beings, the* wali *are said to have distorted the shape of the characters so that they could no longer be said to represent anything living. There is no firm evidence of the role of the* wali, *but the development of* wayang kulit *appears to have reached its peak in the prosperous cities of the Pasisir, Java's northern coastal region, in the 15th and 16th centuries. Most of the stories locate the events of the* Mahabharata *in Java and they identify the heroes of the* wayang *as ancestors of the Javanese elite. The hero Arjuna was especially favoured in this role.*

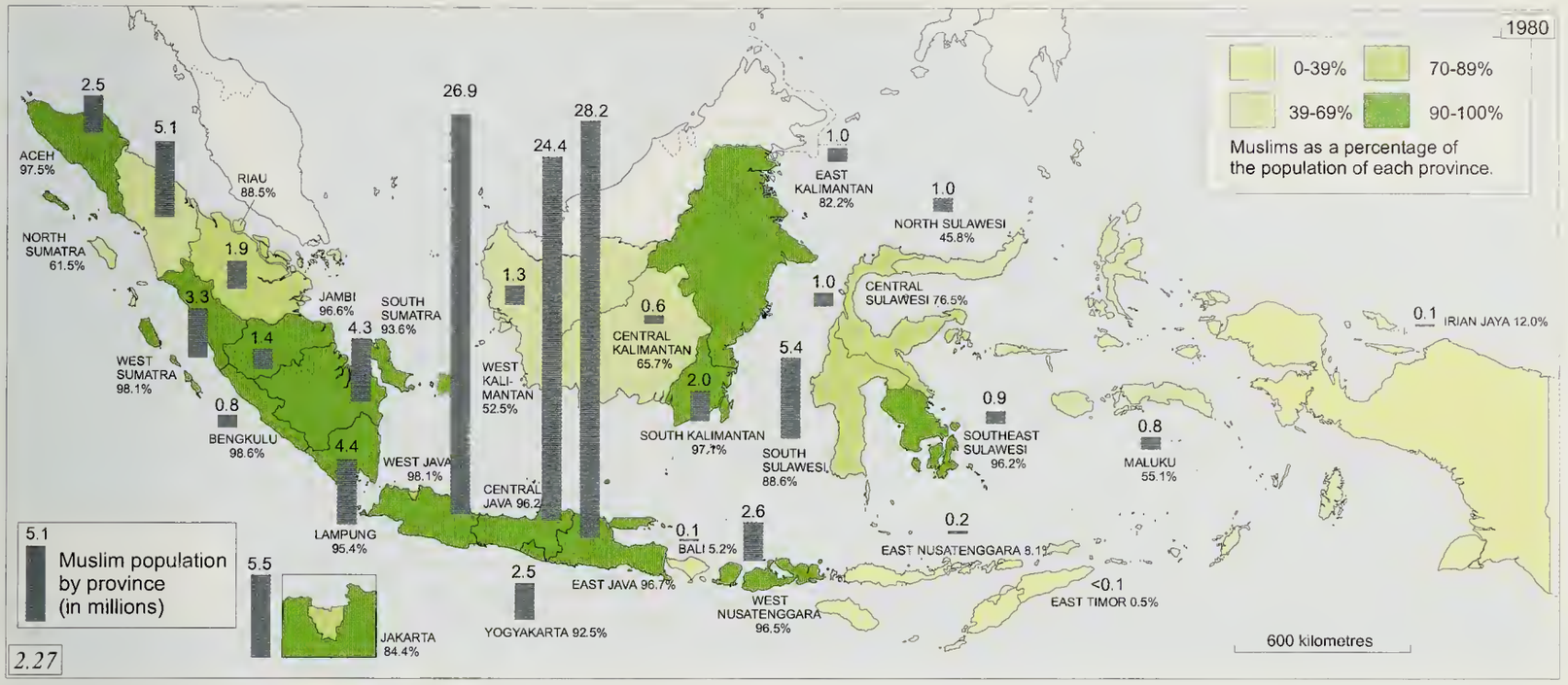
Only a few Islamic elements are found in wayang kulit, *but other* wayang *forms –* topeng *(masks) and* golek *(solid wooden puppets) – tell stories with a stronger Islamic message.*

2.25 Pilgrims to Mekka as a proportion of the indigenous population of each *gewest* (administrative region), 1927.

Measuring the strength of religious adherence in a community is always difficult. The obligation which Islam lays on believers to make the haj, or pilgrimage to Mekka, at least once in their lives gives a rough measure of how seriously Muslims take their faith; nonetheless, because the costs of making the pilgrimage are substantial, haj figures can also reflect the prosperity of a community. The maps show, as might be expected, a relatively low level of haj participation in the Kejawen areas of central Java and a high level in the prosperous regions of southern Sumatra (1927) and East Kalimantan (1971).

2.26 Pilgrims to Mekka as a proportion of the Muslim population of each province, 1971.





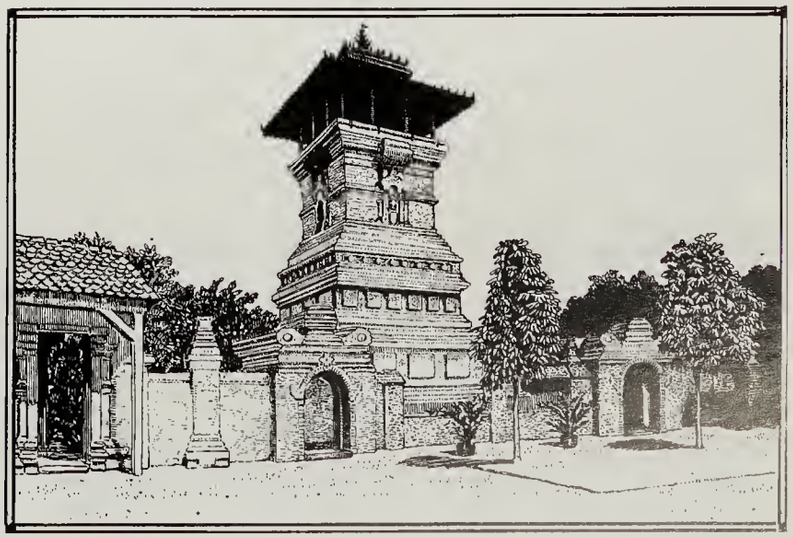
2.27 The distribution of Muslims in Indonesia: results of the 1980 census.

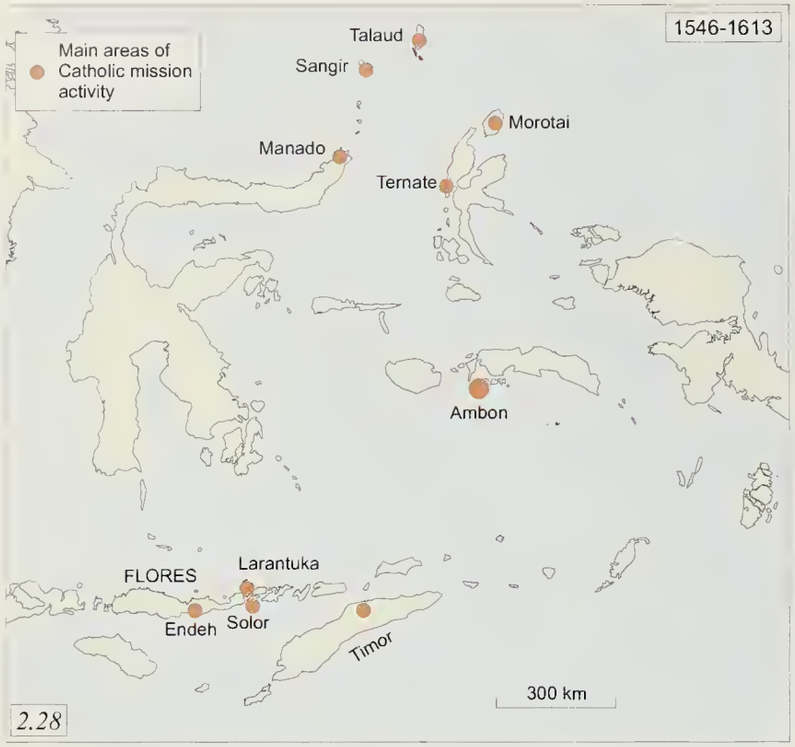
Islam in Indonesia today presents a diverse picture of many intellectual and theological streams. Indonesia's long-ruling second President, Suharto, was originally a follower of Kejawen and initially gave it much political support, but during the later years of his New Order he presided over a dramatic retreat in the influence of traditional Javanese beliefs. This retreat was both an indirect consequence of modernization and social change and a direct consequence of mission work by Islamic preachers amongst Kejawen communities. The traditionalist orthodox followers of Islam in Java and other regions appear to have retained much of their strength, thanks to their powerful network of rural Islamic teachers, but the main beneficiary of the retreat of Kejawen seems to be Islamic modernism.

Modernism, which arose in the Middle East in the late eighteenth century, emphasizes the authority of the Qur'an over the teachings of later saints and scholars, but it underpins a wide range of attitudes to the desirable nature of state and society. Some modernists would like to see a return to the values and social order of the days of the Prophet Muhammad, when the Qur'an was originally revealed, whereas others, called neo-Modernists, argue that the basic principles expressed in the Qur'an, such as piety, human dignity and social justice, should be given priority over a literalist reconstruction of the Muslim Arab society of the 7th century.

The rise of Islamic modernism in its various forms was reflected in the results of the 1999 election, and in a growing public self-confidence of Muslims in demanding adherence to basic Muslim principles such as the prohibition of gambling and restrictions on access to alcohol.

2.v The mosque in Kudus. *The mosque in the Central Java town of Kudus is one of the most striking symbols of the early fusion of Islam with other religious traditions on Java. The minaret, or tower, of the mosque, which was built around 1685, closely resembles a Hindu-Buddhist* candi *in form and the surrounding walls and gateways follow a style resembling that of the buildings of the Hindu-Javanese empire of Majapahit. A further relic of Hindu influence may be a prohibition, which persisted for many years, on the slaughtering of cattle within the boundaries of the town. The town's name is derived from al-Quds, the Muslim name for Jerusalem, and it was a major site for pilgrimage by Javanese Muslims.*





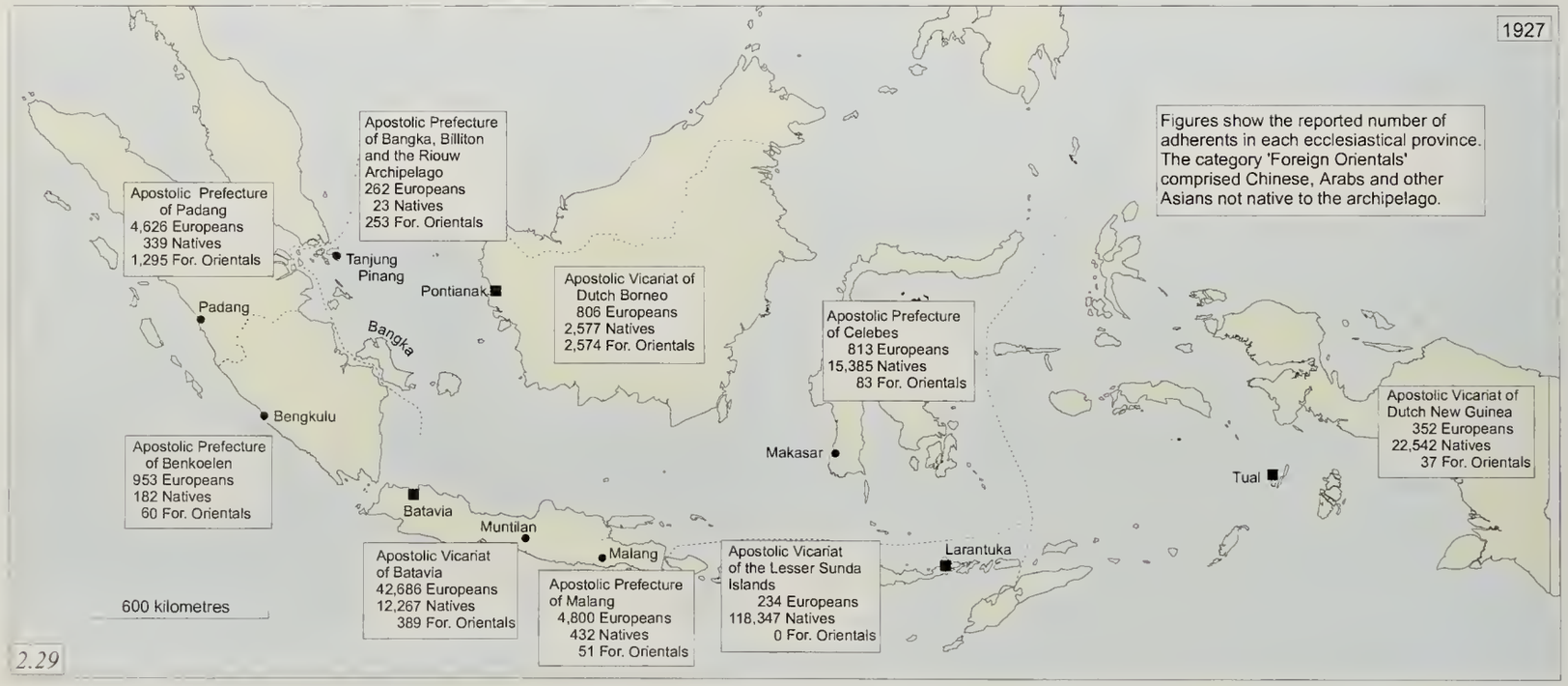
2.28 Catholicism in eastern Indonesia, 1546–1613.

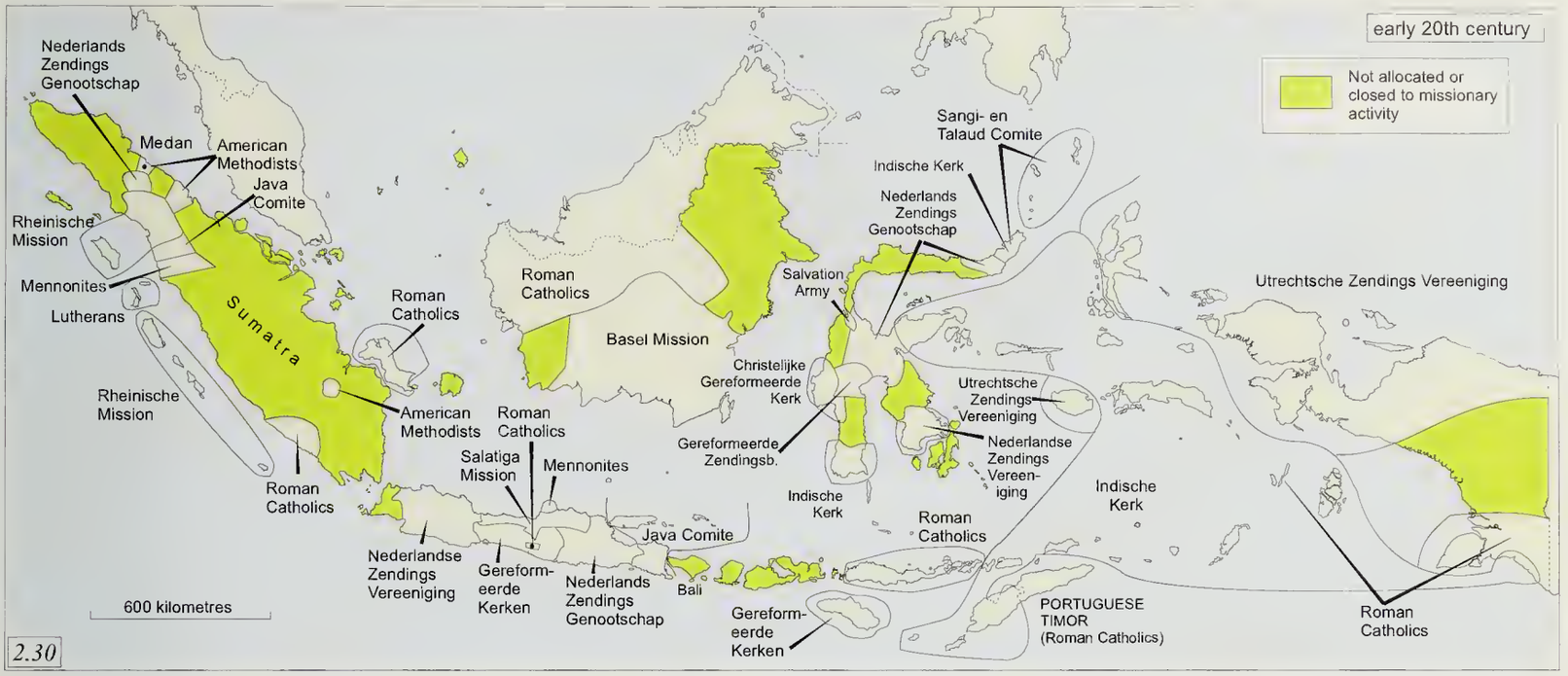
The age of dramatic expansion by Islam on Java was followed by a period of Christianization in the east of the archipelago. Portuguese colonialists came initially for trade and plunder, but Catholic missionaries soon arrived in the region, most notably St Francis Xavier, who worked in Ambon, Ternate and Morotai in 1546–1547. Dominican missionaries also made many converts in Solor. With the expulson of Portugal from Ternate in 1574, many Catholics in the northern islands were killed or converted to Islam. In Ambon, seized by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1605, Catholics were unilaterally absorbed into the Protestant church. Much the same happened in Manado and the islands of Sangir and Talaud. In 1613 Solor also fell to the Dutch, and Catholic mission activity dwindled in Flores and Timor.

In 1808 Catholics were permitted freedom of worship in the Netherlands Indies, though this measure was mainly intended for European Catholics. From 1835 the Catholic church was affiliated with the colonial state: clergy received a salary from the colonial government which in turn had the right to reject church appointments. In 1846, clashes over policy led the Dutch authorities to expel all but one of the Catholic priests in the colony. In 1848 there were Catholic churches in only four centres in the colony.

Active mission work did not begin until the second half of the 19th century and was concentrated in a few areas. Larantuka was a particularly important mission field under the Jesuits, because the freedom of the Catholic Church was guaranteed there under an 1859 treaty with Portugal which settled conflicting territorial claims in the region. Bengkulu, Bangka, West Borneo, and the islands south of New Guinea were also important. In other regions such as the interior North Sumatra, Catholic mission work was banned. In 1898, a mission programme also began in the Javanese town of Muntilan, though the first ethnic Javanese priest was not installed until 1926.

2.29 Ecclesiastical provinces of the Catholic Church in the Netherlands Indies, 1927.

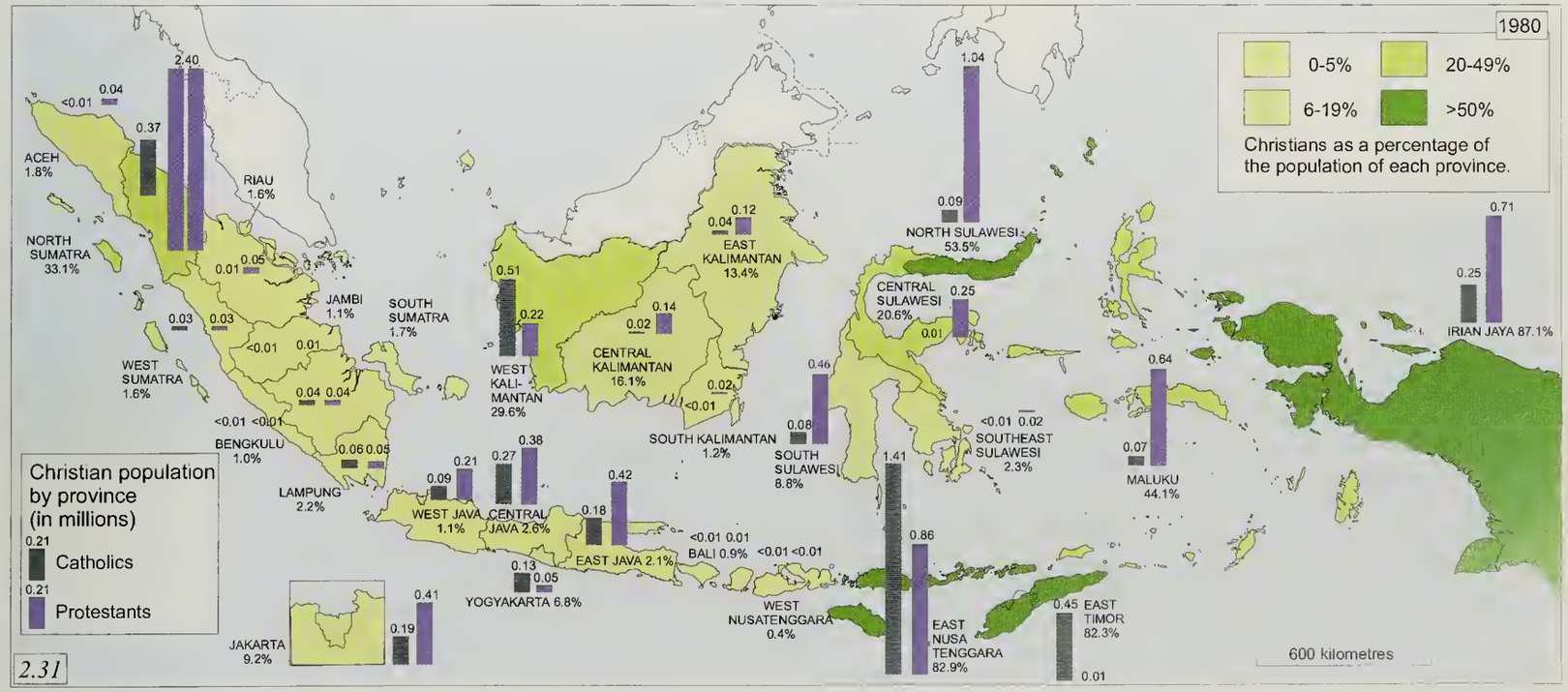


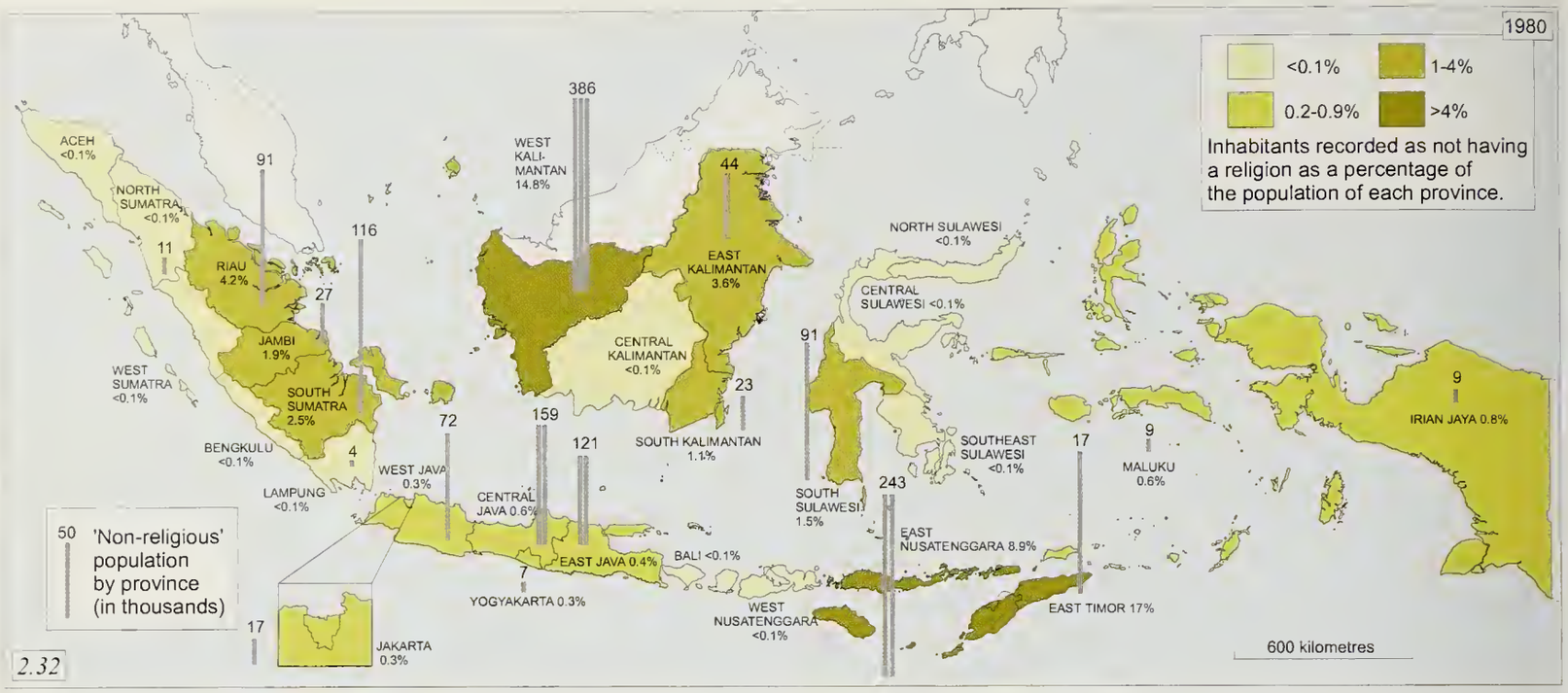


2.30 Christian mission fields in the Netherlands Indies, early 20th century.

Although the VOC insisted that Catholics in the archipelago turn to Protestantism, the Company was ambivalent about conversion from other religions. At times the Company gave European status to converts, but it hesitated to accept the political consequences of mass conversion, including a probable breakdown of the existing political order and moral restraints on colonial exploitation. Only in the 19th and early 20th centuries, after the end of Company rule, was greater freedom given to Christian missions. The Protestant Indische Kerk received state support as an established church, but in the mission field there was a division of labour, with different mission groups taking spiritual charge of different regions. Strongly Muslim areas, including much of Sumatra, together with the island of Bali, where the Dutch wanted to preserve traditional Hindu Balinese culture, were excluded from this arrangement.

2.31 The distribution of Christians in Indonesia: results of the 1980 census.



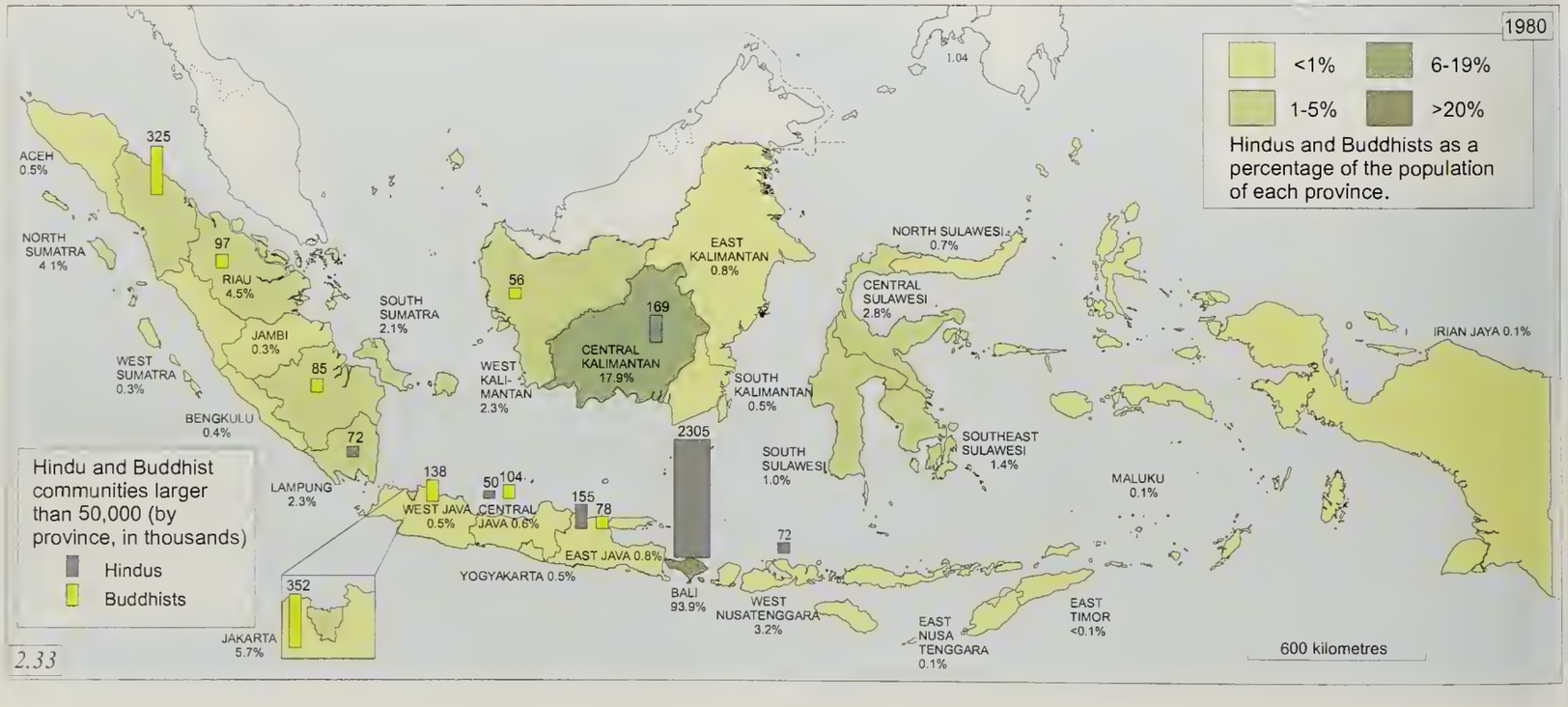


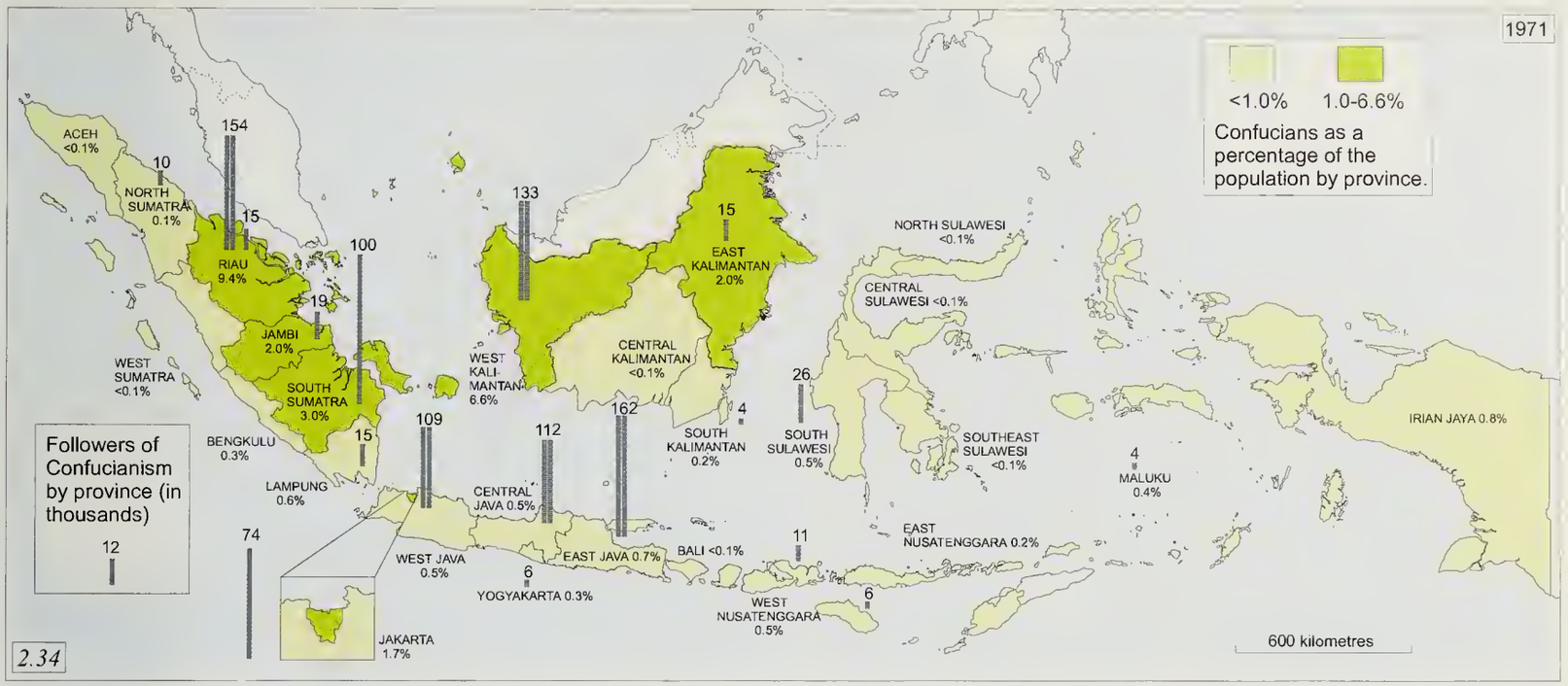
2.32 Inhabitants recorded as not having a religion as a percentage of the population of each province, 1980.

The Indonesian constitution recognizes 'Belief in God' as one of the basic principles of the state, and the state expects all its citizens to adhere to one of five recognized religions: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism, though the latter two were recognized only in 1965. Especially under the New Order of President Suharto, not to follow a religion was officially regarded as either primitive or subversive and the number of people recorded as 'not yet' having a religion declined rapidly.

Hinduism is the main indigenous religion on Bali. In 1969, however, the traditional religion of the Toraja in central and south Sulawesi was recognized (on fairly flimsy grounds) as a branch of Hinduism. In 1980, similar recognition was given to the traditional Dayak religion of Borneo, called Kaharingan.

2.33 Hindu and Buddhist communities, 1980.



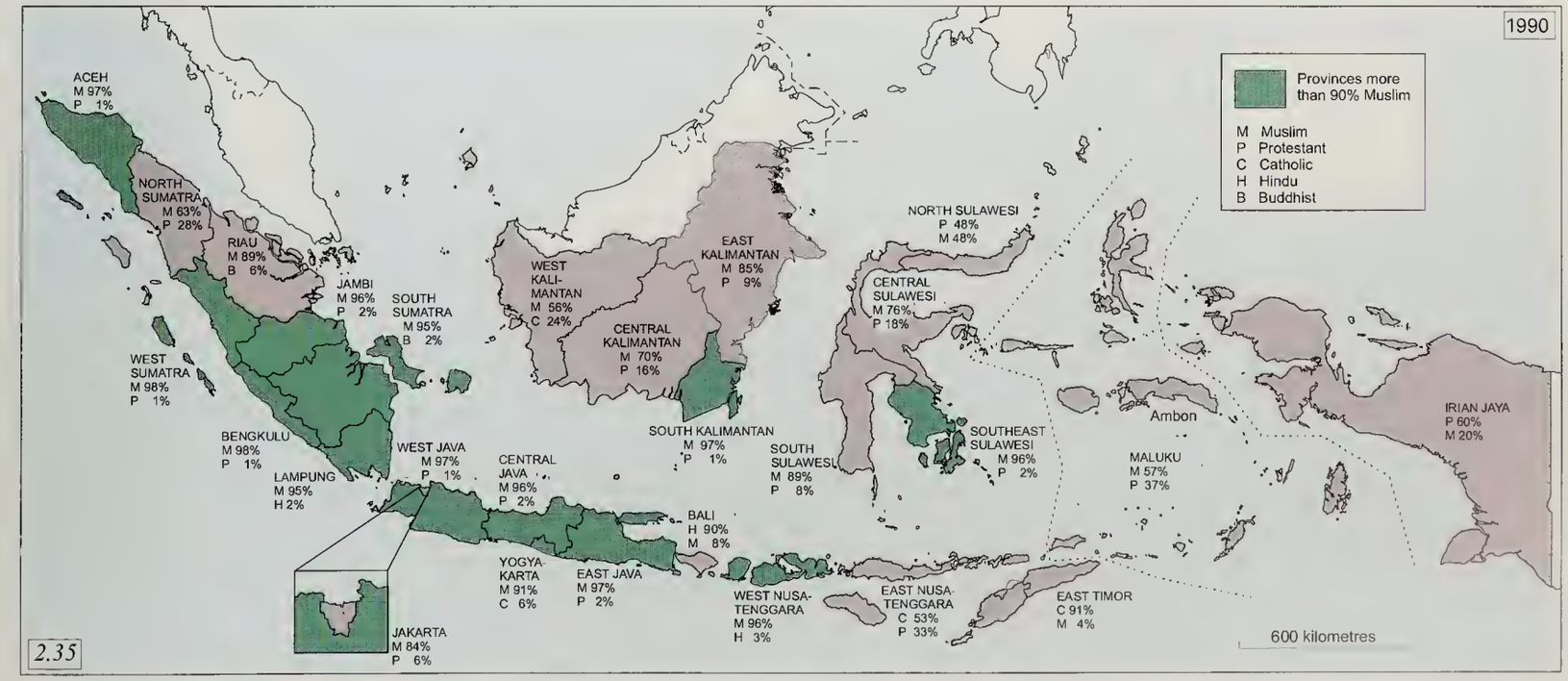


2.34 Confucians as a proportion of the population, 1971.

Confucianism, the belief of some of Indonesia's ethnic Chinese population, was formally recognized as a religion in 1965, but because of its close association with Chinese culture and because it did not easily conform with the New Order's prescription that religions should be based on belief in (a single) God, it was increasingly excluded from practical recognition, and many followers of Confucianism came to call themselves Buddhist. Both Hinduism and Buddhism also came under official pressure to modify their cosmology to emphasize a Supreme Being who could be identified as a single God.

Since the early 1990s, there have been signs of growing antagonism between sections of the Muslim majority and religious minorities, especially Christians. In 1999 and 2000, serious Muslim–Christian clashes occurred in Ambon and other regions of Maluku.

2.35 Indonesian provinces according to largest and second-largest religious groups, 1990.


1990
Provinces more than 90% Muslim
M Muslim
P Protestant
C Catholic
H Hindu
B Buddhist
ACEH M 97% P 1%
NORTH SUMATRA M 63% P 28%
RIAU M 89% B 6%
JAMBI M 96% P 2%
SOUTH SUMATRA M 95% B 2%
WEST SUMATRA M 98% P 1%
BENGKULU M 98% P 1%
LAMPUNG M 95% H 2%
JAKARTA M 84% P 6%
WEST JAVA M 97% P 1%
CENTRAL JAVA M 96% P 2%
YOGYA-KARTA M 91% C 6%
EAST JAVA M 97% P 2%
BALI H 90% M 8%
WEST NUSA-TENGGARA M 96% H 3%
EAST NUSA-TENGGARA C 53% P 33%
EAST TIMOR C 91% M 4%
WEST KALI-MANTAN M 56% C 24%
CENTRAL KALIMANTAN M 70% P 16%
SOUTH KALIMANTAN M 97% P 1%
EAST KALIMANTAN M 85% P 9%
NORTH SULAWESI P 48% M 48%
CENTRAL SULAWESI M 76% P 18%
SOUTH SULAWESI M 89% P 8%
SOUTHEAST SULAWESI M 96% P 2%
MALUKU M 57% P 37%
Ambon
IRIAN JAYA P 60% M 20%
600 kilometres
2.35

Migration and Ethnicity

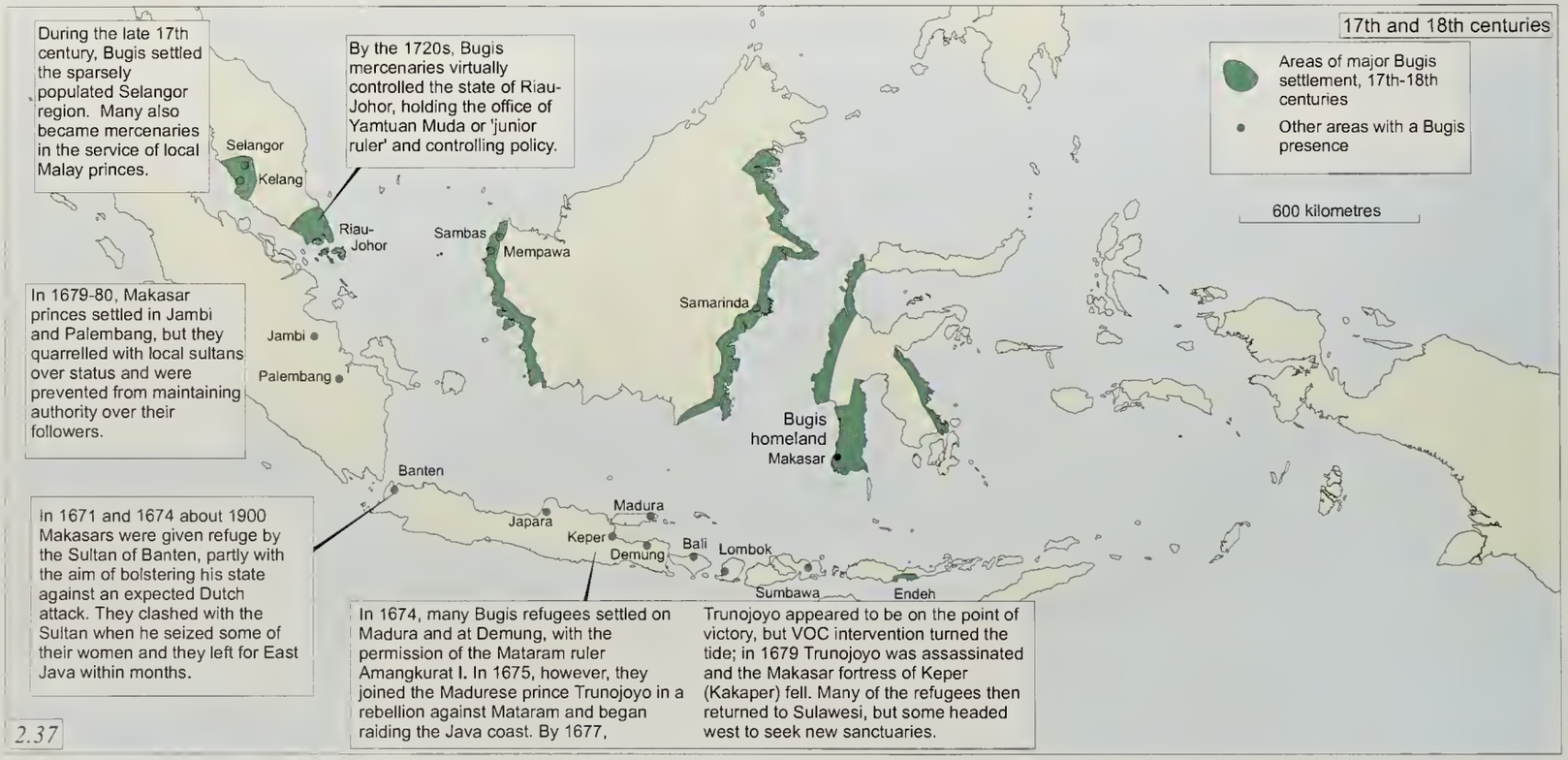
The intricate mosaic of ethnicity in Indonesia has been complicated by centuries of migration into, out of and within the archipelago.

There is little detailed information on migration within the Indonesian archipelago before the colonial era although, as seen earlier in this chapter, there is linguistic evidence of considerable mobility in the past. Many ancestral legends of ethnic groups also tell of people travelling to their present homelands from elsewhere. The best recorded case of extensive migration is the movement of Minangkabau from western Sumatra to the Malay peninsula in the 15th century, probably attracted by the commercial opportunities offered by the powerful Sultanate of Melaka (see Chapter 3). The main Minangkabau settlements, Rembau, Naning and Sungai Ujung, were subject to Melaka and became the core of the later Malaysian state of Negeri Sembilan. From the island of Madura, off the northeast coast of Java, large numbers of people moved to the Javanese mainland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but for the most part they did not attempt to form separate states.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, many parts of the archipelago were visited and settled by Bugis and Makasar colonists from southern Sulawesi. Autocratic rule by the Arung Palakka, king of Bone, as well as Dutch monopolistic restrictions on trade in the port of Makasar, led large numbers of Bugis and Makasars to leave their homeland and move to other parts of the archipelago. Many settled along the coasts of Borneo and Sulawesi but others pushed further afield to become a major political force in the Malay peninsula and even in Java.

2.36 Major migration flows within western Indonesia 15th to 17th centuries. *Relatively little is known about the early history of the westward retreat of Sundanese on Java, but it was probably a result of both immigration and acculturation. The Javanese-speaking communities on the northern coast of west Java, however, are almost certainly the result of direct settlement by Javanese, including garrisons sent by rulers of the Javanese state of Mataram as a defence against the Dutch in Batavia and against the sultanate of Banten.*

2.37 Areas of Bugis and Makasar settlement and activity, 17th and 18th centuries.

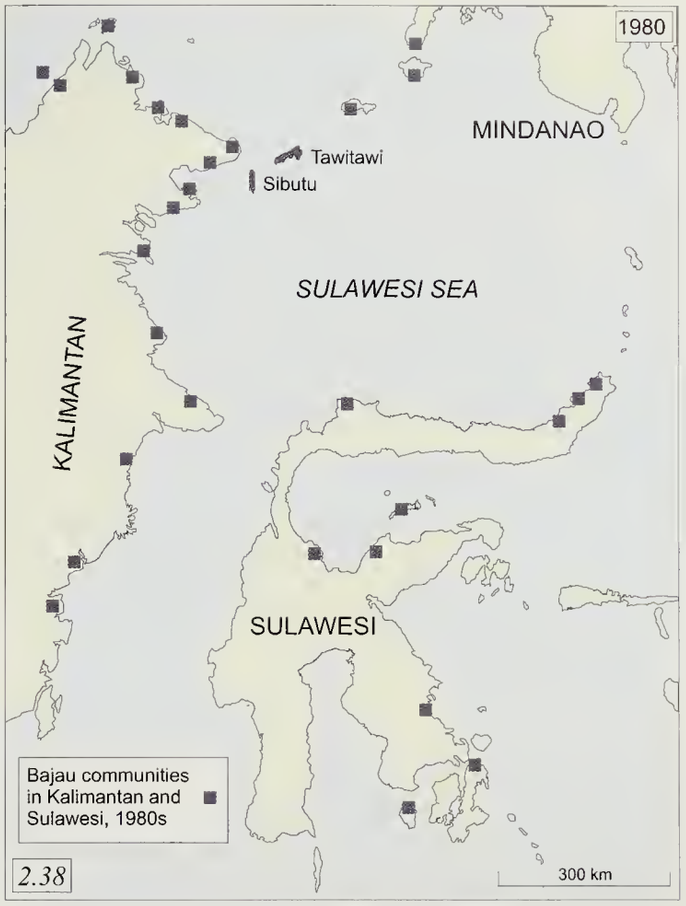

17th and 18th centuries
Areas of major Bugis settlement, 17th-18th centuries
Other areas with a Bugis presence
600 kilometres
During the late 17th century, Bugis settled the sparsely populated Selangor region. Many also became mercenaries in the service of local Malay princes.
By the 1720s, Bugis mercenaries virtually controlled the state of Riau-Johor, holding the office of Yamtuan Muda or 'junior ruler' and controlling policy.
Selangor
Kelang
Riau-Johor
Sambas
Mempawa
Samarinda
In 1679-80, Makasar princes settled in Jambi and Palembang, but they quarrelled with local sultans over status and were prevented from maintaining authority over their followers.
Jambi
Palembang
Bugis homeland
Makasar
Banten
Madura
Japara
Keper
Demung
Bali
Lombok
Sumbawa
Endeh
In 1671 and 1674 about 1900 Makasars were given refuge by the Sultan of Banten, partly with the aim of bolstering his state against an expected Dutch attack. They clashed with the Sultan when he seized some of their women and they left for East Java within months.
In 1674, many Bugis refugees settled on Madura and at Demung, with the permission of the Mataram ruler Amangkurat I. In 1675, however, they joined the Madurese prince Trunojoyo in a rebellion against Mataram and began raiding the Java coast. By 1677, Trunojoyo appeared to be on the point of victory, but VOC intervention turned the tide; in 1679 Trunojoyo was assassinated and the Makasar fortress of Keper (Kakaper) fell. Many of the refugees then returned to Sulawesi, but some headed west to seek new sanctuaries.
2.37

2.38 (right) Bajau Laut settlements in Kalimantan and Sulawesi. *Boat-dwelling Bajau Laut from the islands of Tawitawi and Sibutu in the Sulu archipelago settled in many places along the Borneo and Sulawesi coasts in the 18th and 19th centuries, forming distinct communities which have survived until the present day.*

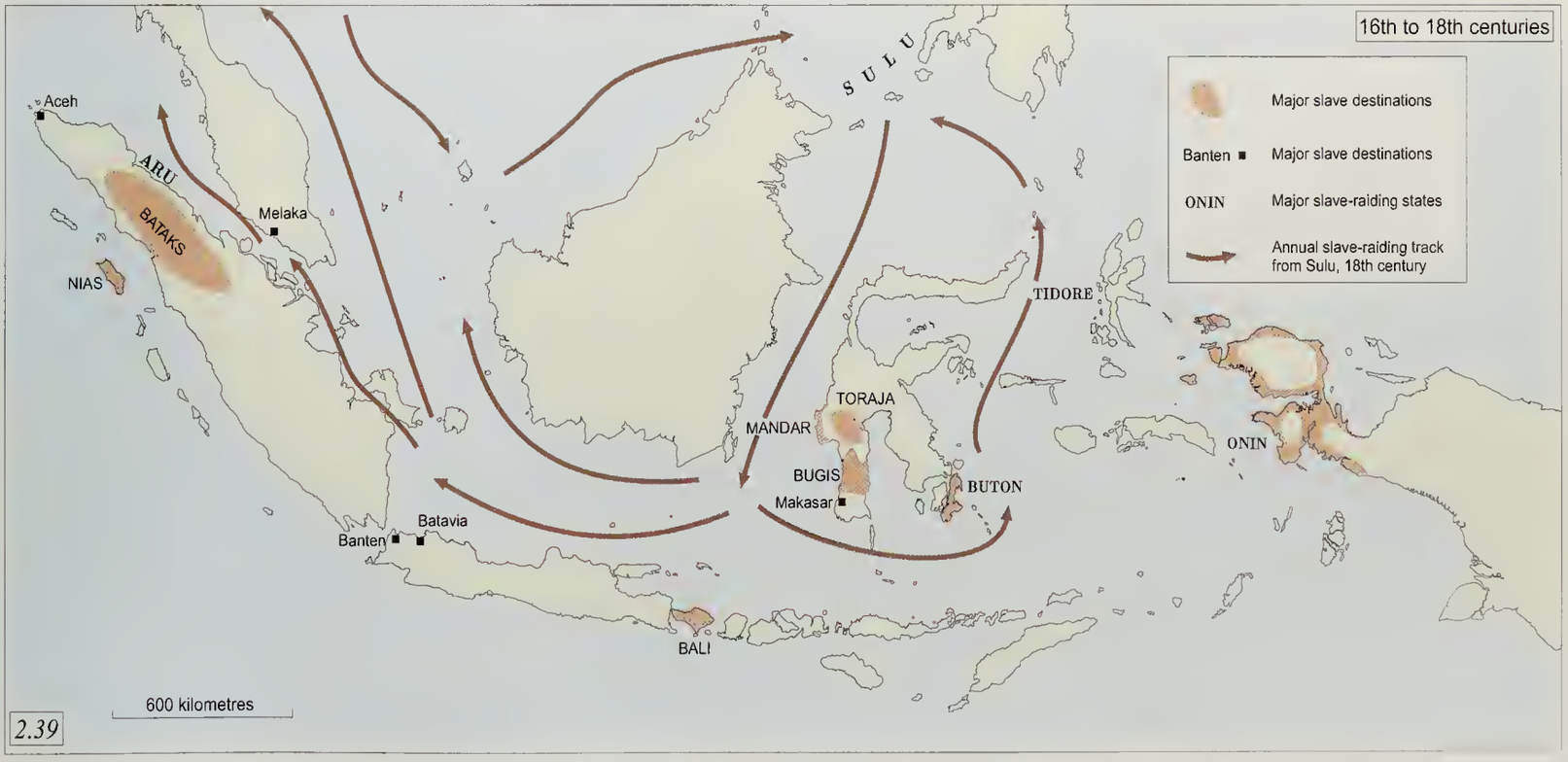
The transportation of slaves was one of the important sources of population movement in the Indonesian archipelago until the 18th century. Although many people became slaves as a result of debt – and were therefore enmeshed in a complex structure of rights and obligations in relation to both slave-owners and society as a whole – many others became slaves from capture in war or in deliberate slave-raids. The main victims of these raids were people in smaller communities, often in the mountains or on smaller islands, who lacked the protection of a powerful state, but some powerful rulers, especially in Bali, played a major role as slave brokers.

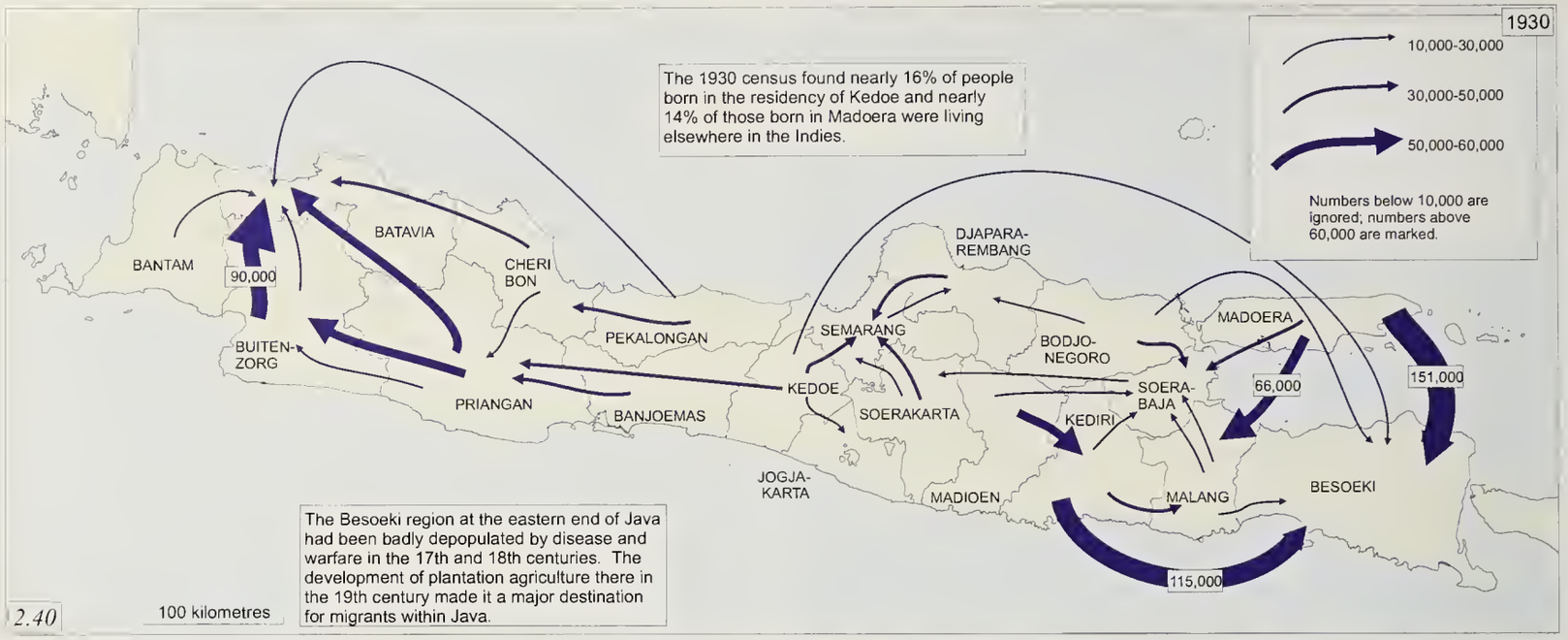
Most slaves were sold for work in the larger cities of the archipelago – Aceh, Melaka, Banten and Makasar – where they were put to work as household servants, construction workers and coolies. Even amongst such slaves, there appears to have been significant social mobility, with the most menial tasks being done by the most recent captives. There were even many cases of wealthy slaves who themselves owned slaves.

Slaves continued to be a major source of labour in the archipelago with the rise of Dutch colonial power in the region from the early 17th century, and the main centre of the Dutch East Indies Company, the port city of Batavia, relied on a constant inflow of slaves from many parts of the archipelago, especially Bali.



2.39 Slaving in the Indonesian archipelago, 16th–18th centuries.



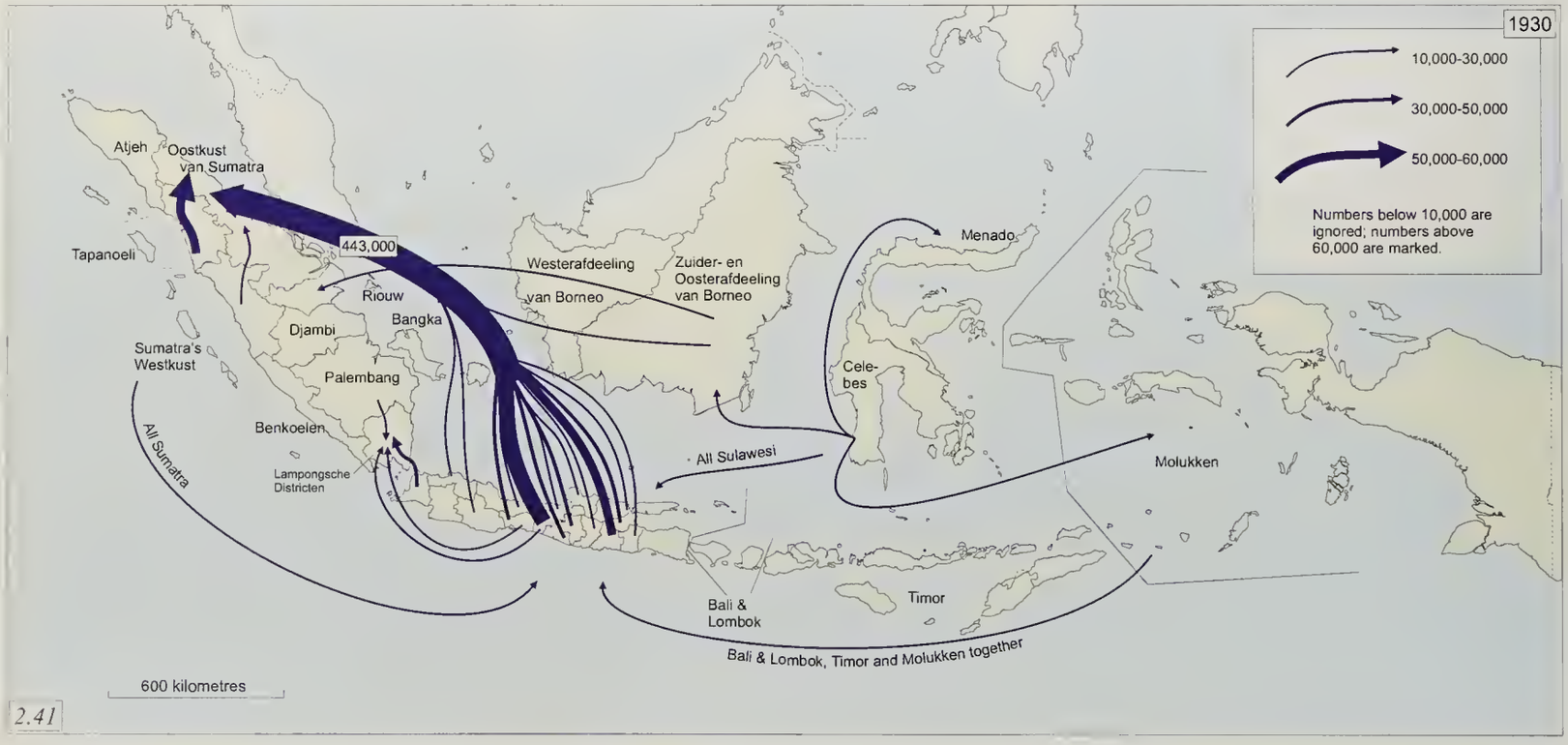


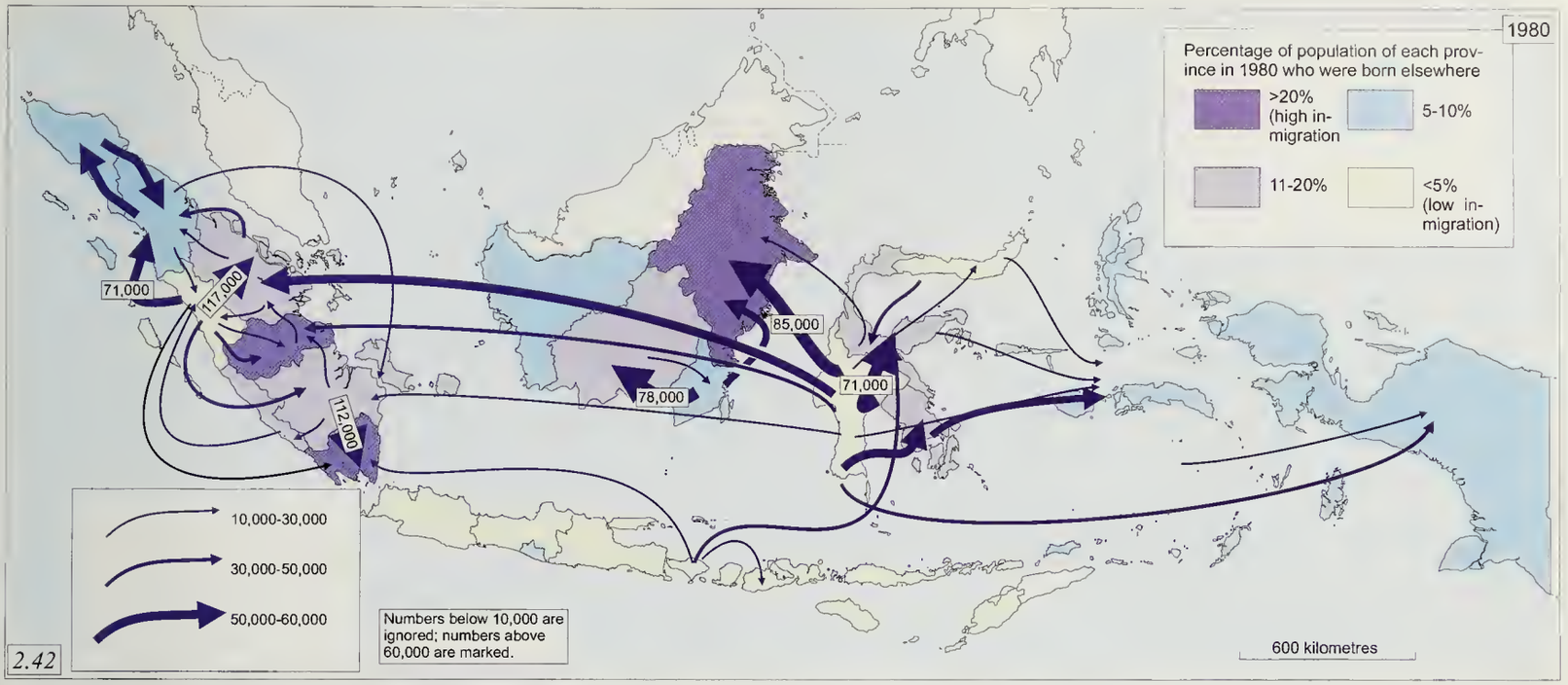
2.40 Inter-regional migration in Java in the period to 1930.

During the first centuries of Dutch colonial influence in Indonesia, the colonial authorities limited free population movement between their various possessions as far as possible. In the latter part of the 19th century, however, the demand for labour in the plantations of the east coast of Sumatra led the Dutch to permit a massive flow of indentured labourers from Java to northern Sumatra. On Java itself, the main population movements were from the crowded regions of central Java and from impoverished Madura to the relatively sparsely populated eastern peninsula and to the booming capital, Batavia.

There was some population movement also from the other islands to Java, especially to educational institutions, but total numbers were low.

2.41 Inter-regional migration in the Netherlands Indies in the period to 1930. *Both maps show lifetime migration, that is, the number of people found by the 1930 census to have been born in another administrative region.*

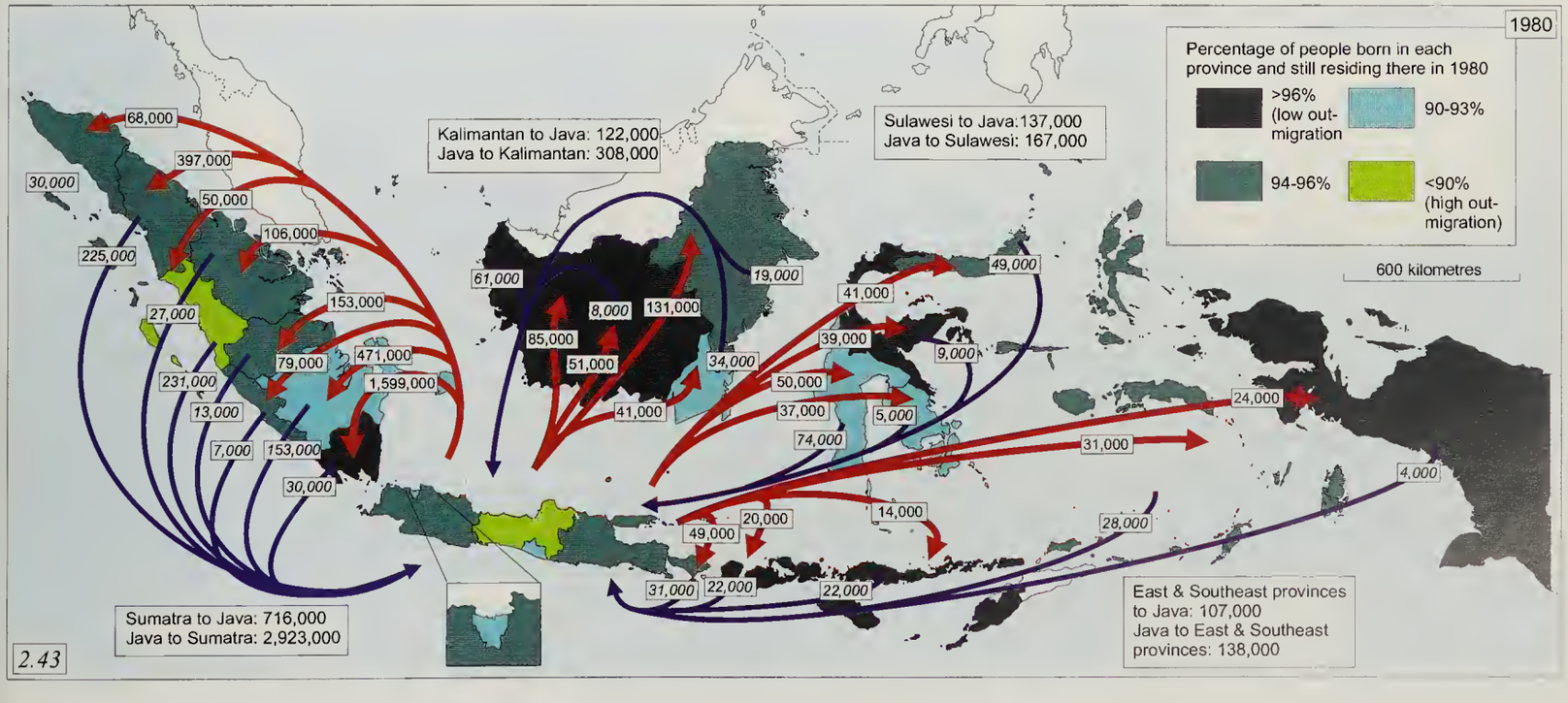


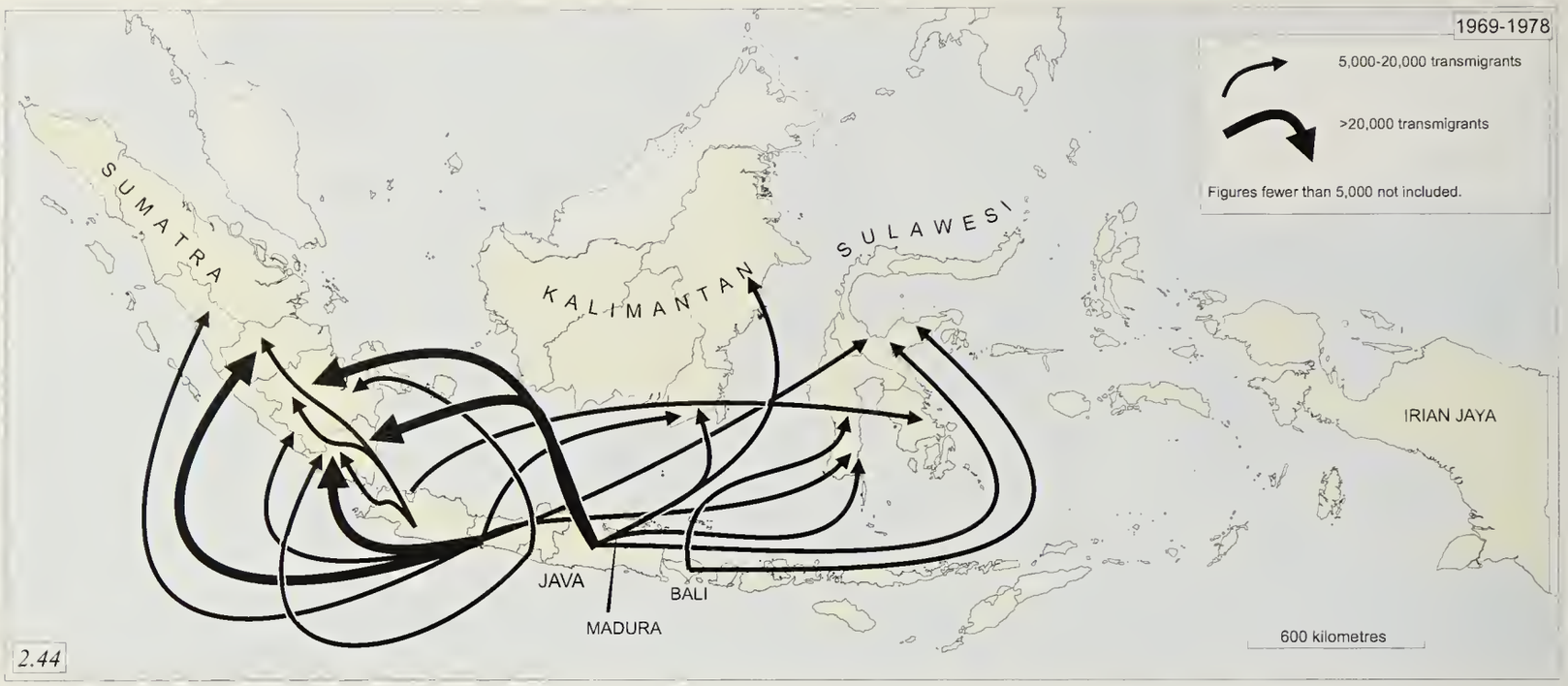


2.42 Migration within Indonesia (excluding Java), to 1980.

Following Indonesian independence, the pace of internal immigration in Indonesia increased. Although political turmoil inhibited mobility from time to time, on the whole Indonesia's people were free to seek employment anywhere in the archipelago. As in the colonial period, South Sulawesi was a significant source of inter-island migration, while there was considerable movement between provinces in Sumatra. By far the largest number of migrants, however, moved within Java and from Java to other islands. Only in the 1990s did the accelerating pace of industrial development in Java begin to draw labour. Immediately before the financial and economic crisis of 1997, migration into and out of Java had almost reached equilibrium. The crisis, however, was felt most severely on Java, and by the end of the century the island had ceased to be an attractive destination for migrants from other parts of Indonesia.

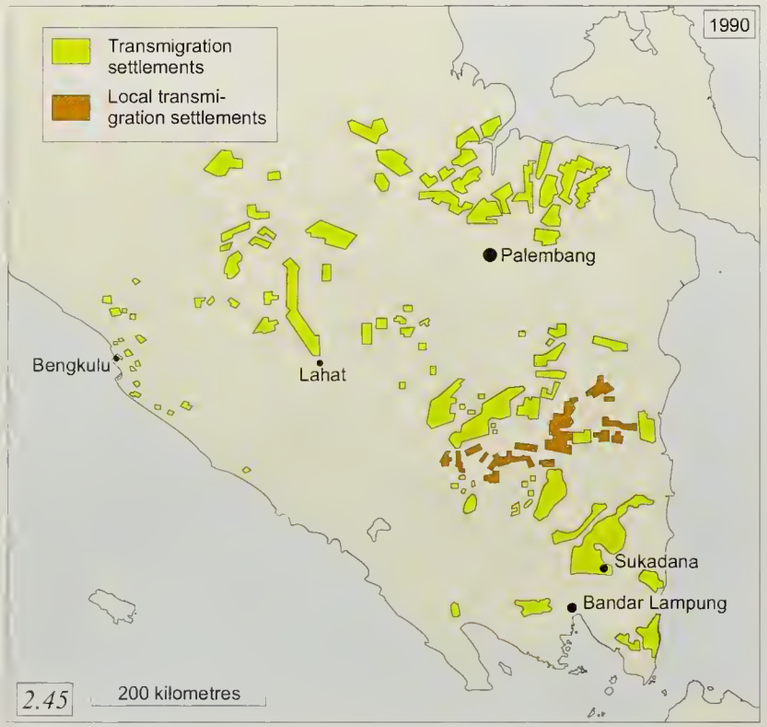
2.43 Migration between Java and the other islands, to 1980.



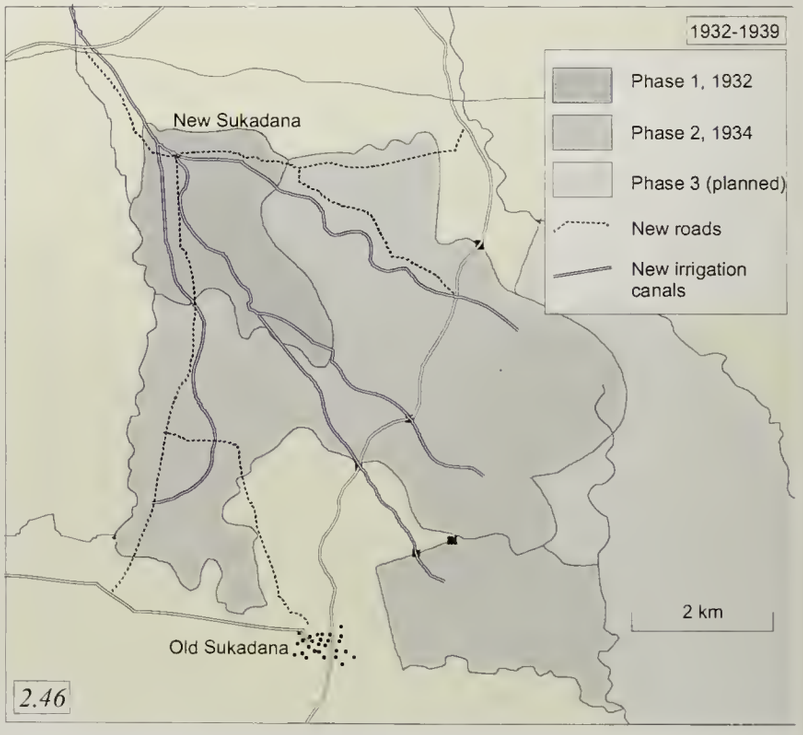


2.44 Major transmigration movements, 1969–1978.

Fear of intolerable population pressure on Java led Indonesian authorities in the 20th century to sponsor a massive programme of population movement, or transmigration, from Java (as well as Bali and Madura) to other, less densely populated regions of the archipelago. The programme began on a modest scale in 1905 under the Dutch and continued under Sukarno, but it was dramatically accelerated with World Bank support from 1974. Families, and even whole villages, were encouraged to move by the prospect of abundant fertile agricultural land. In the 1970s, the main destination of transmigrants was southern Sumatra, but in the 1980s and 1990s increasing numbers were sent to Kalimantan and Irian Jaya.



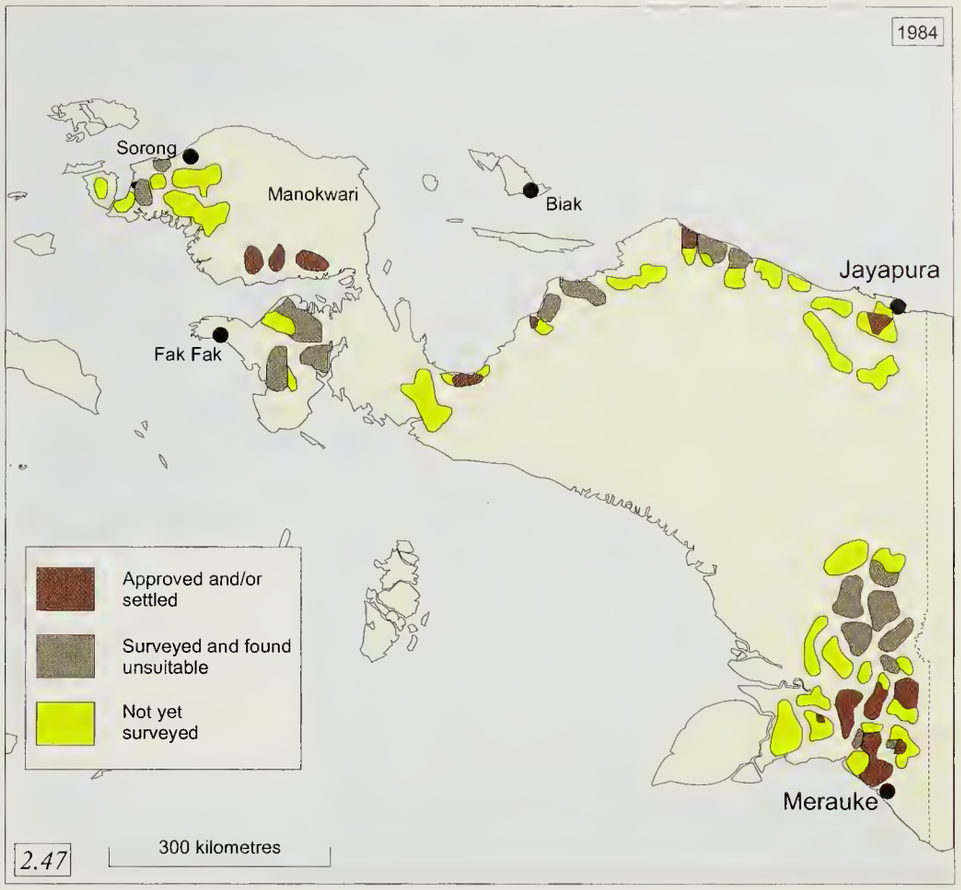
2.45 Transmigration locations in southern Sumatra, ca 1990.



2.46 Sukadana, a transmigration settlement established in Lampung, southern Sumatra, in the 1930s.

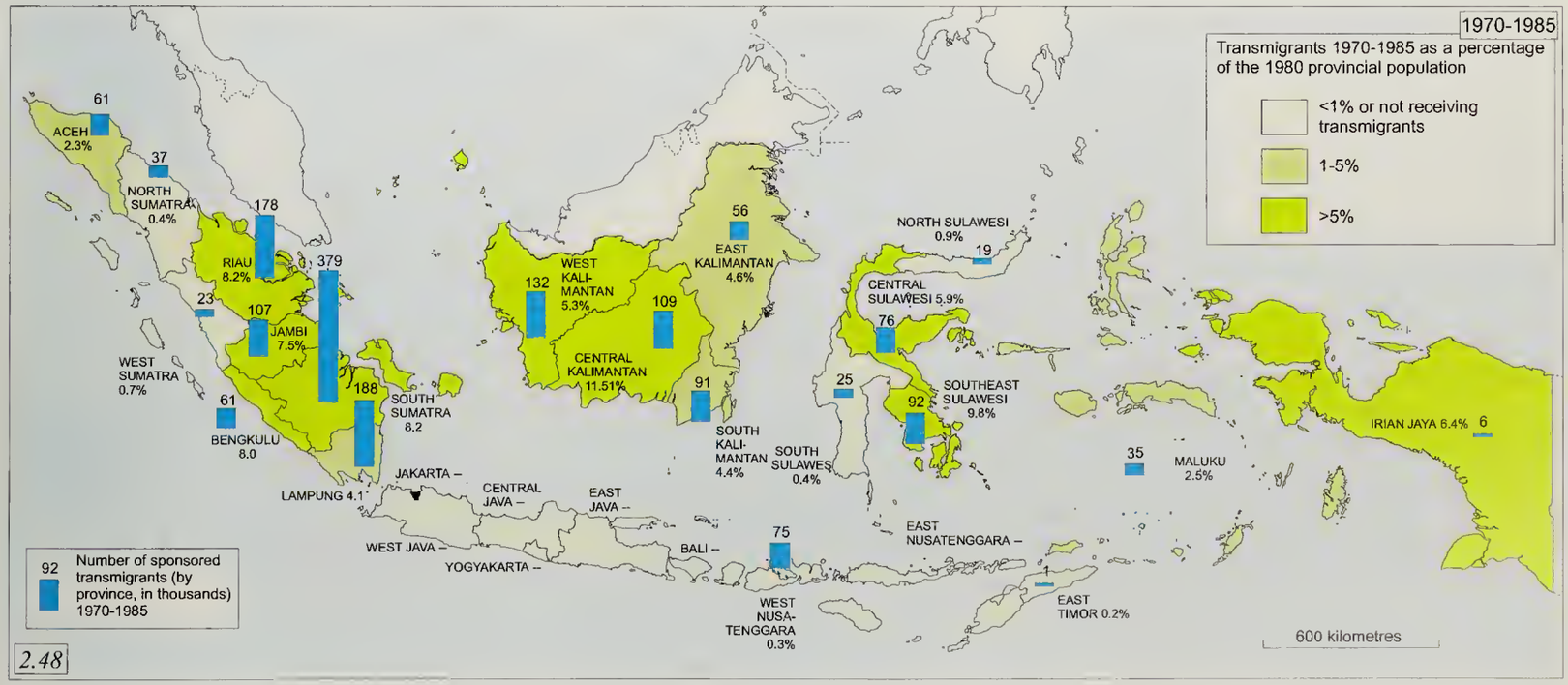
Between 1905 and 1999, the transmigration programme moved 6.2 million people to new settlements in the outer islands of the archipelago. The programme, however, has been criticized on many grounds. The number of people leaving Java has had no appreciable impact on the island's overall population density, while the cost of surveying potential settlement areas, providing infrastructure and supporting newcomers in the early stages of settlement has been high. Some observers have criticized the displacement of local communities and the dilution of ethnic identity in outlying provinces, though this effect, under the general heading of 'national integration', has been welcomed by the government. Some of the transmigration settlements have also been relatively unsuccessful because of poor choice of site or lack of proper preparation. Also influencing the attractiveness of the programme to Indonesia's government has been the fact that land suitable for transmigration has increasingly been made available for large-scale plantation development, notably oil palm and rubber.

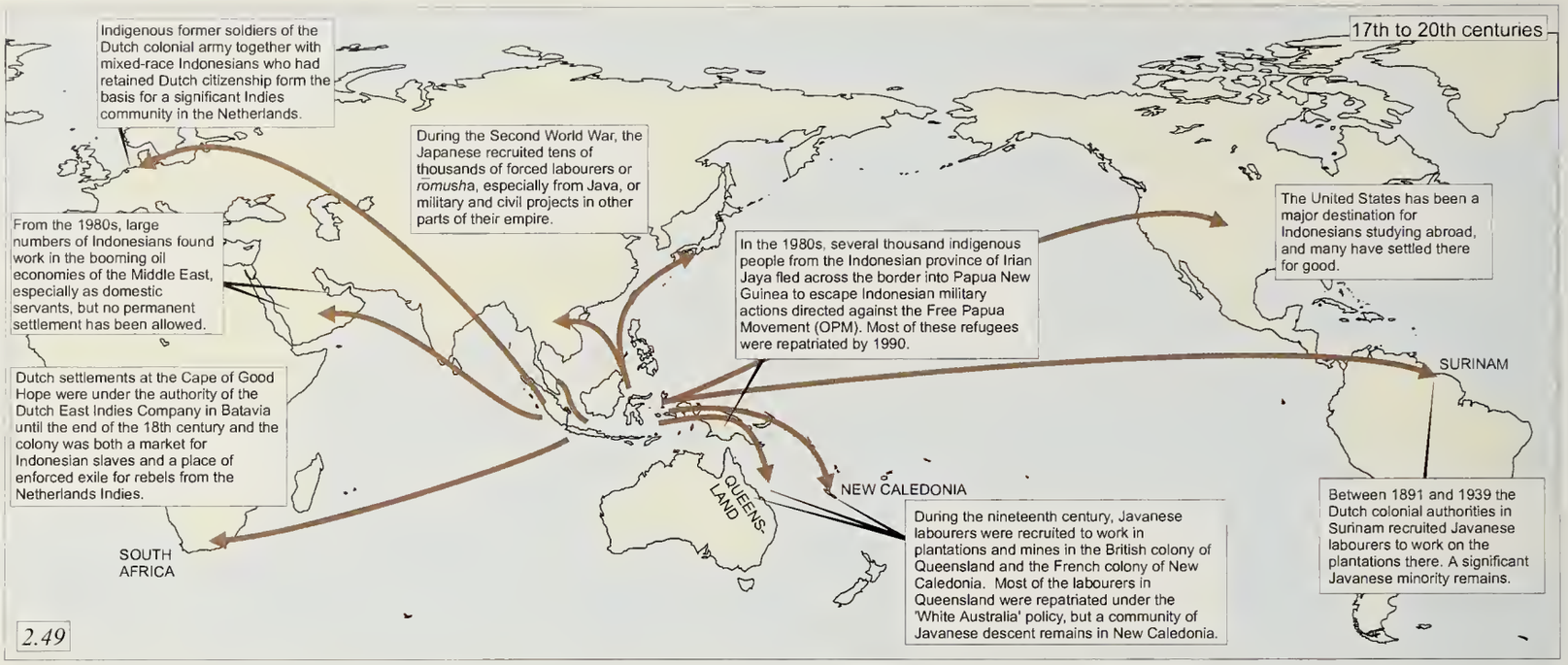
All these considerations led to a reduction in the scale of the transmigration programme during the 1990s.



2.47 Transmigration in Irian Jaya, 1984. *Extensive transmigration to Irian Jaya began only in the 1980s and focussed on lowland regions. Much of the soil in the province proved to be unsuitable for intensive agriculture.*

2.48 Transmigrants 1970–1985 as a proportion of the 1980 provincial population.




17th to 20th centuries
Indigenous former soldiers of the Dutch colonial army together with mixed-race Indonesians who had retained Dutch citizenship form the basis for a significant Indies community in the Netherlands.
During the Second World War, the Japanese recruited tens of thousands of forced labourers or romusha, especially from Java, or military and civil projects in other parts of their empire.
From the 1980s, large numbers of Indonesians found work in the booming oil economies of the Middle East, especially as domestic servants, but no permanent settlement has been allowed.
In the 1980s, several thousand indigenous people from the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya fled across the border into Papua New Guinea to escape Indonesian military actions directed against the Free Papua Movement (OPM). Most of these refugees were repatriated by 1990.
The United States has been a major destination for Indonesians studying abroad, and many have settled there for good.
SURINAM
Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope were under the authority of the Dutch East Indies Company in Batavia until the end of the 18th century and the colony was both a market for Indonesian slaves and a place of enforced exile for rebels from the Netherlands Indies.
QUEENSLAND
NEW CALEDONIA
SOUTH AFRICA
During the nineteenth century, Javanese labourers were recruited to work in plantations and mines in the British colony of Queensland and the French colony of New Caledonia. Most of the labourers in Queensland were repatriated under the 'White Australia' policy, but a community of Javanese descent remains in New Caledonia.
Between 1891 and 1939 the Dutch colonial authorities in Surinam recruited Javanese labourers to work on the plantations there. A significant Javanese minority remains.
2.49

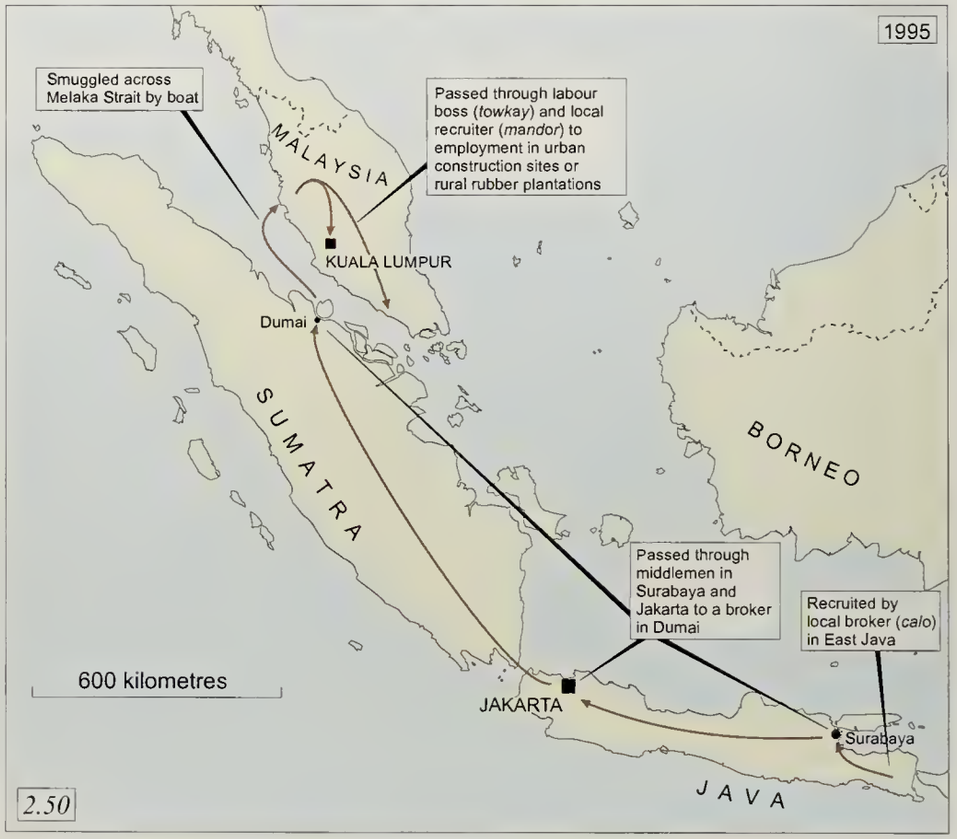
2.49 Major migrations by Indonesians beyond the archipelago, 17th to 20th centuries.

Migration from Indonesia to other parts of the world has been rather episodic. After the final wave of migration which settled Madagascar up to the 13th century, there was little recorded movement from the archipelago until colonial times. The Dutch used Indonesian slaves in their colonies in the Indian Ocean and Africa, and sent political exiles to the Cape of Good Hope. Towards the end of the 19th century they permitted the recruitment of Javanese to work on plantations in other European colonies, notably Surinam, New Caledonia and Queensland.

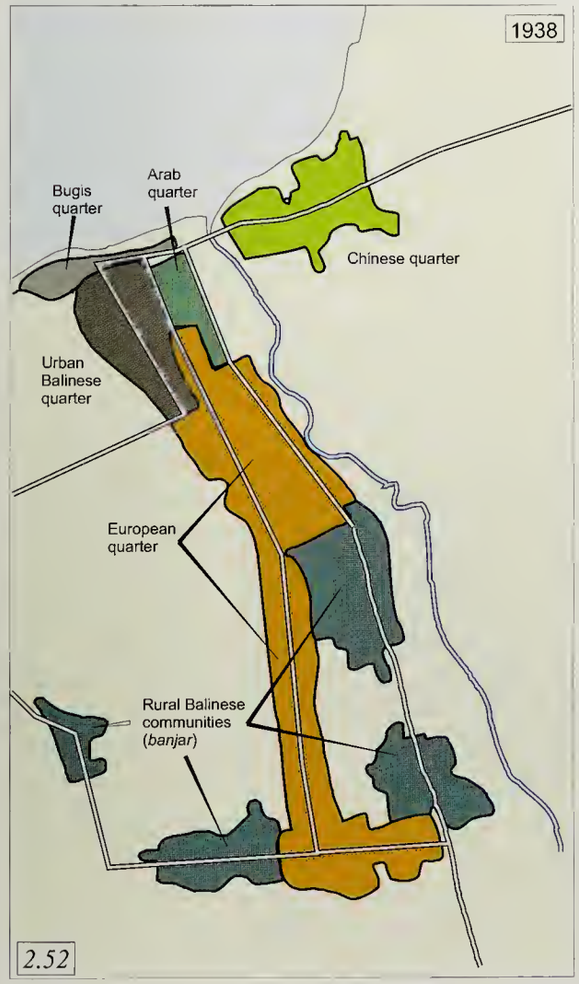
During the Second World War, Indonesian labourers were recruited on a large scale by the Japanese occupation authorities and put to work not only in Indonesia but elsewhere in Southeast Asia and in Japan. They often worked under appalling conditions and large numbers died of disease and malnutrition. Most of the survivors made their way back to Indonesia at the end of the War, but small communities remained in some regions.

Since independence, the most massive external movement of Indonesians has been to the Middle East, where hundreds of thousands work as labourers and household servants, and Malaysia, where a booming economy (until 1997) attracted more than a million Indonesians. Many of these migrants entered the country illegally, but their presence was tolerated by the Malaysian authorities as a necessary element in their country's accelerated development and as a potential reinforcement of the narrow Malay majority. After the economic crisis of 1997, many of these migrants were repatriated to Indonesia.

2.50 Typical route for an unskilled labourer recruited from East Java to work in Malaysia.



2.51 Major home regions of Chinese migrants to Indonesia. *Sheer poverty was one of the main factors which drove Chinese to abandon their homes for the mines and plantations of the Indies.*



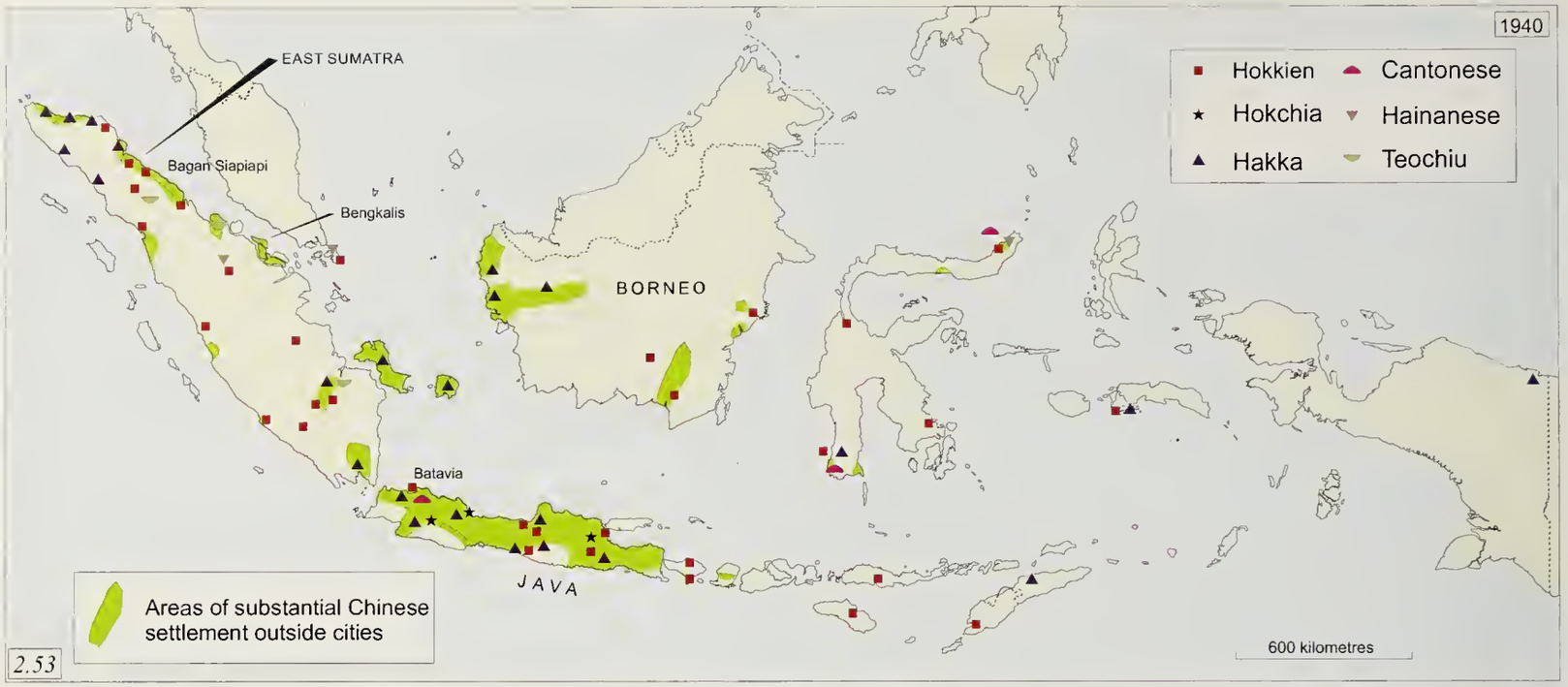
2.52 The north Bali town of Buleleng in the late colonial period, showing the characteristic clustering of ethnic groups into quarters.

For three millennia after the arrival of the Austronesians, there was no significant migration into Indonesia. From about the 12th century, however, the growing commercial prosperity of the archipelago attracted increasing numbers of foreign traders – Indians, Arabs, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese and many others. Most of these were temporary residents, living in the foreign quarters of the trading cities, governed by their own 'captains' and returning sooner or later to their homelands. Inevitably, though, some traders stayed: they married locally and their descendants, especially if they were numerous enough, formed recognizable hybrid communities whose cultures drew on both local and foreign elements.

The life-span of such communities could be short: some were absorbed into indigenous society within a few generations. Others, however, remained distinct: typically they spoke a version of the local language and adopted local practice in food and clothing, but retained foreign names and, sometimes, their original religion. Hybrid ethnic groups of this kind became known as *peranakan*, or 'local-born'. The most important and resilient of these communities were drawn from the descendants of Chinese settlers in the archipelago. The largest of their communities were in Java.

The Chinese presence in Indonesia increased substantially during the colonial era. Attracted by commercial and employment opportunities, Chinese made up a quarter of the population of the colonial capital, Batavia, in the eighteenth century. Still larger numbers arrived during the 19th and 20th centuries, many of them fleeing appalling poverty and hardship in southern China and seeking employment in the plantations, tin mines, ports and cities of the archipelago. Some, however, also came to Indonesia for political motives: the defeat of the Taiping rebellion in China in 1864 led many Chinese to seek greater freedom in the southern seas, bringing with them the secret societies which had been an important part of the resistance to the foreign Qing (Manchu) dynasty.

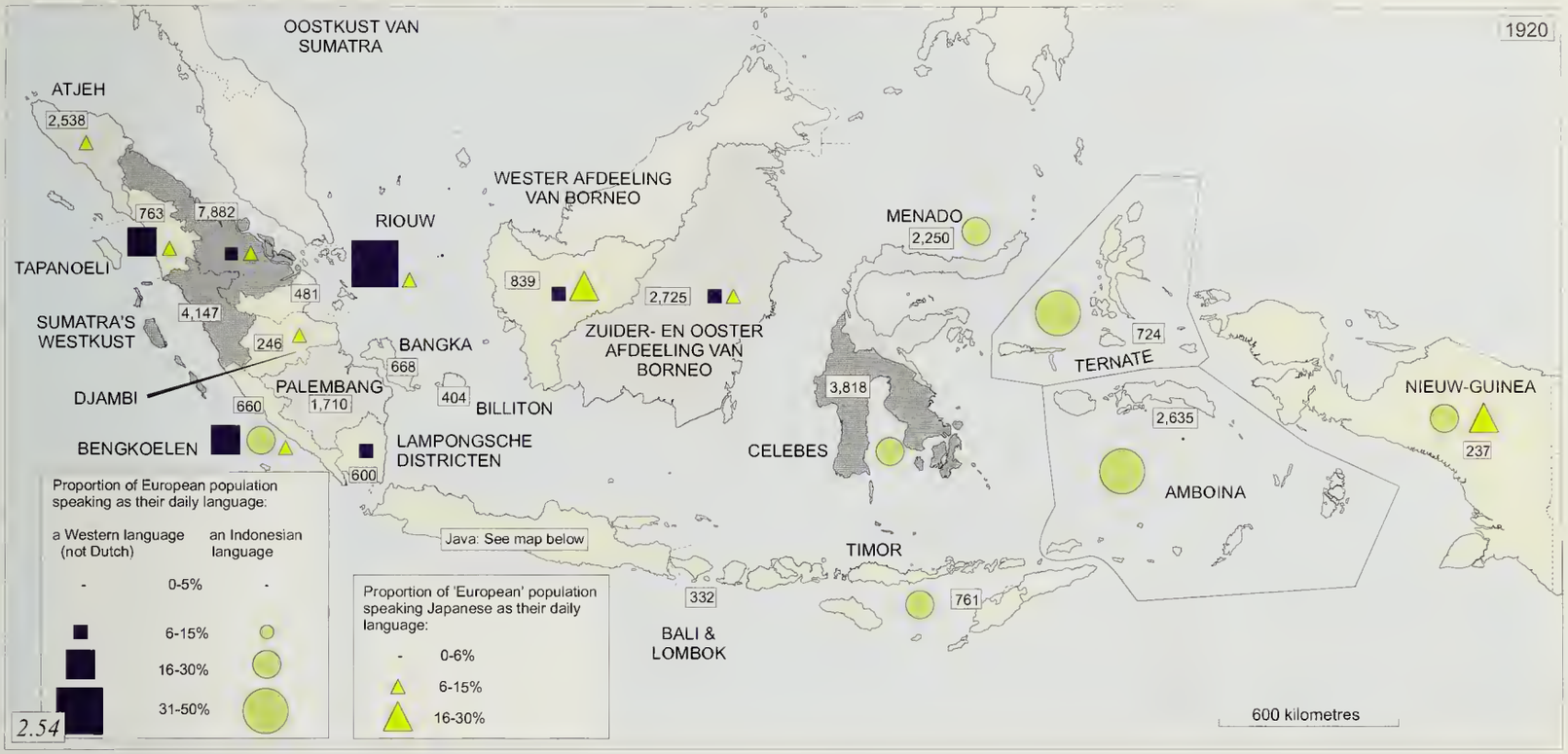
For most of Indonesian history, the majority of local Chinese have been relatively poor, but from early times Chinese were also well-represented amongst the rich. Recent Chinese migrants, often called *totok* or *singkeh*, brought habits of thrift and hard work, and were able to use family, clan or secret society connections as a source of capital, expertise and protection. Their separate status within society was reinforced by the Dutch preference for treating them separately, initially by continuing to use 'captains' to administer the Chinese and later by creating the distinct legal category of 'Foreign Orientals' (Vreemde Oosterlingen), who were mainly Chinese, although the category also encompassed Indians, Arabs and other Asians.



2.53 The distribution of Chinese in urban and rural Indonesia, ca 1940.
Until the Second World War, Chinese were to be found in many areas of rural Indonesia. Most commonly, they were small scale traders and money-lenders, whose services were seen by local Indonesians as both a blessing and a bane. In some areas, however, Chinese themselves were farmers: on the private estates in the countryside around Jakarta were communities dating from the 17th and 18th centuries, while in West Borneo descendants of the Chinese who came to mine gold in the 18th century turned to agriculture after the gold ran out. In Bagan Siapiapi on the eastern Sumatra coast and on the nearby island of Bengkalis, Chinese fishermen dominated one of the largest fishing fleets in the world. In East Sumatra, the descendants of Chinese indentured labourers recruited to work on the plantations remained a large part of the population. All these communities were severely reduced in the 1940s and 1950s. Throughout Java and Sumatra, Chinese were victims of plunder and revenge killings during the first months of the Indonesian revolution (1945–1946) and many fled to the cities. A government order in May 1959 revoking permission for non-citizen Chinese to trade in the countryside caused a further exodus. The Chinese in West Borneo were largely forced into the towns by violence in 1967.

In the 20th century, the 'Chinese' community in Indonesia has comprised a range of ethnicities. Amongst the *totok* are some who have close cultural and political ties to China (or Taiwan), who speak local languages only haltingly and whose loyalties are primarily to their country of origin. Amongst the *peranakan*, on the other hand, there are many who feel no significant connection with China, who speak no Chinese and whose local loyalties are as strong and exclusive as those of any indigene. Both state authorities and the general public, however, have tended to treat 'Chinese' as a single category. In particular, successive governments have been unable to find a single, universally satisfactory means of addressing the complex question of the citizenship of Chinese in Indonesia.

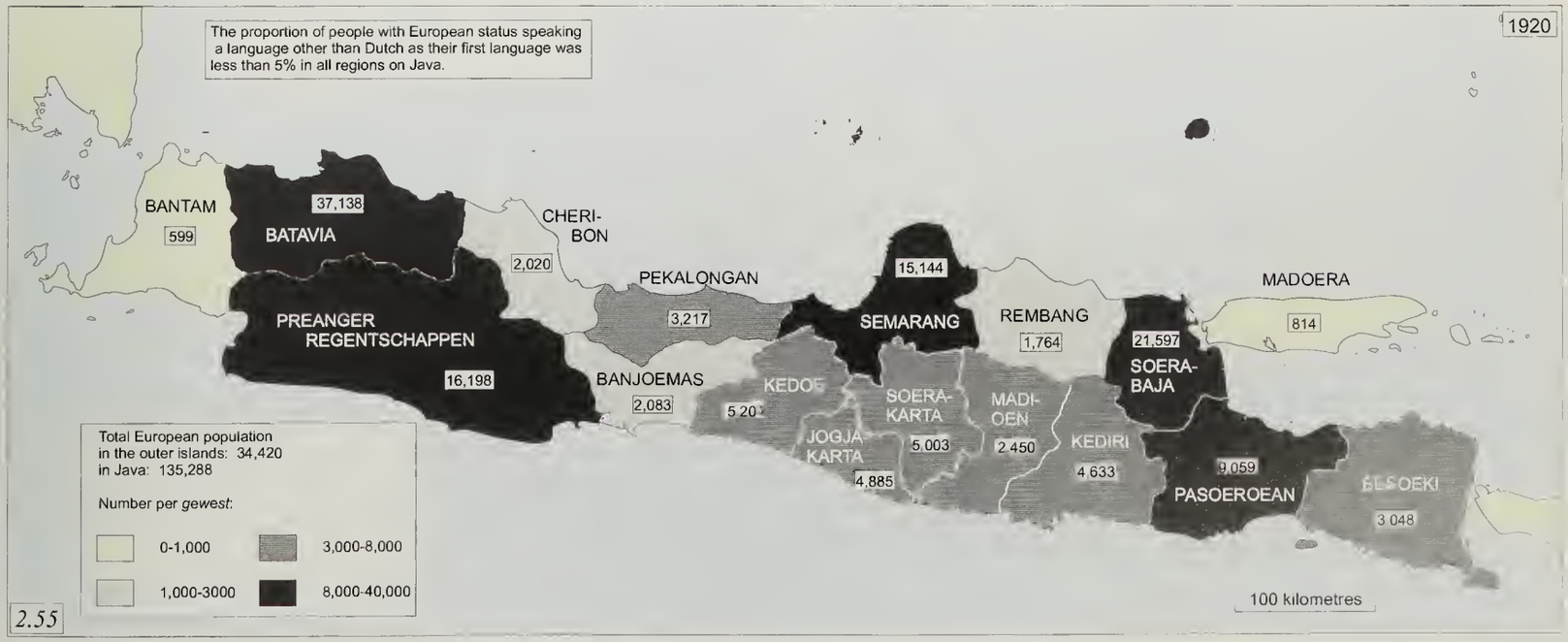
Colonialism also brought significant numbers of Europeans to the Indonesian archipelago, but Europeans were no more homogeneous as a category than Chinese. For most of its history, the VOC was reluctant to allow European women to settle in the Indies, and many European men therefore married or cohabited with Indonesian women. In general, the offspring of marriages were considered European, whereas the status of children produced outside marriage was determined by the father: if he recognized them, they took his name and became Europeans; if he did not recognize them, they remained with their mother and were treated as 'natives' (Inlanders). In the 17th and 18th centuries, European society in the Indies was hybrid, with many Europeans adopting local customs of food and clothing, as well as speaking Malay as their first language. From the early 19th century, with the abolition of the VOC and the imposition of metropolitan rule, the racial and cultural distinction between Europeans and 'Natives' became sharper, but it remained possible throughout the colonial period for Indonesians to achieve full legal status as Europeans if they were judged to be Westernized. The legal status of a European was thus never a decisive sign of his or her ethnicity.

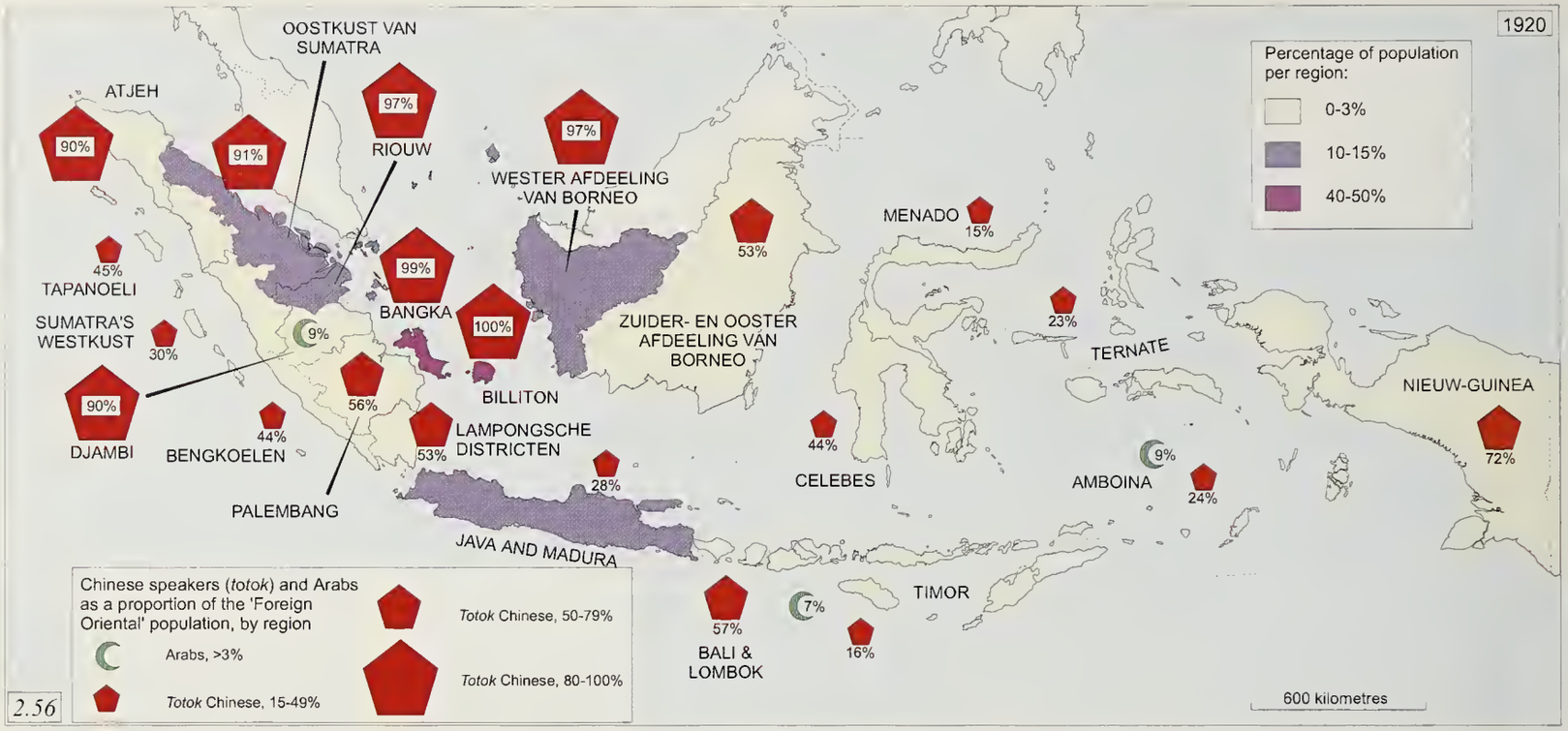


2.54 Europeans (including Japanese) in the outer islands, 1920.

During the colonial era, Indies residents with European status lived mainly on Java, and a large proportion of these were Dutch in origin. On other islands, the 'European' population was much more mixed. Many foreign entrepreneurs and managers ran plantations in Sumatra, while in Bengkoelen (Bengkulu) and eastern Indonesia there were many 'Europeans' who spoke only a local language at home. This ambiguity became still more pronounced in 1899, when Japanese were formally granted European status, on the grounds that the European-style legal system in force in Japan entitled them to the same legal protections as Europeans.

2.55 Europeans in Java, 1920.

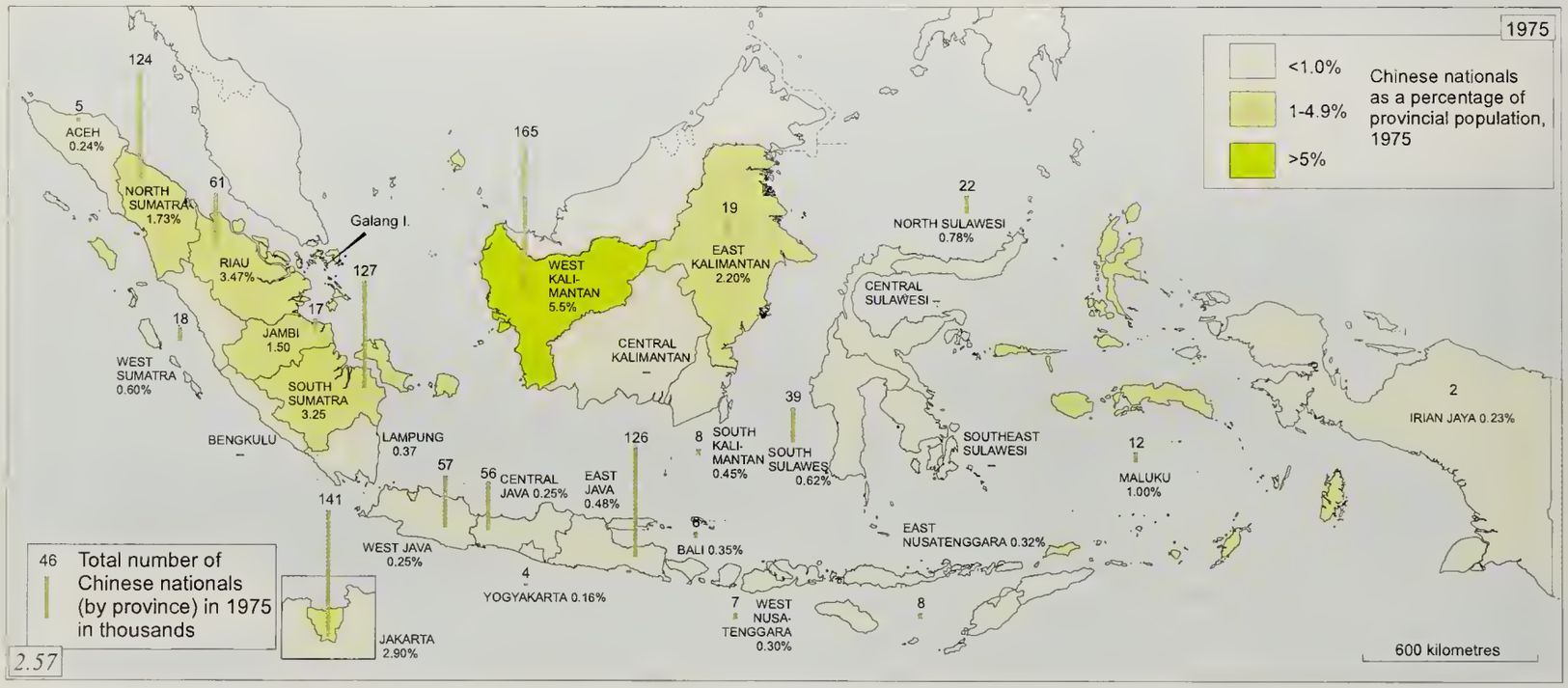


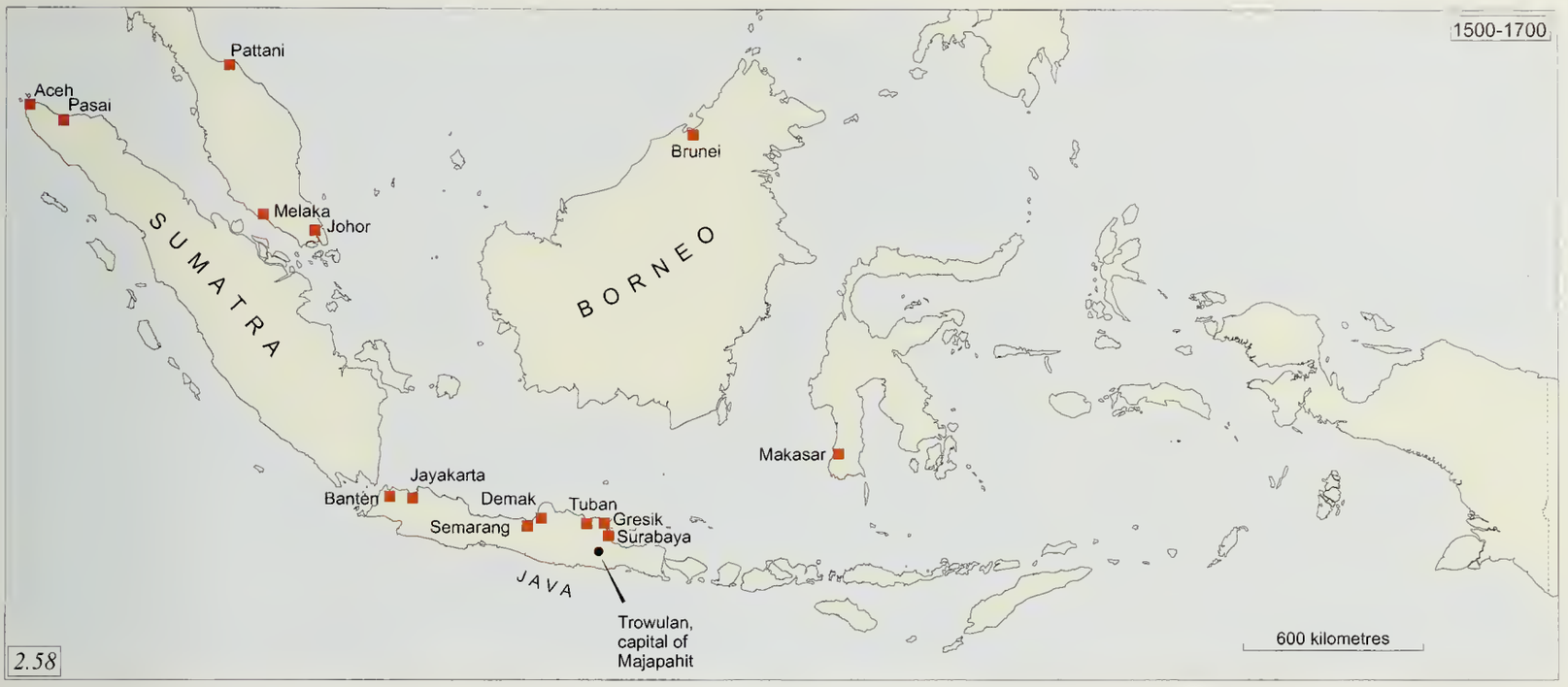


2.56 'Foreign Orientals' in the Netherlands Indies, 1920.

Although a large number of both 'Foreign Orientals' and Europeans took Indonesian citizenship at or after independence, some others chose or were forced to repatriate during the 1950s. Since that time, the only significant migration into Indonesia has been by refugees from Indochina, who were granted temporary refuge on the island of Galang in Riau. None of these refugees, however, was granted permanent residence and the camp was closed in 1996.

2.57 Chinese nationals in Indonesia, 1975.





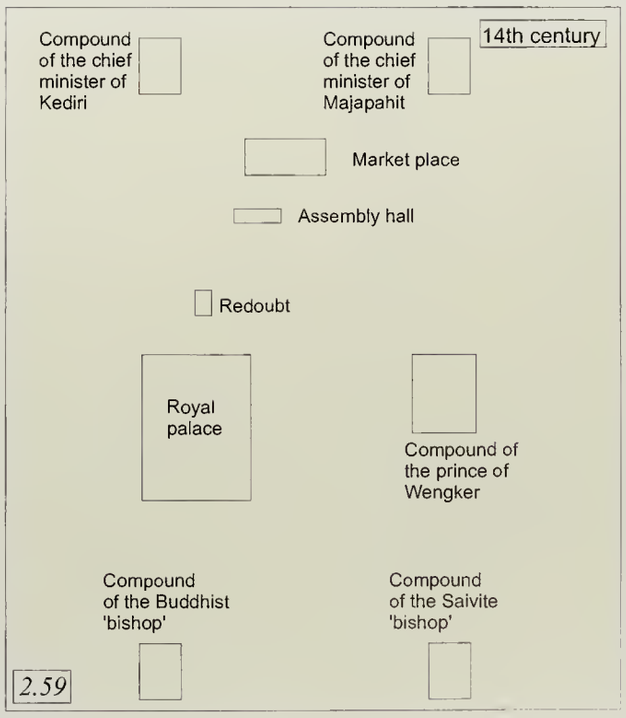
2.58 Major urban centres, 16th and 17th centuries.

Cities and Urbanization

Archaeological remains of urban settlements in the Indonesian archipelago have been dated from at least two thousand years ago, but the history of intense urban development in the region is considerably more recent. Early Indonesian towns and cities seem not to have combined administrative, political, commercial, industrial and religious functions in the way that was common in Europe, the Middle East and China. Instead, these functions were often separate, and the location of urban centres has changed rapidly though history. None of the major urban centres in modern Indonesia is more than a few centuries old.

A vigorous age of urban development began in the archipelago in the late 14th century, when trade with India and China expanded dramatically. The cities which emerged in this era seem to have had populations up to fifty or even one hundred thousand – substantial by European standards and large in relation to the relatively sparse population of the archipelago as a whole, though considerably smaller than cities in China or Japan. The form of these cities was rather different from that in Europe and China: instead of being tightly packed settlements surrounded by protecting walls, Indonesian cities seem to have been sprawling affairs, with most houses surrounded by a garden of coconut and fruit trees. Defensive walls were occasionally present, but they never encompassed the entire city, and the space they enclosed seldom represented a city's heart.

The reasons for this distinctive urban structure seem to have been partly climatic: the tropical conditions of the archipelago made crowded housing a serious health risk. Probably more important, however, was the nature of the military threat to those who ruled and dwelt in cities. The greatest resource which a city commanded was not its buildings, which were mainly of wood, nor even its location; several major centres including Melaka, Brunei, Aceh, Pasai and Johor lacked a significant agricultural hinterland and had to feed their people with imported rice. Rather, in the thinly populated archipelago, people were the greatest political resource, and they were best protected at times of attack by having them flee into nearby forests, rather than by retreating behind city walls into an unhealthy dense settlement.

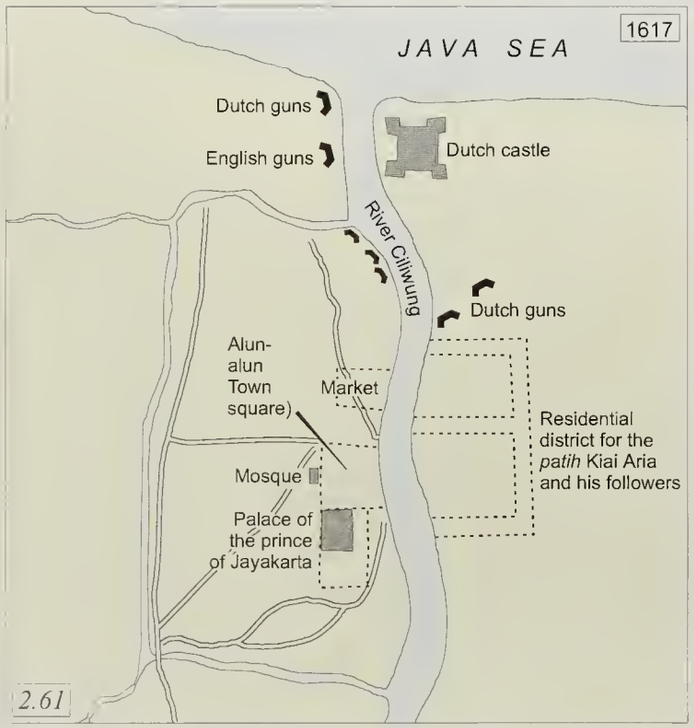


2.59 An 'open plan' city. *Reconstruction of the centre of the court* (kraton) *of Majapahit, the major empire in Java during the 14th century.*

2.60 (right) Melaka, ca 1600. *Melaka was founded in about 1400 by Parameswara, a prince from the city of Palembang in southern Sumatra. During the 15th century, the city rose to become the most powerful state in maritime Southeast Asia, partly because of its strategic location close to the narrowest point on the Melaka strait, partly because its rulers provided both facilities and legal security to make their port attractive to traders. In about 1414, Parameswara converted to Islam, and his successors applied Islamic commercial law to the city's business, giving merchants greater security of property than had existed under the preceding Hindu order. At the height of its power, Muslim Melaka was one of the great port cities of the world and the largest city in Southeast Asia, with a population of perhaps two hundred thousand.*

Melaka's wealth and power attracted the Portuguese, who conquered it in 1511, but they were more interested in its strategic location than in promoting trade, and under their rule the city went into gradual decline.

The arrival of Europeans in the Indonesian archipelago began to change the structure of urban development. The Portuguese, who conquered the powerful Muslim port city of Melaka in 1511, built a massive fort there, which they named 'A Famosa' and which formed a pivotal point in their defence of their interests in Indonesia for the next century and a half. Similarly, the Dutch and British trading companies began to extend their influence in the archipelago during the 17th century through a series of trading posts, generally called factories, which often quickly took on the character of fortresses.

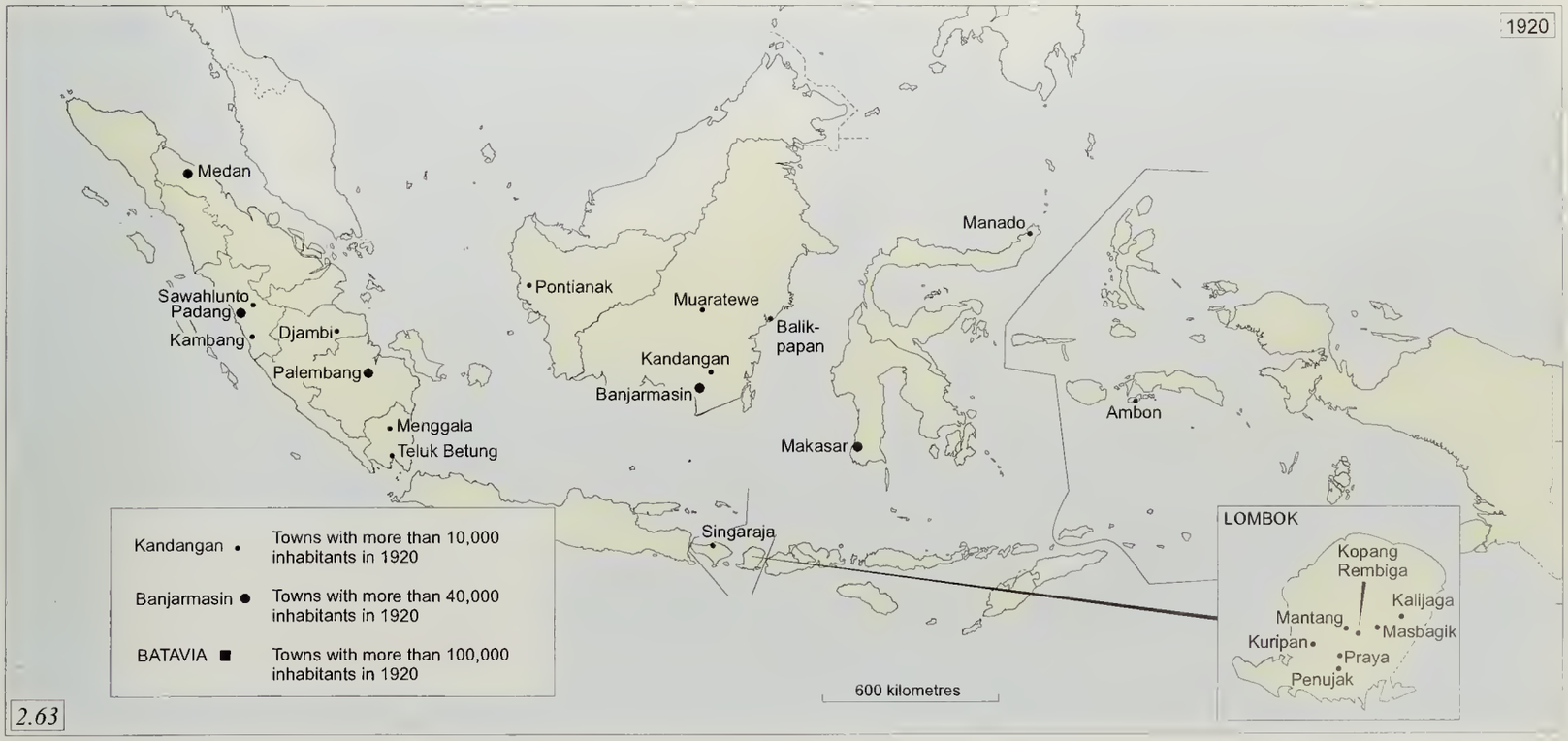


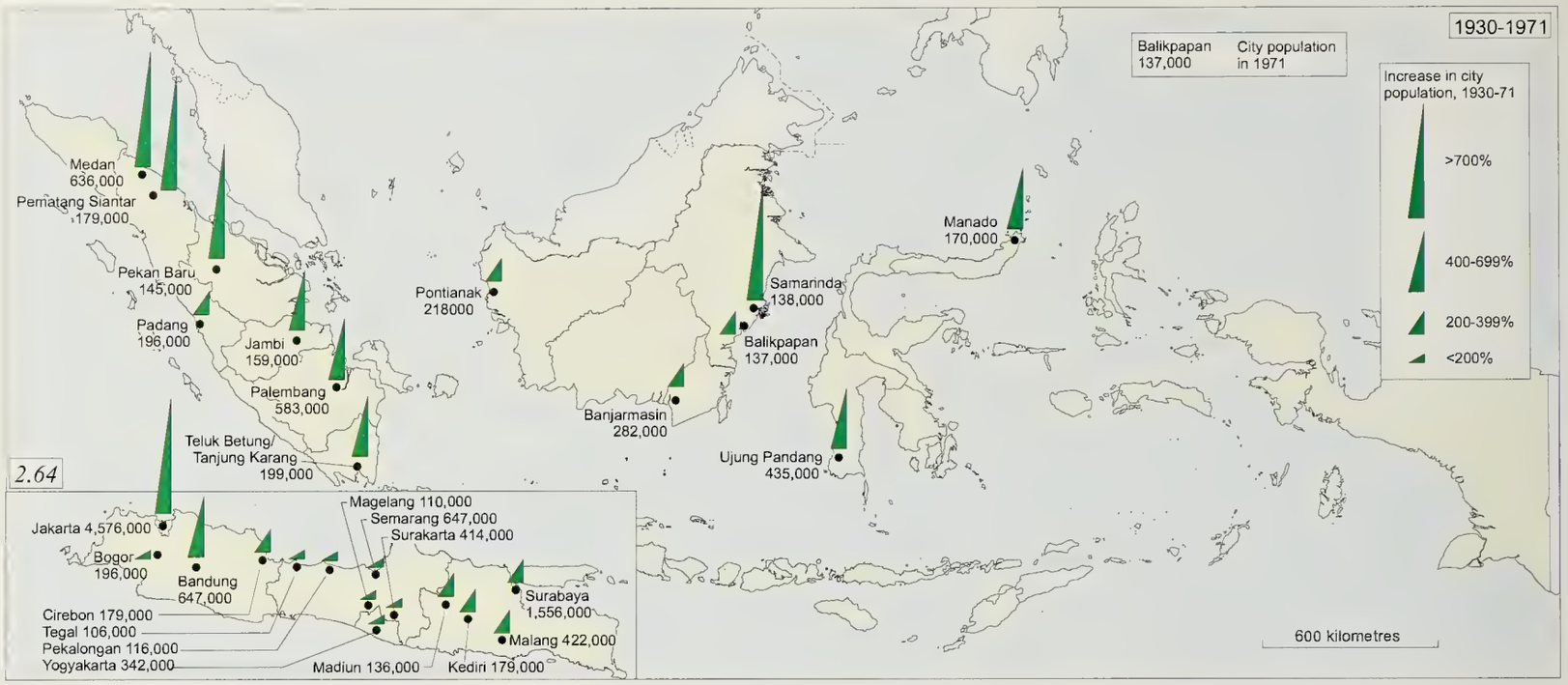
2.61 Jayakarta (Batavia) in 1618. *The port of Jayakarta emerged on the north-west coast of Java in the 16th century, and in the early 17th century both the Dutch and the British established fortifications there. Within a few years, Dutch power entirely eclipsed that of the prince of Jayakarta, and the port was transformed into the Dutch company capital, Batavia.*

2.62 Towns with population greater than 10,000, Java, 1920.

Although a few cities such as Batavia, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya and Medan developed during the colonial period, the economic heart of the colonial system lay in agriculture and mining, and the vast majority of Indonesia's people remained in rural areas. In the first half of the 20th century, there was some movement of people into cities and regional towns, but the 1920 census still showed Indonesia with only a thin sprinkling of urban settlements with populations greater than forty thousand, and very few of these were outside Java.

2.63 Towns with population greater than 10,000, rest of Netherlands Indies, 1920.

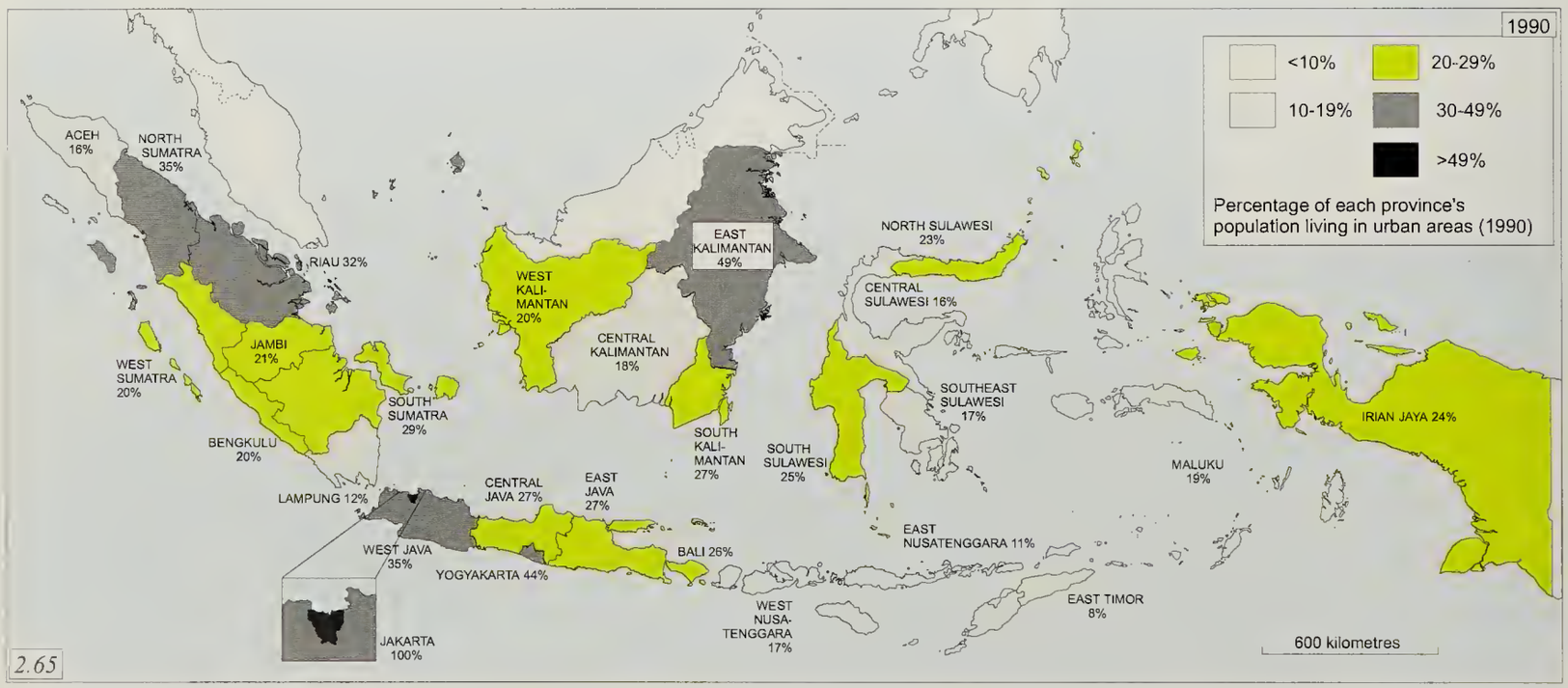


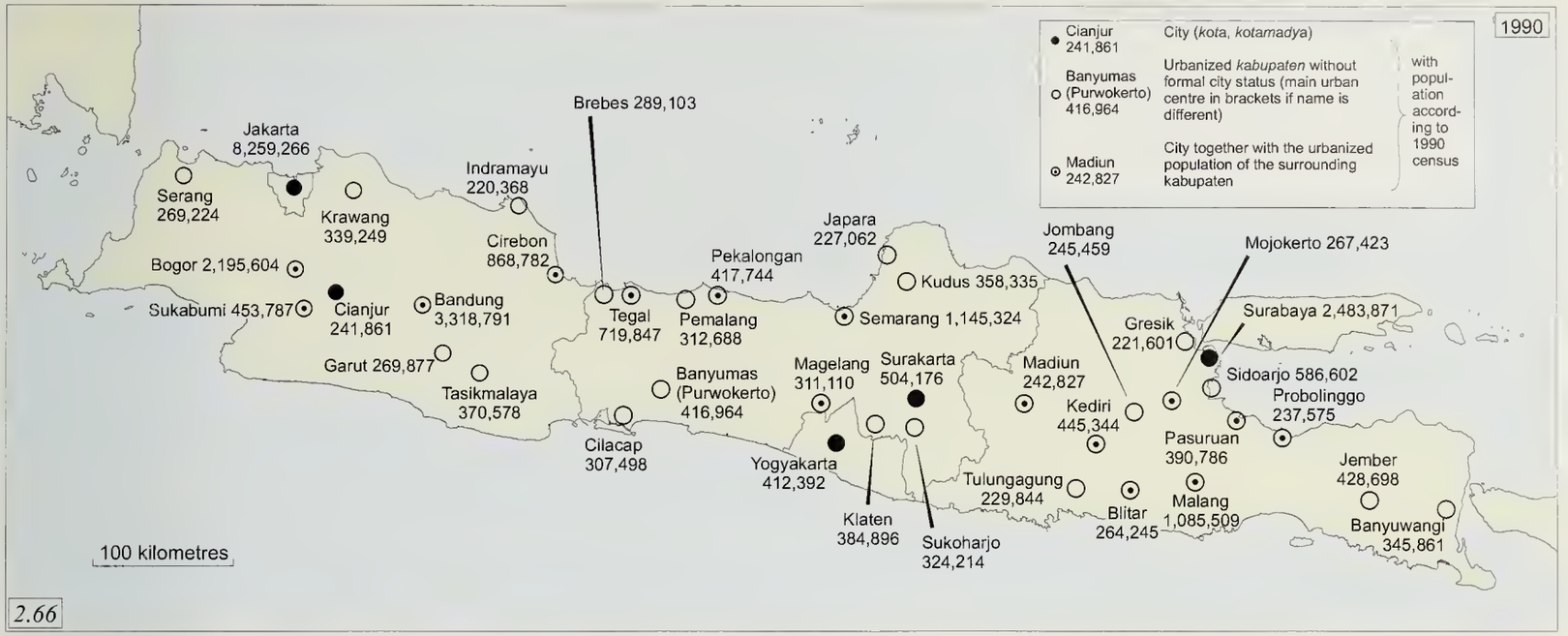


2.64 City growth, 1930–1971. *Especially in the outer islands of Indonesia, cities grew dramatically during the last years of the colonial era and the first years of independence.*

Significant growth in the size of Indonesia's cities began in the early 20th century and accelerated after independence. Economic opportunities in the cities grew, while they tended to decline in the countryside, especially with developments in the mechanization of agriculture. In the 1960s, Indonesia introduced formal controls on migration into larger cities such as Jakarta, though these have proven relatively ineffective.

2.65 Urbanization, 1990.

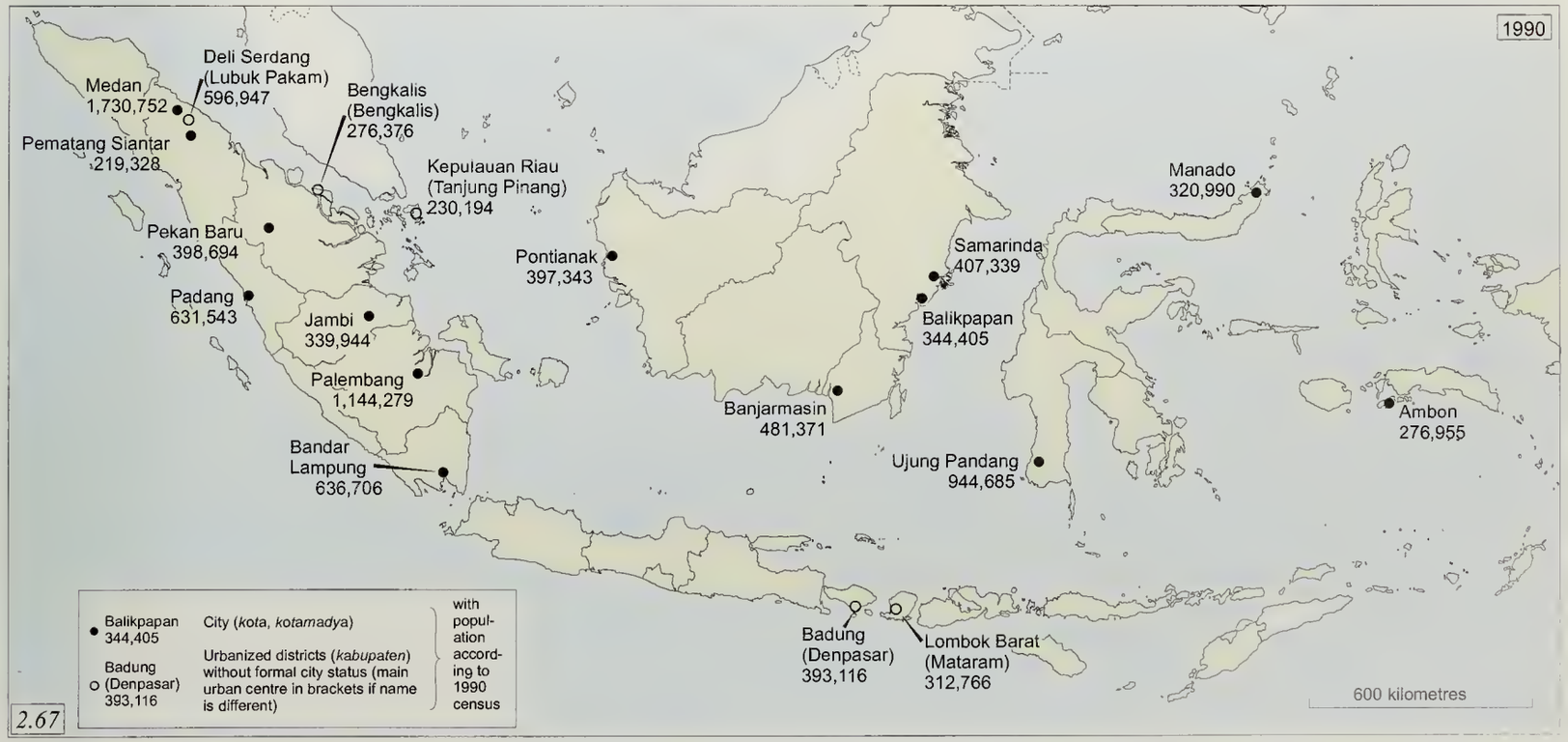


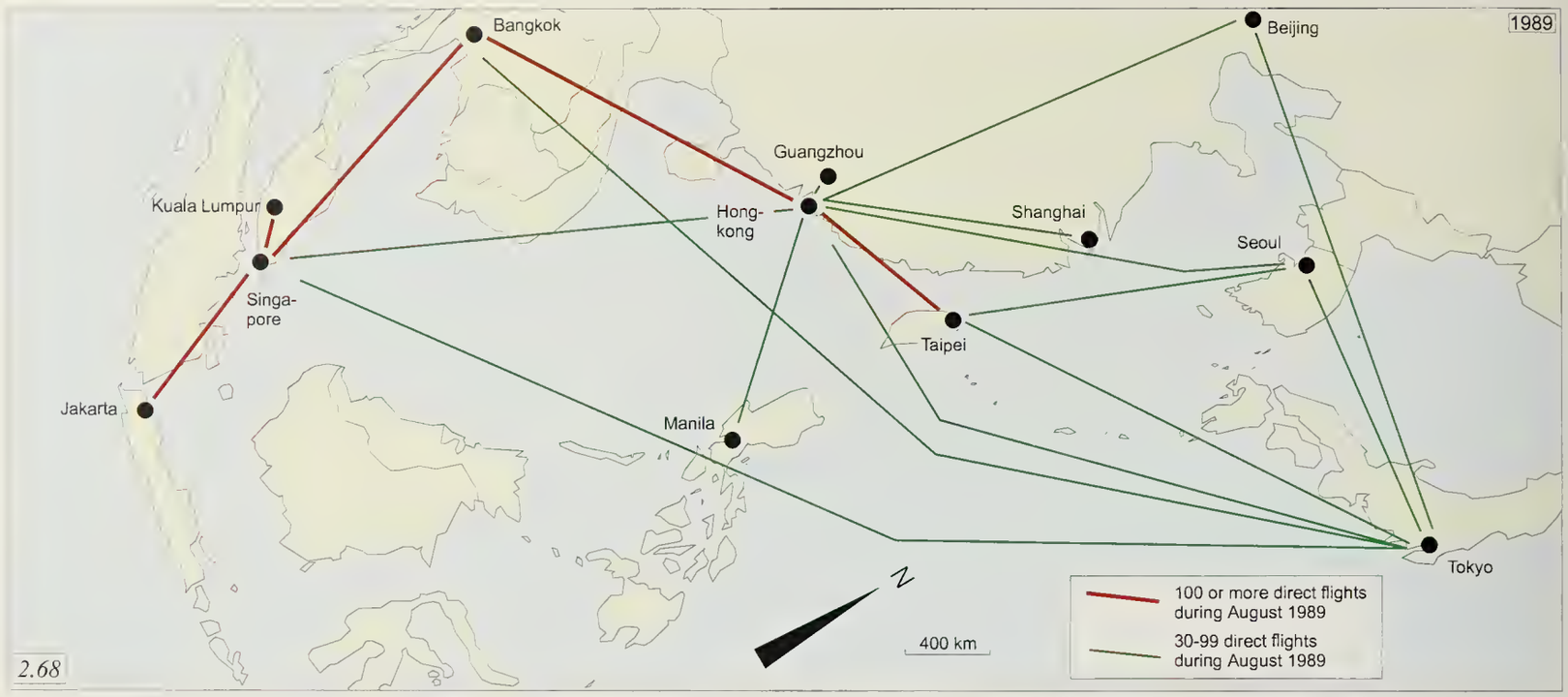


2.66 Cities with a population over 200,000 in 1990, Java.

The growth of Indonesia's cities has continued in recent decades, but improvements in communication and the need for regional strategies for development have blurred the distinction between town and countryside. On the one hand, urban activities steadily intrude into rural areas, while city planners attempt to preserve green belts and agricultural areas of cultural or historical significance as part of the necessary amenities for large cities. On the other hand, rural residents commute into town, often over large distances, so that economic and social life on towns and countryside are interwoven as never before. Nonetheless, a steadily growing proportion of the Indonesian population has no, or only weak, links to rural life.

2.67 Cities with a population over 200,000 in 1990, rest of Indonesia.



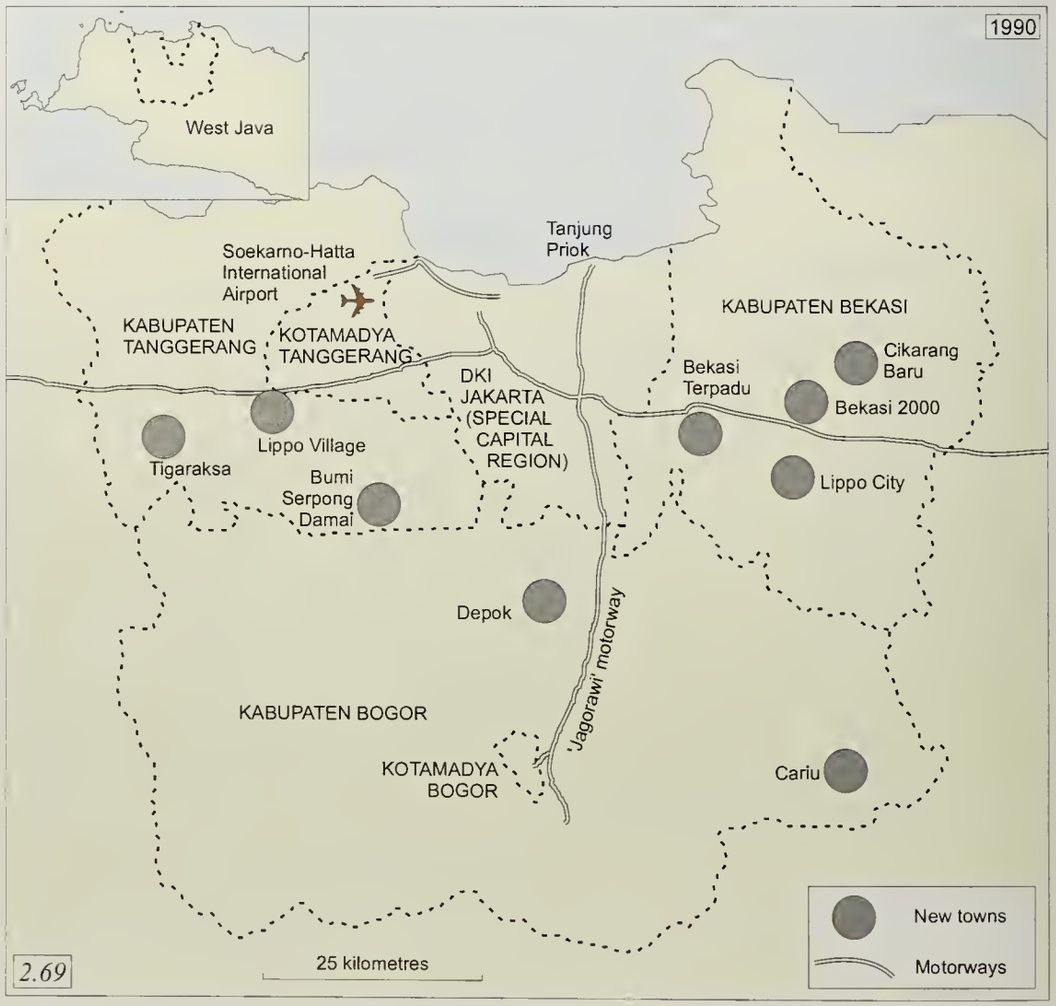


2.68 (above) Jakarta in the eastern Asian air network.

2.69 (below) Jabotabek region.

During the last three decades of the 20th century, the urban influences of Jakarta spread increasingly into surrounding regions of West Java. The resulting conurbation, known as 'Jabotabek' (Jakarta-Bogor-Tanggerang-Bekasi), contained nearly one quarter of Indonesia's urban population in 1990 and was a major target for foreign, especially Japanese, investment in new factories. New housing developments in the outer regions of Jabotabek gave the increasingly wealthy new middle class of the capital the opportunity to adopt a more affluent life-style, but the development of these estates was often closely linked with speculation and the corrupt issue of building permits. Although a network of new motorways linked the main centres of the region, infrastructure and services still fell short of the needs of investors, residents and commuters.

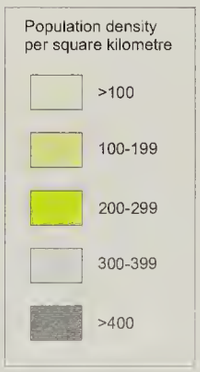
Jakarta is also the hub of Indonesia's communications with the outside world, as the site of the most important telecommunications facilities, the port of Tanjung Priok and the Soekarno-Hatta International Airport. Nonetheless, Singapore acts as a major hub between Indonesia and its major trading and investment partners in eastern Asia.



2.70 Population density of Java, 1867.

2.71 Population density of Java, 1890.

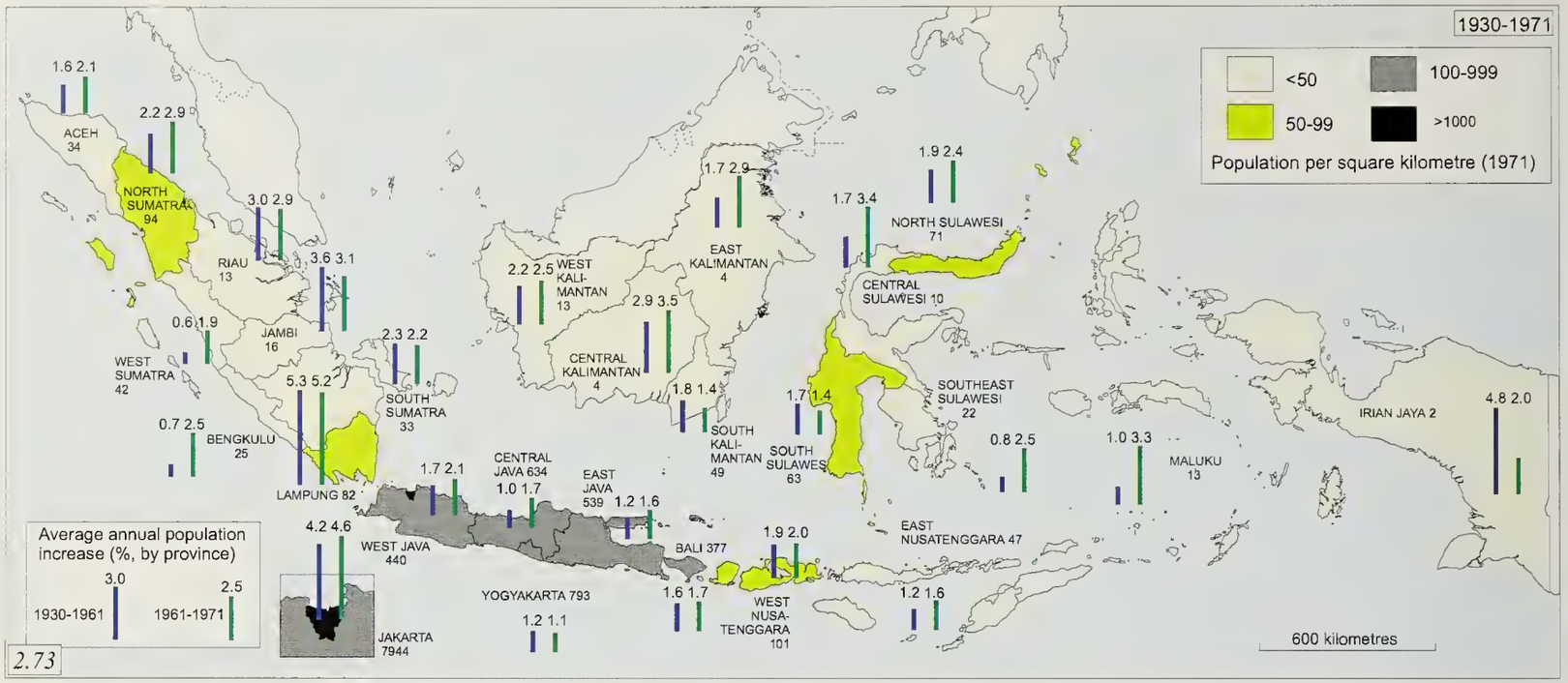
2.72 Population density of Java, 1920.



Population

Estimating the population of the Indonesian archipelago in the period before the 19th century presents enormous difficulties, both because no more than occasional records are available and because their interpretation often rests on uncertain assumptions about reliability and about general demographic conditions. Only from the very end of the 18th century is it possible to identify more reliable figures for Java, while for other islands this is generally true only from about 1880.

Examination of colonial figures suggests that the population of Java was three to four million in 1800, and that this population grew at an average rate of 1.4% during the 19th century to reach a total of about thirty million in 1900; the population of the outer islands at this stage was probably little more than ten million.

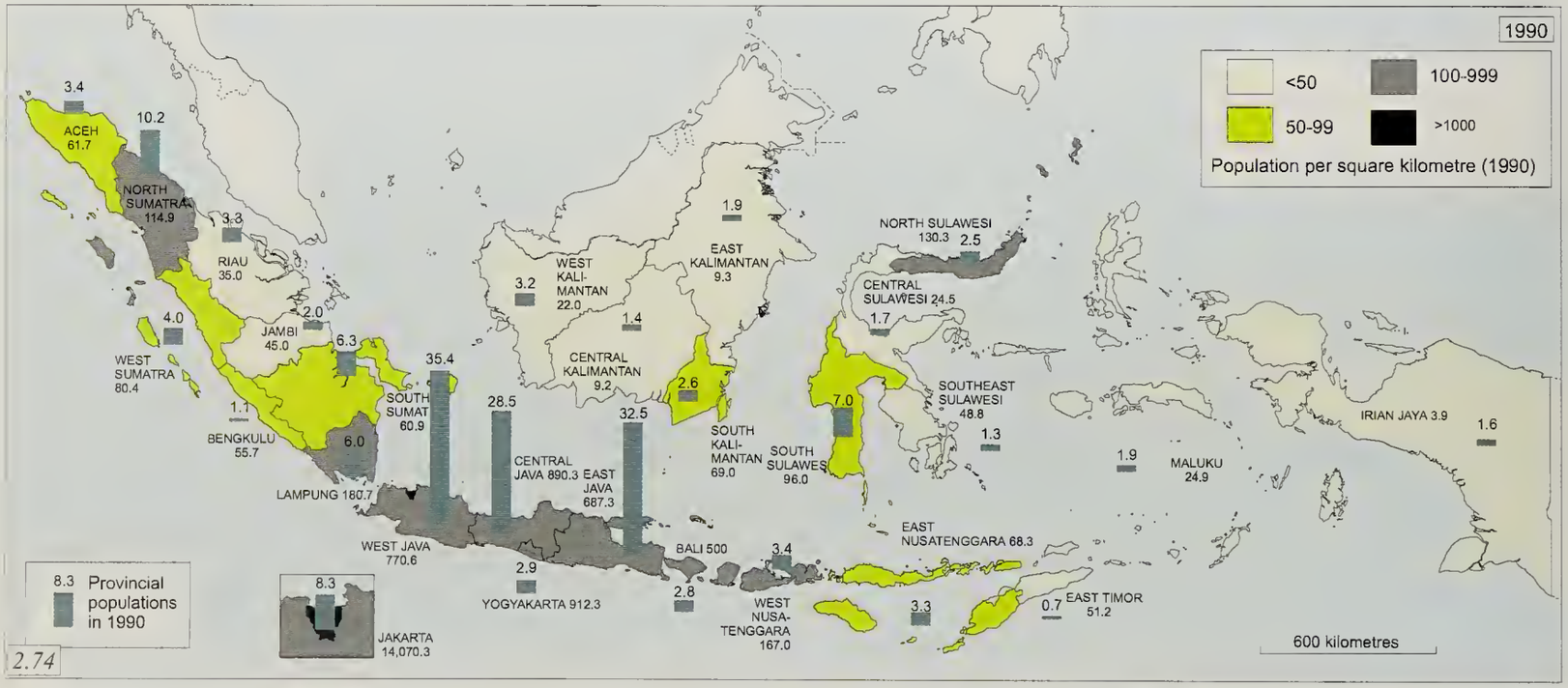


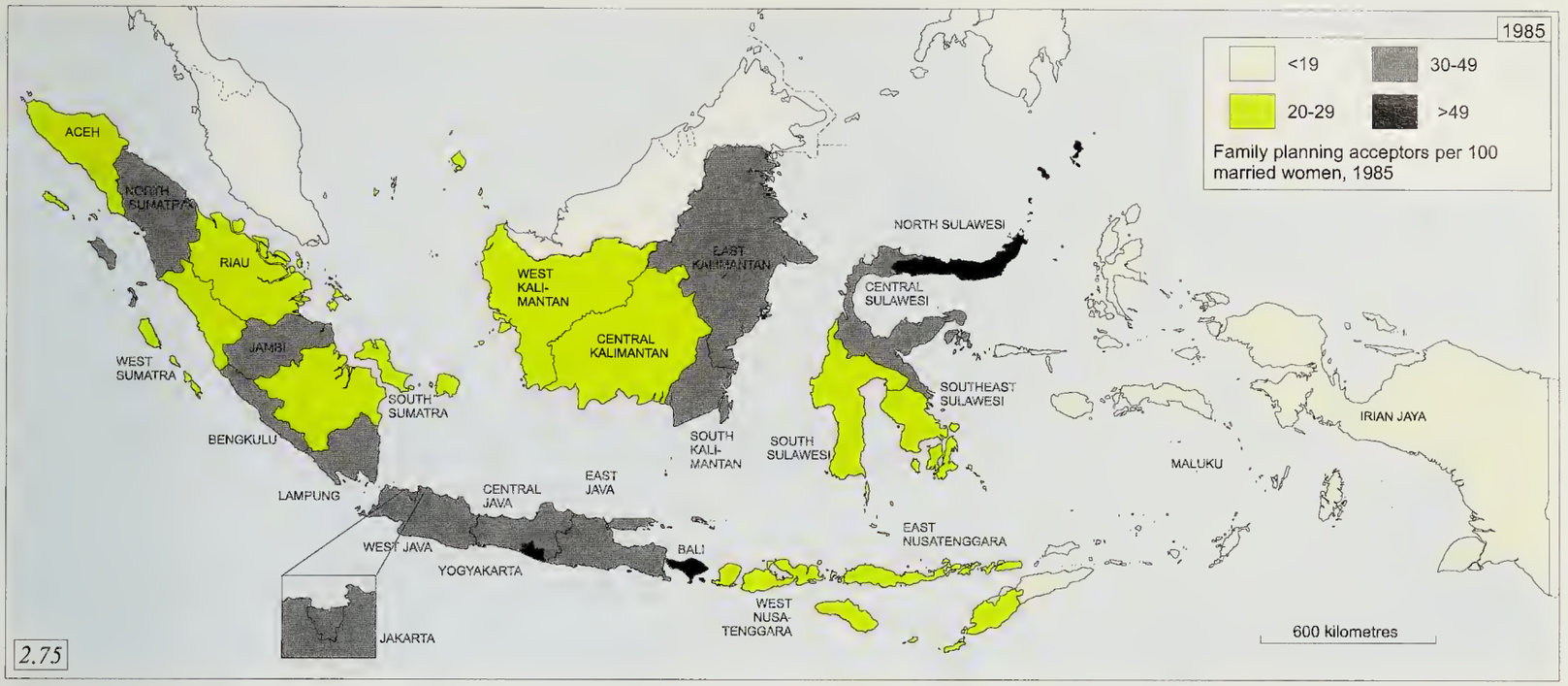
2.73 Population increase, 1930–1961 and 1961–1971 and population density, 1971.

Population density in most regions outside Java was extremely low until recent times. In 1925, the average density in the outer islands was 8 per square kilometre; Bali & Lombok, with 148, was the only administrative region outside Java to exceed 32 people per square kilometre.

The overall population density of Indonesia rose from about 26 per square kilometre in 1920 to 93 in 1990. Because Indonesia's population is relatively young, the rate of population increase is still relatively high and current predictions are that the population will reach about 370 million by 2025.

2.74 Population density, 1990.

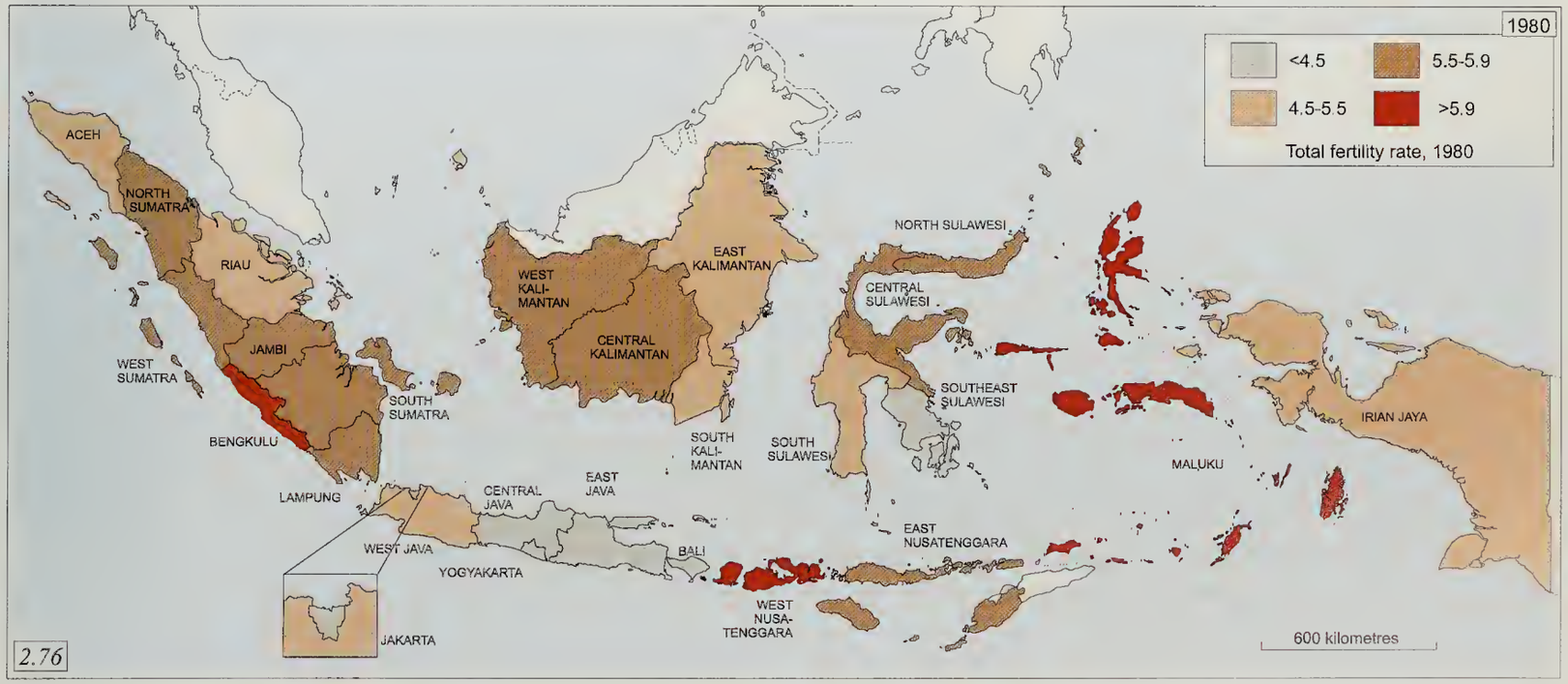


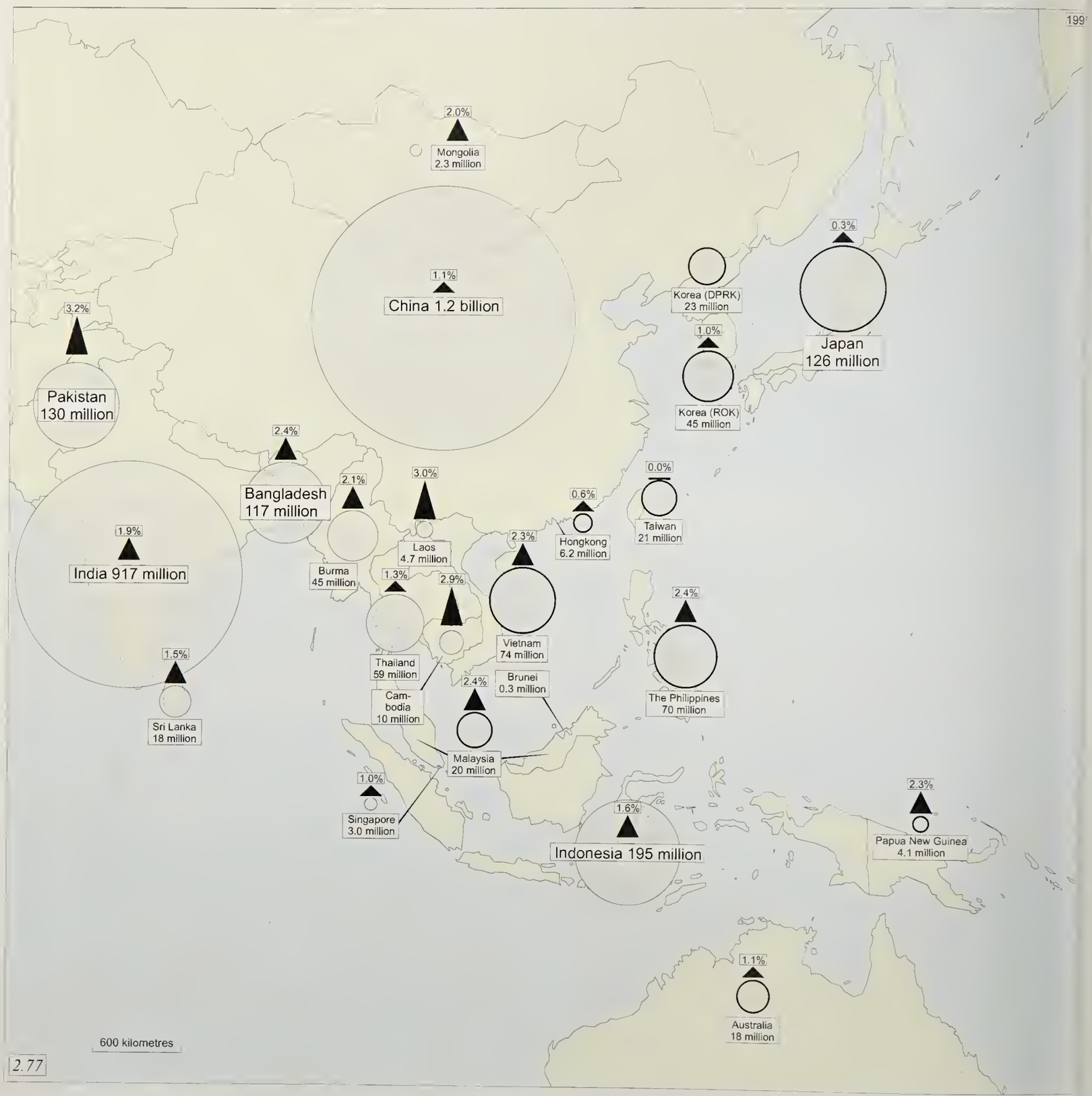


2.75 Family planning acceptors, 1985.

During the 1980s, Indonesia's rate of population increase began to slow, reducing fears of a Malthusian catastrophe in densely populated Java. Indonesia's overall population growth rate in 1990 stood at 2.0%, down from 2.2% in 1975–80 and the slowdown was greatest in the most densely populated regions of Java and Bali. The slowing of population growth can be attributed to many factors, including urbanization, better education for women, and a vigorous government family planning campaign. The National Family Planning Coordination Agency has been at the forefront of efforts to persuade Indonesians to have fewer children. Although there have been reports of considerable social pressure being placed on women to become family planning acceptors, Indonesia's programme has been largely without the extremes of coercion which have been found in China and India.

2.76 Total fertility rate, 1980.





2.77 Indonesia and its neighbours, population and population growth, 1995.

Chapter 3

States and Polities

Until 1800

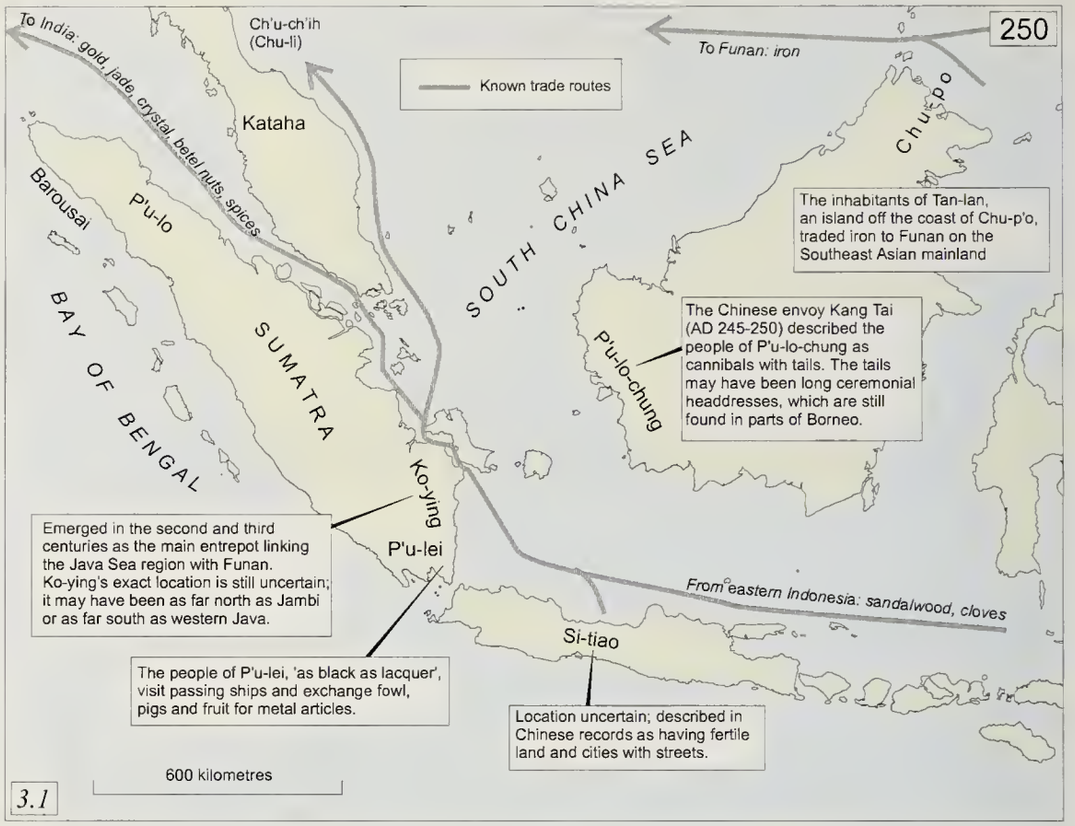
The Earliest States

We know nothing for certain about the political organization of the Austronesians as they began moving through the Indonesian archipelago about 5000 years ago, but enough communities have survived in relative isolation in various regions to let us infer that they lived in communities of a few hundred led by a headman or big man (occasionally a woman) whose authority was based more than anything else on personal skills. Depending on the circumstances of the community, these skills might be in warfare, in hunting, in magic or simply in the management of community affairs. It was an unstable political order because no leader survived long once his skills began to decline or were made obsolete by changing circumstances. Nonetheless the headship system was enduring precisely because of this flexibility, and the title of these early chiefs has survived in the languages of the archipelago in many forms (*datuk, ratu*) as a term of honour for such leaders.

We should be wary of idealizing early communities about which we know little, but there is good reason to suppose that they were relatively egalitarian, with both women and men sharing in decision-making, and without a hereditary aristocracy. Many writers, Indonesian and foreign, have identified in these communities an ethic of community spirit which was later to be called *gotong royong*, or mutual self-help. They argued that personal interest was always subordinate to the interests of the community as a whole and often suggested that decisions were taken by a process later denoted by two terms derived from Arabic. Community matters, it was said, were discussed exhaustively in a process called *musyawarah*, in which all members of the community were given the opportunity to contribute their views. This process then eventually led to consensus, or *mufakat*, articulated by community elders on the basis of all that had been said.

Many scholars are now sceptical about this view of early social arrangements, and argue that *gotong royong*, *musyawarah* and *mufakat* were primarily ideological constructions used in the 19th and 20th centuries to bolster the decision-making powers of community leaders and to suppress expressions of individualism. The idea that community interests must override the interests of the individual, however, has become an important element in contemporary claims that there is a distinctive Asian approach to human rights. The issue remains unresolved in both scholarly and political circles.

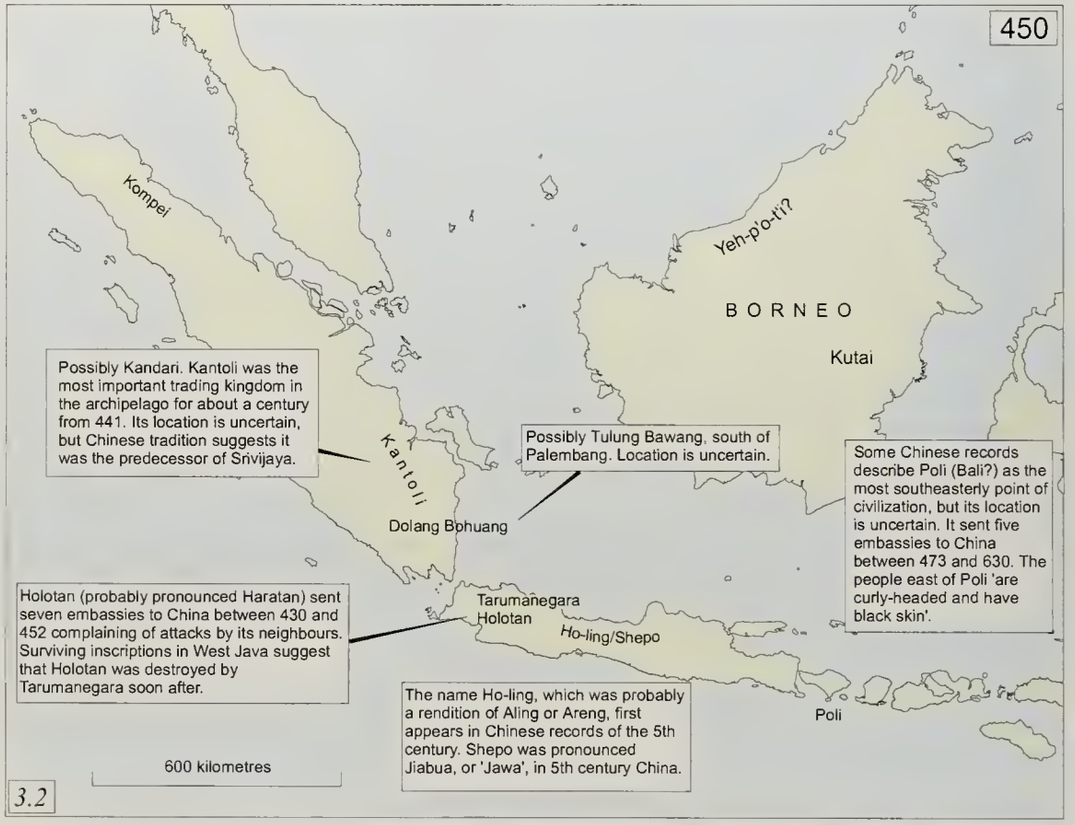
3.1 Political entities known in the archipelago, ca A.D. 250. *With the exception of Barousai/P'u-lo, the 'states' shown on this map are known only from Chinese sources. Reconstructing the indigenous names of these polities is made difficult both by the likely inaccuracies of transcription into Chinese script at the time, and by the fact that the pronunciation of Chinese has changed considerably since these early centuries. Barousai, or Barus, was described by the Greek geographer Ptolemy.*

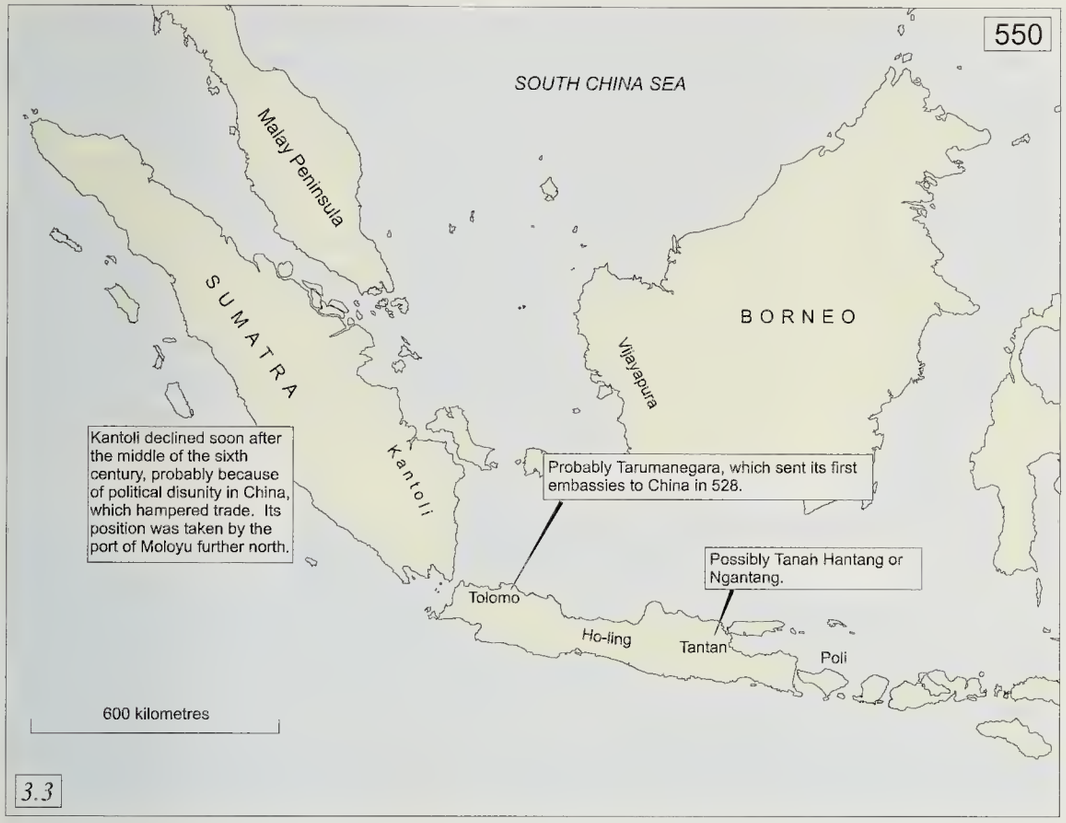

250
To India: gold, jade, crystal, betel nuts, spices
Ch'u-ch'ih (Chu-li)
To Funan: iron
Known trade routes
Kataha
Chu-po
Barousai
P'u-lo
SOUTH CHINA SEA
The inhabitants of Tan-lan, an island off the coast of Chu-p'o, traded iron to Funan on the Southeast Asian mainland
BAY OF BENGAL
SUMATRA
The Chinese envoy Kang Tai (AD 245-250) described the people of P'u-lo-chung as cannibals with tails. The tails may have been long ceremonial headdresses, which are still found in parts of Borneo.
P'u-lo-chung
Ko-ying
Emerged in the second and third centuries as the main entrepot linking the Java Sea region with Funan. Ko-ying's exact location is still uncertain; it may have been as far north as Jambi or as far south as western Java.
P'u-lei
From eastern Indonesia: sandalwood, cloves
Si-tiao
The people of P'u-lei, 'as black as lacquer', visit passing ships and exchange fowl, pigs and fruit for metal articles.
Location uncertain; described in Chinese records as having fertile land and cities with streets.
600 kilometres
3.1

Around A.D. 100, the chieftainships of the archipelago came under enormous pressure as a result of economic change. The opening of the maritime trade route between India and China and the participation of Austronesian communities in the trade brought a sudden influx of wealth into the region. Some local chiefs, we can assume, made the most of the new commercial opportunities to accumulate wealth greater than ever before seen in their communities. Others were presumably bypassed by more entrepreneurially-minded members of their communities and found themselves edged out of power. Newly wealthy chiefs needed a justification for the new disparity in wealth in their communities and turned for this justification to Indian ideas of kingship.

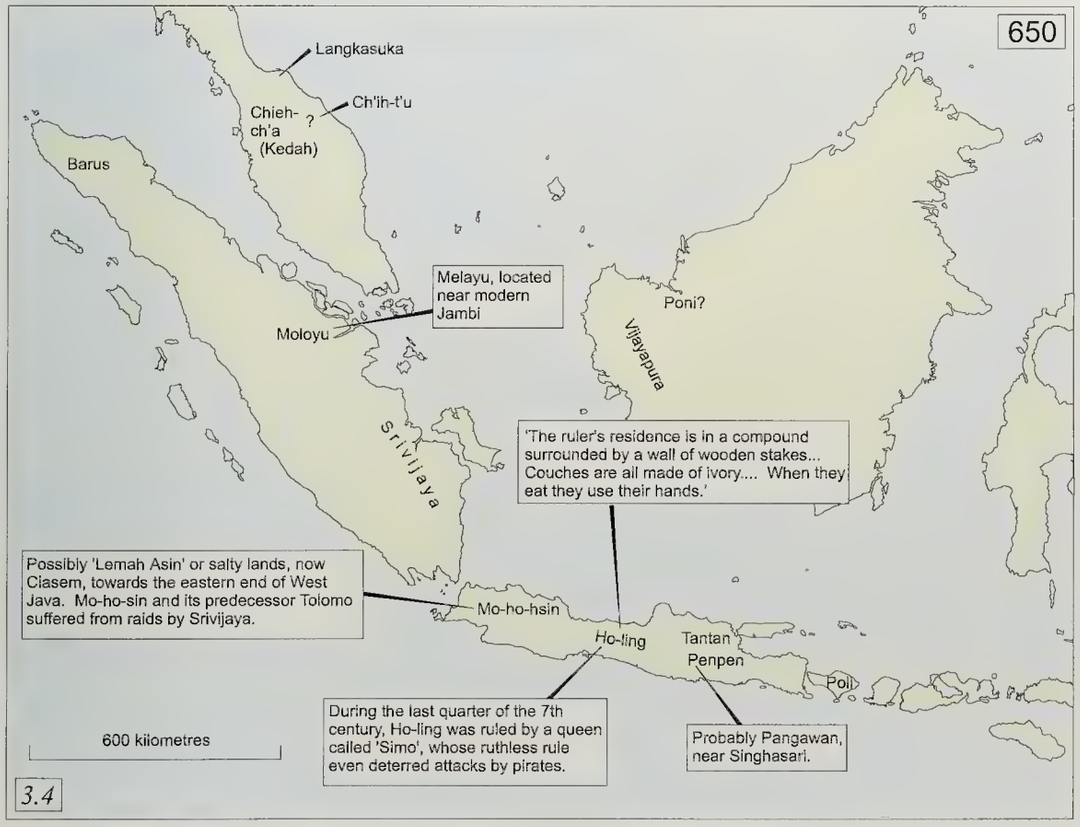
The spread of Indian political ideas and elements of Indian culture to the western part of what is now Indonesia has given rise to much historical controversy. Some early scholars believed that Indian conquerors had brought their civilization to Indonesia; others gave credit to Indian traders or to Indian missionaries. We now see the initiative as coming primarily from indigenous chiefs in the archipelago itself and this is supported by the selective adoption of Indian culture, by the fact that local people – whom we can now call generally Malays – were the major traders both in the South China Sea and on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and by the fact that there is no indication that any Indonesian ruler adopted Chinese political forms, although these were as readily available as those of India.

3.2 (below) States and courts in the archipelago, ca A.D. 450. *By this time, the polities of the archipelago were becoming more prominent in Chinese records. Still, however, very few Chinese visited the region and few local archaeological sites have been discovered to shed more light on early political structures.*


450
Kompei
Yeh-p'o-ti?
BORNEO
Kutai
Possibly Kandari. Kantoli was the most important trading kingdom in the archipelago for about a century from 441. Its location is uncertain, but Chinese tradition suggests it was the predecessor of Srivijaya.
Possibly Tulung Bawang, south of Palembang. Location is uncertain.
Some Chinese records describe Poli (Bali?) as the most southeasterly point of civilization, but its location is uncertain. It sent five embassies to China between 473 and 630. The people east of Poli 'are curly-headed and have black skin'.
Kantoli
Dolang Bohuang
Holotan (probably pronounced Haratan) sent seven embassies to China between 430 and 452 complaining of attacks by its neighbours. Surviving inscriptions in West Java suggest that Holotan was destroyed by Tarumanegara soon after.
Tarumanegara
Holotan
Ho-ling/Shepo
The name Ho-ling, which was probably a rendition of Aling or Areng, first appears in Chinese records of the 5th century. Shepo was pronounced Jiabua, or 'Jawa', in 5th century China.
Poli
600 kilometres
3.2


550
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Malay Peninsula
SUMATRA
BORNEO
Vijayapura
Kantoli declined soon after the middle of the sixth century, probably because of political disunity in China, which hampered trade. Its position was taken by the port of Moloyu further north.
Kantoli
Probably Tarumanegara, which sent its first embassies to China in 528.
Possibly Tanah Hantang or Ngantang.
Tolomo
Ho-ling
Tantan
Poli
600 kilometres
3.3

3.3 (above) States and courts in the archipelago, ca A.D. 550. *We cannot be certain of the extent to which Chinese recordkeepers applied the same name to successive states in similar locations, or the extent to which they may have re-named long-established kingdoms from time to time.*


650
Langkasuka
Chieh-ch'a (Kedah)
?
Ch'ih-t'u
Barus
Melayu, located near modern Jambi
Moloyu
Poni?
Vijayapura
Srivijaya
'The ruler's residence is in a compound surrounded by a wall of wooden stakes... Couches are all made of ivory.... When they eat they use their hands.'
Possibly 'Lemah Asin' or salty lands, now Ciasem, towards the eastern end of West Java. Mo-ho-sin and its predecessor Tolomo suffered from raids by Srivijaya.
Mo-ho-hsin
Ho-ling
Tantan
Penpen
Poli
During the last quarter of the 7th century, Ho-ling was ruled by a queen called 'Simo', whose ruthless rule even deterred attacks by pirates.
Probably Pangawan, near Singhasari.
600 kilometres
3.4

3.4 States and courts in the archipelago, ca A.D. 650.

The new rulers typically took Hindu names for themselves and their 'kingdoms', and adopted Hindu or Hindu–Buddhist rituals in their courts. These rituals generally emphasized the ruler's status as the incarnation of a Hindu god, and developed the notion that the spiritual and material welfare of the people was dependent on respect for the ruler's authority. We can assume that these newly-styled kings faced a continual struggle over authority with their vassals and subordinates, but the new political forms quickly spread, and within a century or so of the opening of the India–China maritime route the western part of the archipelago was scattered with Hindu and Buddhist courts from which kings, or *raja*, attempted to exercise some degree of hegemony both over a hinterland supplying food and goods to trade and over the trade routes leading to the main ports.

We rely for most of our knowledge of the existence and location of these courts on the writings of foreign travellers and on Chinese court records. The Chinese records are important, because for long periods of time some acknowledgement of Chinese suzerainty was the price all traders had to pay when they visited Chinese ports to trade. Indeed, at times trade was only possible under the fiction that goods were not being bought and sold but that tribute was being presented to the Emperor, who in turn bestowed gifts on those who had acknowledged his greatness. For this reason, we should be a little wary about taking at face value all the Indonesian 'states' reported in the Chinese records, but they are nonetheless an invaluable source of information on the changing political constellation in the archipelago. The courts themselves have left few records – an inscription here, a Hindu statue there (see p. 27) – but in recent years careful archaeological work has begun to make sense of many of the ambiguities and contradictions in the Chinese record, and further digging holds the greatest promise of expanding our knowledge of these 'states'.

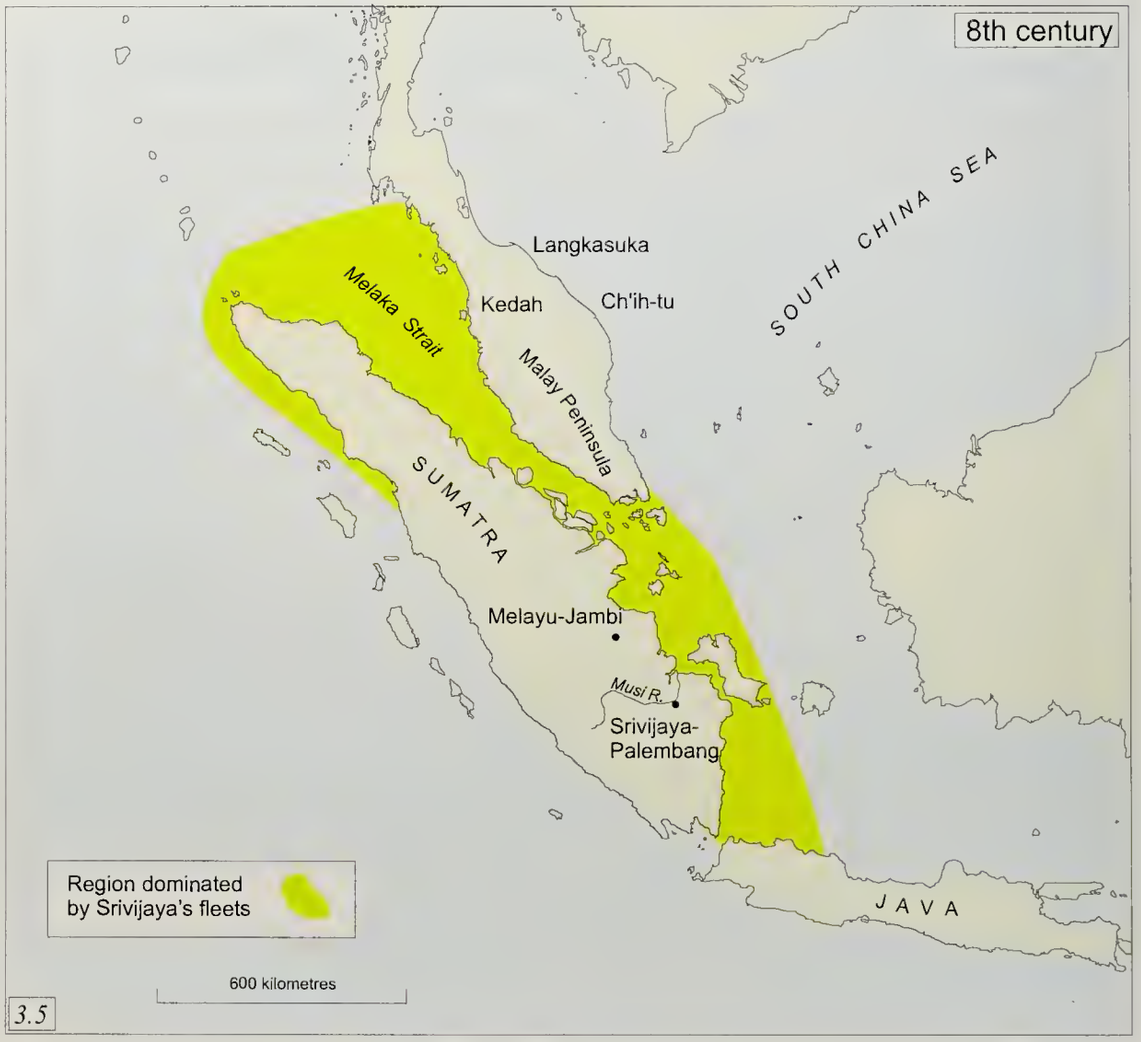
Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula

During the 8th century, an important distinction began to develop between two geo-political zones in the western archipelago. On the one hand, the Strait of Melaka (Malacca) began to develop as a key control point on the India–China trade route and a state called Srivijaya, based on the southern Sumatra city of Palembang, emerged as the first great power in the region. On the other hand, the island of Java, with its fertile soils and growing population, became a key centre of military power and cultural influence in the region.

Srivijaya's location, well south of the mouth of the Melaka Strait, does not appear to be the most suitable site for controlling trade, but this disadvantage was offset by the kingdom's access via the Musi River to a large hinterland in southern Sumatra, which supplied food, forest products and gold. Because of the rhythm of the monsoons in maritime Southeast Asia, traders moving between India and China generally needed to spend a season in port somewhere near the strait to wait for winds favourable for the onward journey.

The power of the ruler of Srivijaya rested on three distinct bases: the courtiers of the capital, who managed the port facilities which made Srivijaya an attractive destination, the chiefs of the interior communities, who supplied produce, trade goods and probably labour to the city, and the *orang laut*, or people of the sea, semi-piratical people whose homes were aboard small, fast vessels which sheltered amongst the numerous islands and inlets of the Sumatra coast. These seafarers played a crucial role in forcing ships to call at Srivijaya whether they wished to or not, and they were also the means by which the ruler of Srivijaya kept at least a broad suzerainty over potential rivals along the coast. Successive rulers of Srivijaya also appear to have cultivated a relationship with China by sending regular tribute missions and making other gestures of respect for Chinese emperors. This relationship may have assisted the activities of Srivijaya traders in the ports of China. Wealth from trade was used to support a sophisticated civilization, one in which Chinese monks came to study Buddhism and whose scholars were known for their mathematical expertise.

In the 11th century, Srivijaya went into abrupt decline, particularly as a result of destructive raids from Java in 992 and from the Chola rulers of southern India in 1025. Shortly thereafter the empire's capital appears to have moved from Palembang to Jambi (Melayu), though the reasons for this move are not clear. From about this time, however, Srivijaya appears to have ceased to be the dominant power in the region.

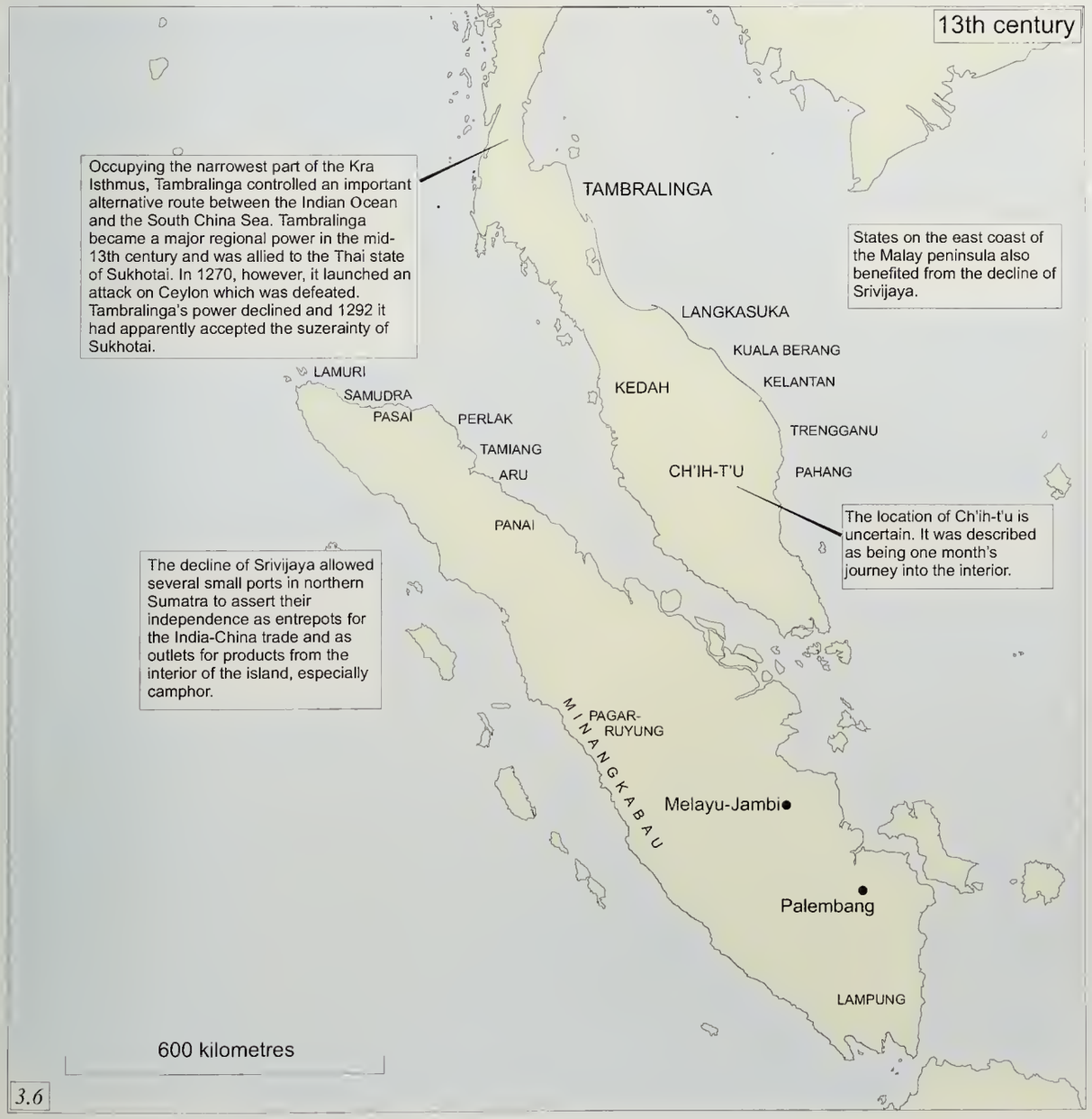


3.5 The likely extent of Srivijaya's maritime empire. *There is no reason to suppose that these early states possessed borders in anything like the modern sense. To begin with, centres of power were generally separated by geographical barriers – mountains, seas, jungles – which made the drawing of a line of demarcation unnecessary. The actual power of any ruler and court, moreover, fluctuated over time: even the transition between wet and dry seasons or the regular change in the direction of the monsoons could mean a difference in the practical extent of a ruler's political authority. Southeast Asia, too, has been relatively sparsely populated throughout much of its history, and the control of people was at least as important as control of territory. This meant that rulers generally constructed their polities by means of an elaborate series of alliances with those who could deliver them support. And finally, the Hindu–Buddhist cosmology which the new rulers adopted emphasized the boundless dominion of the ruler, making them reluctant to set any formal geographical limit to their authority.*

Although Jambi inherited some of the authority of Srivijaya, the balance of power in Sumatra and the peninsula shifted dramatically in the 12th and 13th centuries. On the northern coast of Sumatra, several small trading states – Aru, Tamiang, Perlak, Pasai, Samudra and Lamuri – now came to prominence. These states were the first in Indonesia to convert to Islam, Perlak probably being the earliest in about 1290. In central Sumatra, the Buddhist kingdom of the Minangkabau, sometimes called Pagarruyung after its capital, emerged in about 1250 and extended its hegemony down into the coastal regions facing the strait. Palembang and Jambi, however, declined in importance, though they remained significant regional ports. Late in the 13th century, both became the target of Javanese expansionism, when king Kertanegara of Singhasari launched what was called the *pamalayu* expedition.

Kertanegara appears to have attacked Jambi in 1275, and his quarrel with Kublai Khan a few years later (see p. 86) was partly over who was to receive tribute from Palembang.

On the Malay peninsula, too, numerous small states emerged, notably Kedah, which had had a long history as one of Srivijaya's less tractable vassals. The most northerly of the peninsular states – Tambralinga and Langkasuka – however, found themselves under increasing pressure in this era from the Thai state of Sukhotai and its successor Ayutthaya. There is even some evidence of a seaborne raid on Jambi by forces from Ayutthaya at the end of the 13th century.


13th century
Occupying the narrowest part of the Kra Isthmus, Tambralinga controlled an important alternative route between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Tambralinga became a major regional power in the mid-13th century and was allied to the Thai state of Sukhotai. In 1270, however, it launched an attack on Ceylon which was defeated. Tambralinga's power declined and 1292 it had apparently accepted the suzerainty of Sukhotai.
TAMBRALINGA
States on the east coast of the Malay peninsula also benefited from the decline of Srivijaya.
LANGKASUKA
KUALA BERANG
KELANTAN
KEDAH
LAMURI
SAMUDRA
PASAI
PERLAK
TAMIANG
ARU
TRENGGANU
CH'IH-T'U
PAHANG
PANAI
The location of Ch'ih-t'u is uncertain. It was described as being one month's journey into the interior.
The decline of Srivijaya allowed several small ports in northern Sumatra to assert their independence as entrepots for the India-China trade and as outlets for products from the interior of the island, especially camphor.
PAGAR-RUYUNG
MINANGKABAU
Melayu-Jambi
Palembang
LAMPUNG
600 kilometres
3.6

3.6 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, 13th century. *According to legend, the Javanese kingdom of Singhasari also attacked the Minangkabau kingdom. To avert bloodshed, the two sides agreed that the conflict would be settled by means of a buffalo fight. The Javanese champion was a huge bull, but the Minangkabau came forward with a buffalo calf, not yet weaned from its mother. The Javanese expected an easy victory, but the Minangkabau had kept the calf thirsty and had tied razor-sharp knives to its head. When the two animals were released into the ring, the calf rushed immediately towards the bull and nuzzled its belly, hoping to find milk. The knives attached to its head cut open the bull and the Minangkabau claimed victory.*

The civil war in Java which ended Kertanegara's rule, and the Mongol invasion which followed, ended Javanese intervention in Sumatra for some decades. By the middle of the 14th century, however, the Javanese empire of Majapahit claimed suzerainty over the whole of Sumatra and over the peninsula as far north as Langkasuka. It is unlikely that this suzerainty translated anywhere into direct rule from Java, but local Sumatran courts, especially in the southern half of the island, certainly paid homage to Majapahit and modelled the ceremony and culture in their own courts on the greater splendour of the Javanese capital.

Majapahit's most important rival for influence in Sumatra may have been the Minangkabau kingdom, which evidently included Jambi and other east coast ports in its sphere of influence in the middle of the century. Minangkabau itself, however, was claimed by Majapahit as a vassal and its greatest ruler, Adityavarman, may have been part-Javanese.

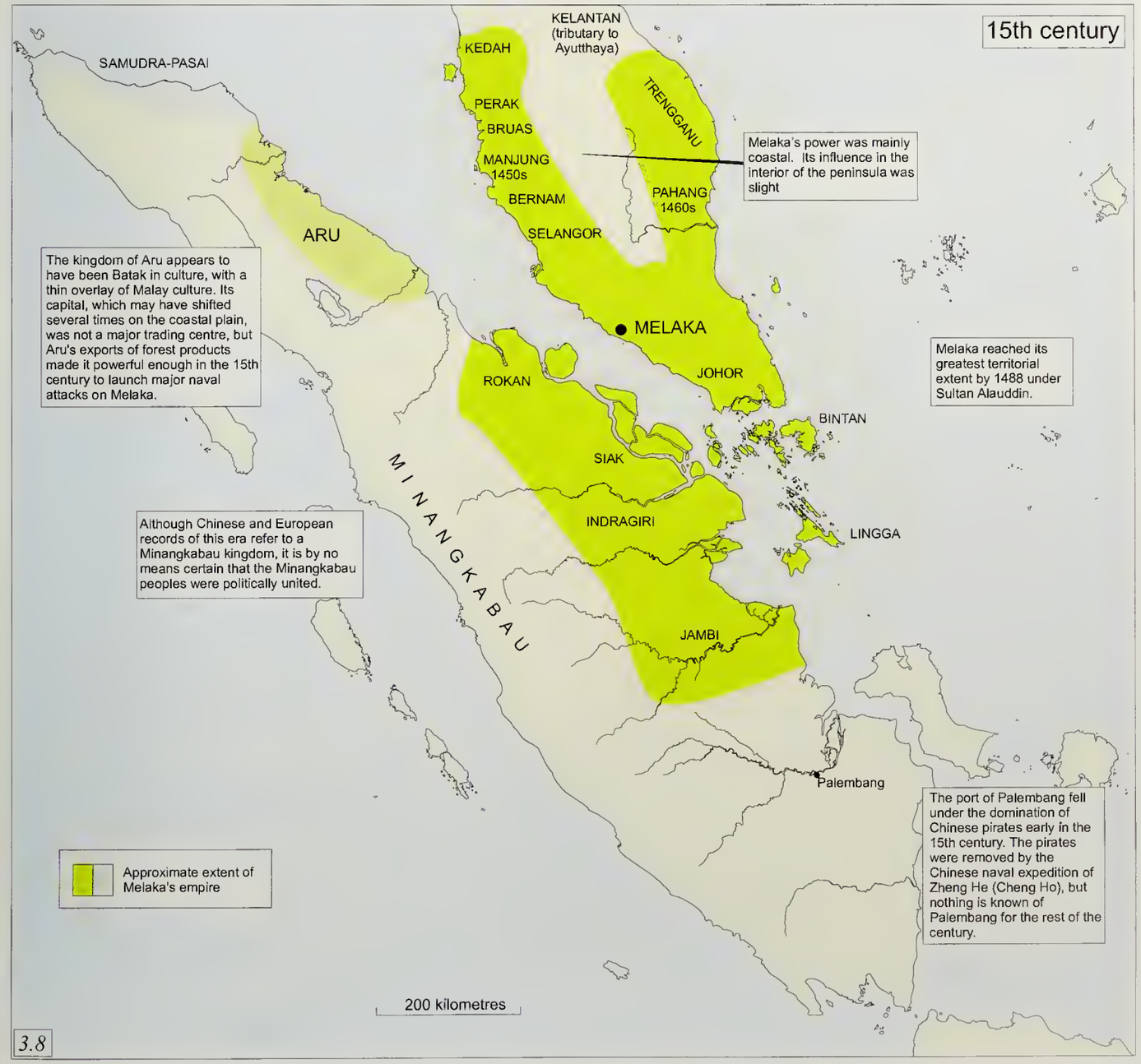
In about 1377, the ruler of Jambi apparently asserted his independence from Java and sought formal investiture by the Chinese emperor. Majapahit reacted brutally: the envoys sent from China to conduct the ceremony were waylaid and killed, and Javanese forces attacked and sacked Jambi itself. Palembang suffered a similar fate about a decade later. Believing that the death of the Majapahit king Hayam Wuruk gave an opportunity for greater independence, the ruler of Palembang repudiated Javanese domination in 1389. In retaliation his city was destroyed, and the administration of what remained came into the hands of local Chinese merchants.

3.7 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, 14th century. *At about the time of the sack of Palembang by the Javanese in the 1390s, a Palembang prince called Parameswara fled the region in search of a base where he could be free of Javanese domination. His story is recorded with different details in early European records and in the Malay epic* Sejarah Melayu, *but he appears to have settled for a time in Temasik (the site of today's Singapore), where he fought off both Javanese and Thai forces, before he or one of his descendants chose a site close to the narrowest point of the strait which became known as Melaka.*

The port city of Melaka, founded by Parameswara or his descendants, quickly rose to be the most powerful state in the region. Abundant fresh water, a deep harbour and control of the narrowest part of the strait gave it an immediate advantage in attracting traders. So too did its ruler's careful strategy of providing excellent facilities for merchants. Specially appointed *shahbandar*, or harbour-lords, maintained the warehouses, policed transactions and settled disputes between the dozens of trading communities in the city. Melaka's main trading rival, the northern Sumatra state of Samudra-Pasai, was never able to match these advantages. Melaka's ruler also inherited from his Palembang forebears a close relationship with the *orang laut*, the semi-piratical sea people who had been the basis of Srivijaya's navy.

Melaka also benefited from the decline of Majapahit, from a lull in the southward expansion of the Thai, and from a close relationship with the Chinese empire. Under the Yung-lo emperor, China briefly abandoned its hostility to trade and sought out reliable allies as trading partners in South and Southeast Asia. Melaka was the most favoured of these allies.

At the height of its power, Melaka was one of the great cities of the world and the largest city in Southeast Asia. Melaka's empire was never extensive – with its control of the strait it had no need for a farflung empire – but its influence as a glittering centre of culture stretched far beyond its immediate environment. This reputation was its downfall, for it was a major target of the European interlopers into Southeast Asia in the early 16th century, and it fell to an attack by the Portuguese admiral Alfonso d'Albuquerque in 1511.


15th century
SAMUDRA-PASAI
KELANTAN (tributary to Ayutthaya)
KEDAH
PERAK
BRUAS
MANJUNG 1450s
BERNAM
SELANGOR
TRENGGANU
PAHANG 1460s
Melaka's power was mainly coastal. Its influence in the interior of the peninsula was slight
ARU
The kingdom of Aru appears to have been Batak in culture, with a thin overlay of Malay culture. Its capital, which may have shifted several times on the coastal plain, was not a major trading centre, but Aru's exports of forest products made it powerful enough in the 15th century to launch major naval attacks on Melaka.
MELAKA
JOHOR
Melaka reached its greatest territorial extent by 1488 under Sultan Alauddin.
ROKAN
BINTAN
SIAK
INDRAGIRI
LINGGA
MINANGKABAU
Although Chinese and European records of this era refer to a Minangkabau kingdom, it is by no means certain that the Minangkabau peoples were politically united.
JAMBI
Palembang
The port of Palembang fell under the domination of Chinese pirates early in the 15th century. The pirates were removed by the Chinese naval expedition of Zheng He (Cheng Ho), but nothing is known of Palembang for the rest of the century.
Approximate extent of Melaka's empire
200 kilometres
3.8

3.8 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, 15th century. *Parameswara, the founder of Melaka, apparently converted to Islam towards the end of his life. Whether or not he did so out of conviction, his action made commercial sense. Islam was the dominant religion amongst merchants in the Indian Ocean. As travellers and traders, the merchants found much appeal in the fact that Islam's God was everywhere, not tied to a single place like many traditional deities, as well as in Islam's insistence on the equality of believers.*

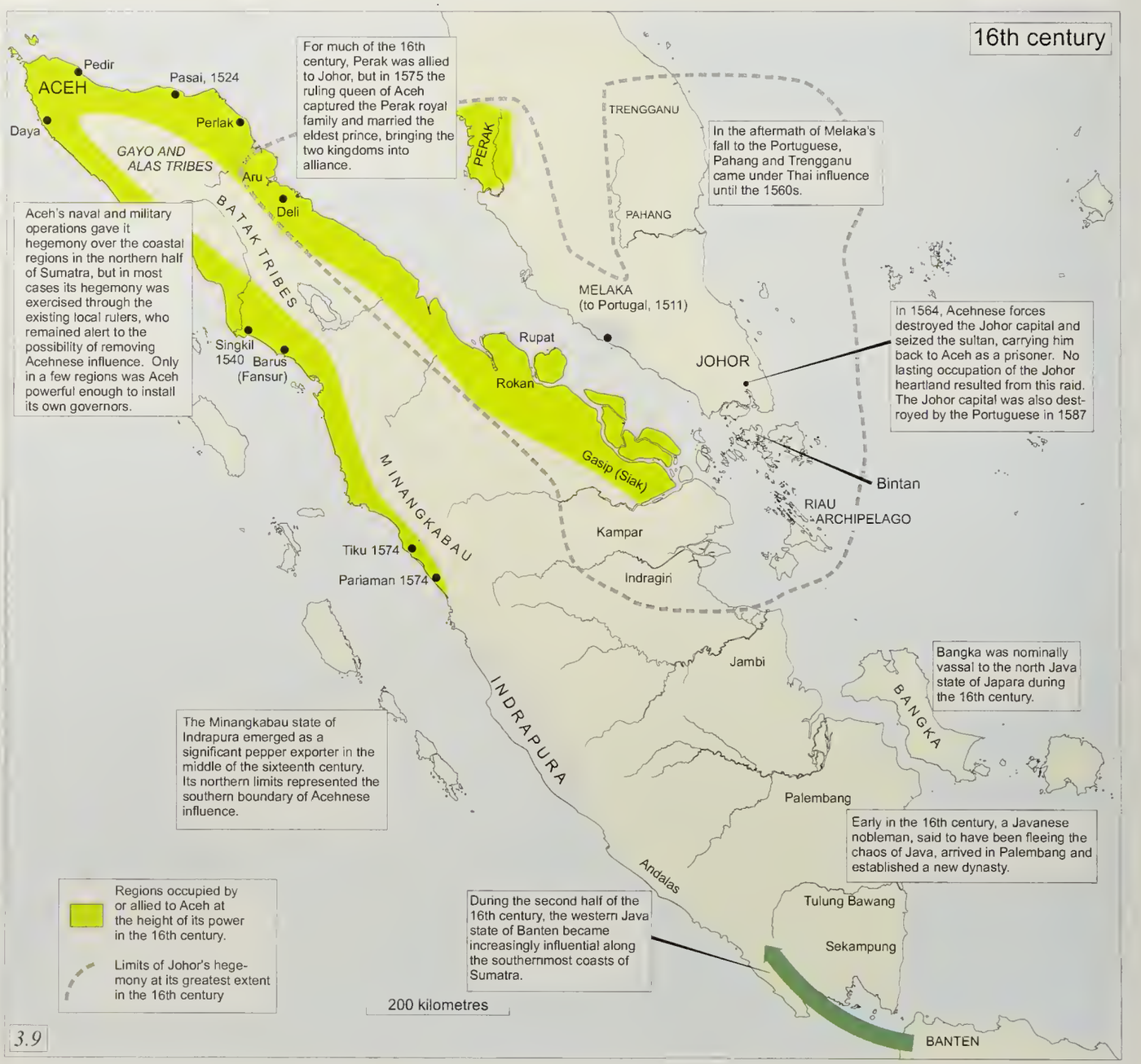
As the first great state in Southeast Asia to convert to Islam, Melaka became the model for newer Muslim states, its cultural influence spreading far beyond its area of political control.

Melaka under the Portuguese never recovered the prosperity it had enjoyed under its sultans. Many Muslim traders now consciously avoided it, and the Portuguese themselves were less interested than their predecessors in the needs of foreign traders. As a result, Melaka lost its pre-eminence as an entrepot in the region.

One of the greatest beneficiaries of Melaka's fall was the small kingdom of Aceh, at the far northern tip of Sumatra. Many traders and scholars who fled from Melaka after the fall settled in Aceh, which now began to displace Samudra-Pasai as the principal power on the north Sumatra coast. Seeking to take over the mantle of Melaka, Aceh's first sultan, Ali Mughayat Syah, began a series of campaigns which took the influence of Aceh down the Sumatra coasts as far as Gasip (Siak) in the east and Tiku and Pariaman in the west.

Across the strait, meanwhile, the sultan of Melaka had fled into the interior of the peninsula immediately after the Portuguese conquest, but he eventually settled on the island of Bintan in the Riau archipelago. There, close to some of the largest communities of seafaring nomads (*orang laut*), he hoped to marshal his forces to recover the city. The Portuguese, however, pursued him, destroying his new capital in 1526 and driving him to seek refuge in Kampar in Sumatra. His son eventually re-established a kingdom in Johor in about 1530.

For the remainder of the 16th century, Aceh, Johor and the Portuguese fought a three-way contest for dominance in the strait. The Portuguese never extended their territorial control beyond Melaka, but their fleets were a potent force along the coasts. Johor exercised a broad hegemony

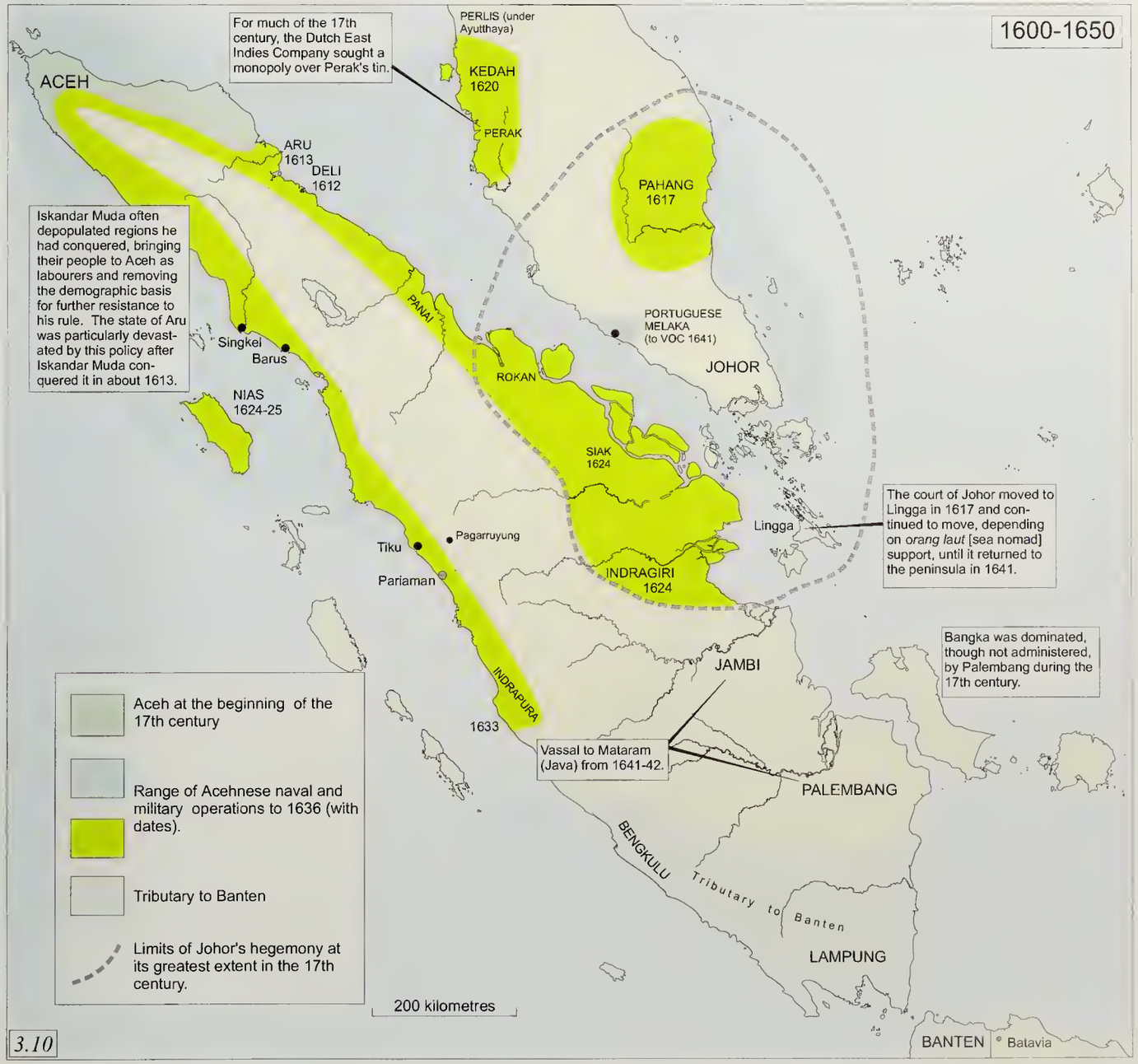

16th century
Pedir
ACEH
Pasai, 1524
Daya
Perlak
GAYO AND ALAS TRIBES
Aru
Deli
BATAK TRIBES
Singkil
1540
Barus (Fansur)
MINANGKABAU
Tiku 1574
Pariaman 1574
PERAK
For much of the 16th century, Perak was allied to Johor, but in 1575 the ruling queen of Aceh captured the Perak royal family and married the eldest prince, bringing the two kingdoms into alliance.
Aceh's naval and military operations gave it hegemony over the coastal regions in the northern half of Sumatra, but in most cases its hegemony was exercised through the existing local rulers, who remained alert to the possibility of removing Acehnese influence. Only in a few regions was Aceh powerful enough to install its own governors.
TRENGGANU
In the aftermath of Melaka's fall to the Portuguese, Pahang and Trengganu came under Thai influence until the 1560s.
PAHANG
MELAKA
(to Portugal, 1511)
Rupat
Rokan
Gasip (Siak)
JOHOR
In 1564, Acehnese forces destroyed the Johor capital and seized the sultan, carrying him back to Aceh as a prisoner. No lasting occupation of the Johor heartland resulted from this raid. The Johor capital was also destroyed by the Portuguese in 1587
Bintan
RIAU
ARCHIPELAGO
Kampar
Indragiri
Jambi
Bangka was nominally vassal to the north Java state of Japara during the 16th century.
BANGKA
INDRAPURA
The Minangkabau state of Indrapura emerged as a significant pepper exporter in the middle of the sixteenth century. Its northern limits represented the southern boundary of Acehnese influence.
Palembang
Early in the 16th century, a Javanese nobleman, said to have been fleeing the chaos of Java, arrived in Palembang and established a new dynasty.
Andalas
During the second half of the 16th century, the western Java state of Banten became increasingly influential along the southernmost coasts of Sumatra.
Tulung Bawang
Sekampung
BANTEN
Regions occupied by or allied to Aceh at the height of its power in the 16th century.
Limits of Johor's hegemony at its greatest extent in the 16th century
200 kilometres
3.9

3.9 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, 16th century. *The polities of 16th century Sumatra varied greatly in form. Aceh and Melaka, with their monarchs, armies, aristocracies and vassals corresponded most closely to 16th-century European ideas of the state. The Batak and Minangkabau peoples of the interior, on the other hand, appear to not have had well-developed state forms. In both societies, village communities were the most important unit of government and supra-village political organization took the form of federations and alliances. These associations were often headed by military and spiritual leaders who were seen by Europeans as kings in the Western style, but who lacked significant executive authority.*

over the peninsula and over the opposite shore of Sumatra, but raids from Aceh made its tenure uncertain.

The contest between Aceh and Johor revived during the first half of the 17th century, when Acehnese power grew once again under Sultan Iskandar Muda. Aceh dominated the western coast of Sumatra and challenged Johor on the peninsula and in the strait. After Iskandar's death in 1636, Acehnese influence began to contract, partly because Johor had found a new ally in the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC). The two joined forces in 1641 to drive the Portuguese from Melaka, and the Dutch then brokered a peace between Johor and Aceh which allowed Johor to recover its influence in Pahang.

In southern Sumatra, the arrival of Portuguese and later other European traders stimulated a massive expansion in the production of pepper. The most southerly pepper-producing region of Lampung was conquered by the western Java state of Banten in the second half of the 16th century and Banten's influence also stretched up the west coast as far as Bengkulu. Further north on the east coast, pepper became the basis for a revival of the Palembang and Jambi regions, which had been the heart of Srivijaya. This prosperity, however, attracted the attention of the expansionist Javanese state of Mataram, which laid a general claim to Palembang in 1625 and sent a fleet in 1641–42 to force both Palembang and Jambi to become vassals of Java.

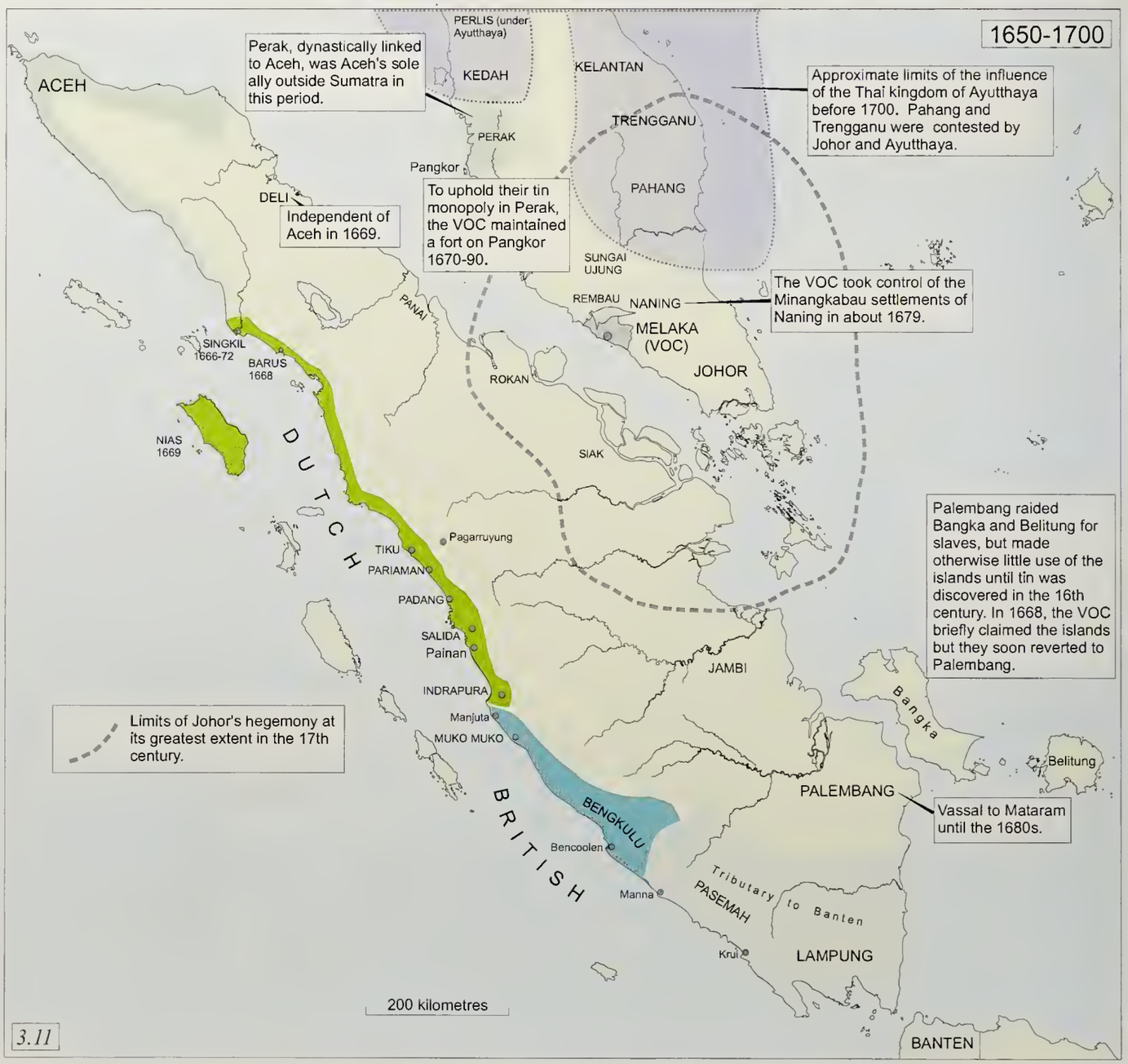

1600-1650
For much of the 17th century, the Dutch East Indies Company sought a monopoly over Perak's tin.
PERLIS (under Ayutthaya)
KEDAH 1620
PERAK
ACEH
ARU 1613
DELI 1612
PAHANG 1617
Iskandar Muda often depopulated regions he had conquered, bringing their people to Aceh as labourers and removing the demographic basis for further resistance to his rule. The state of Aru was particularly devastated by this policy after Iskandar Muda conquered it in about 1613.
PANAI
Singkel
Barus
NIAS 1624-25
PORTUGUESE MELAKA (to VOC 1641)
JOHOR
ROKAN
SIAK 1624
The court of Johor moved to Lingga in 1617 and continued to move, depending on *orang laut* [sea nomad] support, until it returned to the peninsula in 1641.
Lingga
Pagarruyung
Tiku
Pariaman
INDRAGIRI 1624
Bangka was dominated, though not administered, by Palembang during the 17th century.
JAMBI
INDRAPURA
1633
Vassal to Mataram (Java) from 1641-42.
PALEMBANG
BENGKULU
Tributary to Banten
LAMPUNG
Aceh at the beginning of the 17th century
Range of Acehnese naval and military operations to 1636 (with dates).
Tributary to Banten
Limits of Johor's hegemony at its greatest extent in the 17th century.
200 kilometres
BANTEN
Batavia
3.10

3.10 Sumatra, first half of 17th century. *Another political form which Europeans found unusual was the existence of paired identities within a single polity. Most often – though it was by no means a widespread phenomenon – two royal or quasi-royal families held interlinked authority, often describing their relationship as one between elder and younger brother, with all the attendant complications of affection and rivalry, or between upstream and downstream. The kingdoms of Jambi and Palembang had one such role; more intricately related were the two royal families, one Batak and one Malay, in the northern Sumatran state of Barus.*

The successors of Sultan Iskandar Muda were unable to maintain the empire he had created and in the middle of the 17th century, the Acehnese empire began to contract. Within Aceh, moreover, royal power dwindled in the hinterland with the rise of powerful regional warlords or *uleëbalang*. Although Aceh remained independent, it was never again a major power.

Meanwhile, Aceh's main rival, Johor, was also in decline. From the north, the aggressive Thai kingdom of Ayutthaya had turned Kedah into a vassal, requiring its ruler to send as tribute an intricate gold and silver tree (*bunga mas dan perak*). Johor was also under pressure from the south. From the middle of the 17th century, the pepper kingdoms of Jambi and Palembang had grown increasingly independent of their Javanese overlords and had begun to develop close relations with the VOC. Palembang soon fell out with the VOC, which sent forces to destroy its capital in 1659, but Jambi continued to prosper, repudiating Mataram's overlordship in 1663. By 1673, Jambi was powerful enough to attack Johor and to destroy its capital utterly. Johor's rulers then shifted their court once again into the islands for fifteen years. The final blow to Johor's standing came in 1699, with the assassination of the brutal Sultan Mahmud, which broke Johor's dynastic link with the prestige of the Melaka sultanate.

The decline of Aceh and Johor gave new opportunities to the Minangkabau peoples of central Sumatra. Siak on the Sumatra coast opposite Johor, Indrapura on the west coast, and the small Minangkabau communities of Sungai Ujung and Rembau near Melaka all became virtually independent in this era.



3.11 Sumatra, second half of 17th century. *In the early 17th century the Dutch and British established trading posts in many port cities in Sumatra without acquiring territory. From the middle of the century, however, both powers sought determinedly to create spheres of influence in the pepper ports of the west coast. The Dutch campaign culminated in the 1663 Treaty of Painan, under which several local rulers repudiated Acehnese hegemony and accepted that of the VOC, though a permanent Dutch presence was not established until 1680. The British were gradually confined to the southern coast, which they dominated from their fort at Bencoolen (Bengkulu), established in 1685.*

The assassination of Sultan Mahmud of Johor led to the disintegration of what remained of Johor's empire. The Thai state of Ayutthaya invaded Trengganu, most of the East Sumatra coast as well as the Minangkabau settlements west of Melaka threw off Johor's domination, and in 1718 Johor's former vassal Siak attacked and occupied its territory. The sultan fled to Trengganu, which enjoyed a brief heyday as the centre of Malay power on the peninsula, though its power never extended beyond the east coast. Johor, meanwhile, came under the control of Bugis adventurers from Sulawesi, who also established the new state of Selangor between Melaka and Perak.

Bugis power drove Siak from the peninsula and the Riau archipelago, re-establishing 'Johor' with its capital on Bintan. Siak meanwhile extended its power northward along the Sumatra coast as far as Tamiang. Although Siak was still nominally a vassal of Johor until 1745, when the sultan ceded it to the VOC, in practice it was independent of all outside powers.

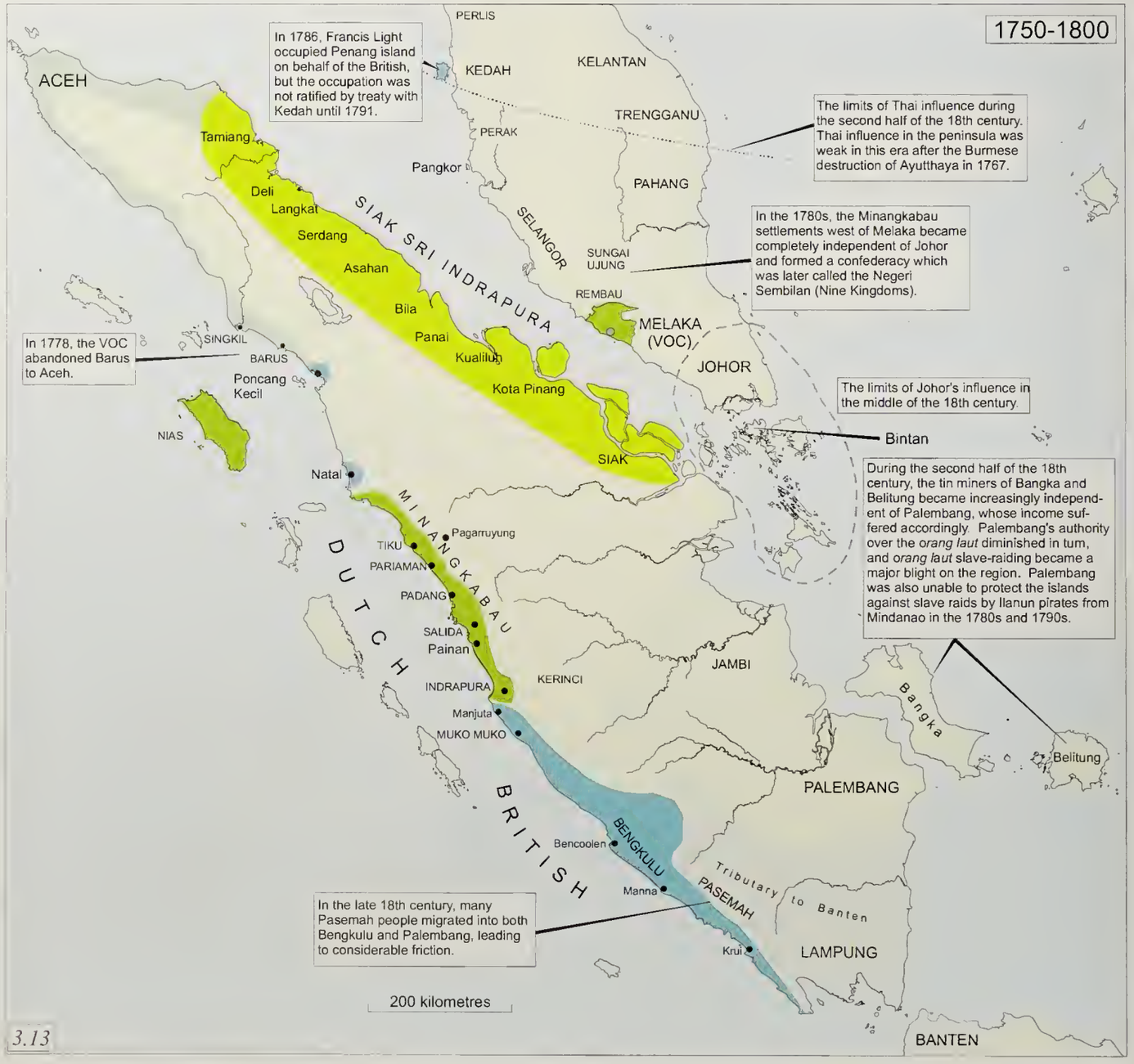
The greatest power on the island, however, was Palembang, which grew wealthy from the tin mines on the island of Bangka. Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin (r. 1724–57) kept tight control of the tin trade and delivered reliably to the VOC. Because Bangka and Belitung had been seriously depopulated by the slave-raiding of the previous century, however, the sultan encouraged Chinese miners to settle and work the deposits. By the middle of the century they dominated production.

3.12 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, first half of 18th century.

During the second half of the 18th century, VOC power became increasingly decisive in the international politics of the Melaka Strait region. In 1753, the Company gained sovereignty over Banten, giving it a legal claim to Lampung. It was also engaged in a protracted struggle with the Bugis on the peninsula and in the Riau archipelago during which the Bugis occupied Kedah and the Dutch briefly took Selangor and sacked Bintan yet again. 'Johor', which still had little presence in the Malay peninsula, came under Dutch influence and was under effective Dutch rule until 1795.

Further north, Acehnese power recovered somewhat, but the more significant power was the sultan of Siak Sri Indrapura, a state founded in 1723, which had extended its hegemony northwards as far as Tamiang by 1780.

The west coast of Sumatra, meanwhile, became the scene of sporadic competition between the colonial powers. The vague understanding which gave the north to the VOC and the south to the British broke down when the British established forts at Poncang Kecil and Natal on the Tapanuli coast in 1752, though these posts never grew into a significant colonial presence. In the south, Bencoolen was briefly occupied by French forces in 1760. The British in turn occupied Padang from 1781 to 1784, while the French took the settlement briefly in 1793. In 1795, under an agreement between William of Orange and the British during the Napoleonic occupation of the Netherlands, British forces occupied Padang again, along with Melaka, to exclude the French.



3.13 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, second half of 18th century.

Java

The second major geo-political zone to develop in western Indonesia was in Java. In the interior of the island, a combination of rich volcanic soil and abundant rain made the Kedu plain the richest agricultural region of maritime Southeast Asia. Somewhat isolated from the north coast by mountains, the region was less vulnerable than most to sea-borne attack, and its rulers were able to keep the merchant world of the trading cities at bay, with the result that royal authority became more deeply established than elsewhere.

The early history of Kedu is as shadowy as that of the rest of the archipelago. The region may at first have been under the domination of Ho-ling, but in about 732 a king called Sanjaya, a follower of the Hindu god Siva, established a kingdom there which we generally call Mataram. Sanjaya was probably not an absolute ruler in any sense; he is probably best thought of as a local warlord who managed by a combination of careful alliance and calculated warfare with other warlords to establish himself as the most important power-holder in the plain. Within a few decades, moreover, and for reasons still not at all clear, his lineage was eclipsed by other rulers who were followers of Mahayana Buddhism and who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sailendra dynasty. The Sailendras apparently sponsored the construction of the Borobudur, a massive Buddhist *stupa*, on the Kedu plain, as well as a number of other major monuments. This era of temple construction, which is paralleled nowhere else in maritime Southeast Asia, is a powerful measure of the ability of rulers in Central Java to mobilize the labour of their people on a massive scale.

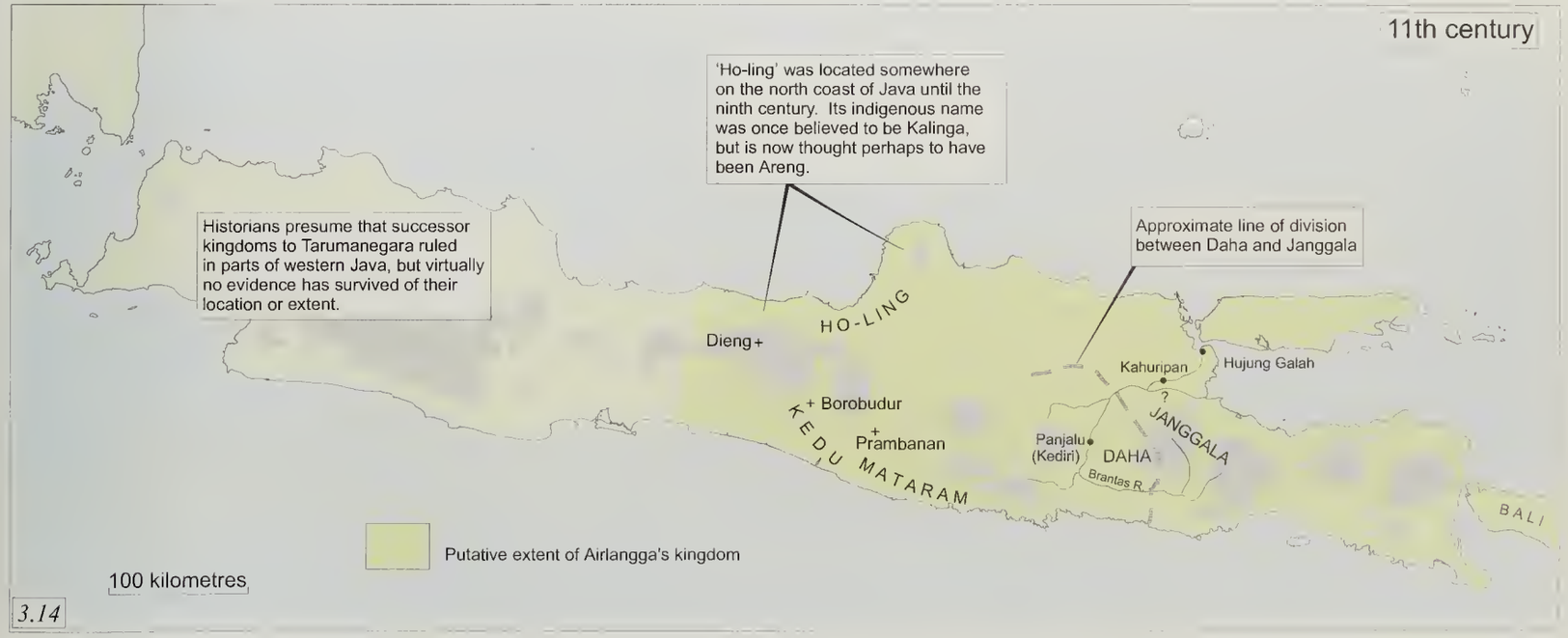
The coastal polity of Ho-ling evidently survived the rise to power of Mataram on the other side of the mountains, for its ruler sent an embassy to China as late as 820, announcing that it had resumed the old name Jawa ('Shepo'), but there are signs that it sent this embassy from eastern Java, having been displaced there by Mataram.

The disappearance of Ho-ling soon after 820 coincides with the overthrow of the Sailendras by a Hindu descendant of Sanjaya named Pikatan who restored Sivaitic Hinduism as the dominant religion. Pikatan or his successors were responsible for the construction of the Hindu temple complex of Prambanan and the century or so which followed is generally recognized as a time of cultural florescence, in which Java absorbed and re-worked new elements of Indian culture to create a distinctive indigenous variant of Indian civilization.

In the middle of the 10th century, for reasons which are still not clear, the centre of Javanese power moved from the Kedu plain to the valley of the Brantas River in eastern Java. There, with easier access to the sea, Javanese rulers may have become more closely involved in trade. They were also more vulnerable, and in 1016 were badly defeated in battle, probably during an attack from Srivijaya.

Out of this defeat, however, emerged the reign of Airlangga, founder of Java's first empire. Reputedly the son of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess, he was able to bring east and central Java, as well as Bali, under a relatively united regime, though this probably meant that he was able to keep up a sustained intimidation of regional lords, rather than that he ruled closely. His capital was at Kahuripan in the lower reaches of the Brantas and his seaport, Hujung Galah, was probably close to the site of modern Surabaya. On his deathbed in 1049, Airlangga divided his kingdom between his two sons, one taking the lower reaches of the Brantas as ruler of a kingdom known as Janggala, the other establishing a new capital in Panjalu (later Kediri) and ruling a kingdom called Daha. Hardly any information on either kingdom has survived, but two hundred years later, when records are once more available, the division was still politically significant.

3.14 Airlangga's kingdom, 11th century.

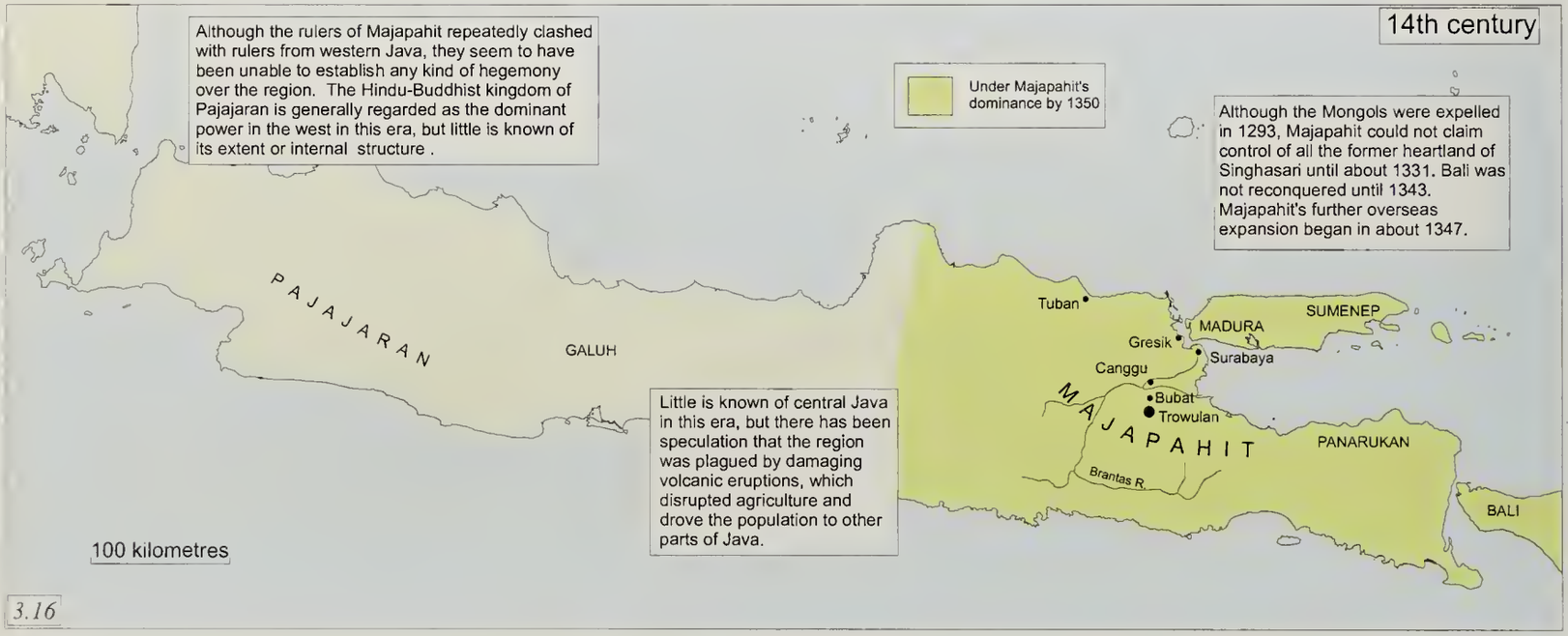

11th century
'Ho-ling' was located somewhere on the north coast of Java until the ninth century. Its indigenous name was once believed to be Kalinga, but is now thought perhaps to have been Areng.
Historians presume that successor kingdoms to Tarumanegara ruled in parts of western Java, but virtually no evidence has survived of their location or extent.
Approximate line of division between Daha and Janggala
HO-LING
Dieng
Kahuripan
Hujung Galah
Borobudur
Prambanan
KEDU
MATARAM
JANGGALA
Panjalu (Kediri)
DAHA
Brantas R.
BALI
Putative extent of Airlangga's kingdom
100 kilometres
3.14

By the early 13th century, Kediri had conquered Janggala, but in 1222, Kediri itself was overthrown by a usurper, Ken Angrok, who established his capital at Singhasari. Singhasari's greatest ruler was Kertanegara, who presided over a time of rapid development in Javanese culture.

Kertanegara's assertiveness brought him into conflict with the new Mongol rulers of China, who objected to his attempts to establish hegemony over the southern approaches to the Melaka Strait. The Mongol emperor Kublai Khan then sent envoys to Java to demand Kertanegara's formal submission; he responded by mutilating and sending them back. The angry Khan then sent a military expedition to punish the Javanese, but by the time it arrived Kertanegara had been killed in a rebellion. In a piece of deft diplomacy, Kertanegara's son-in-law, Kertarajasa, enlisted the help of the Mongol troops to overthrow the usurper before turning on the Mongols and driving them out in 1293. The empire which he founded, Majapahit, became the most powerful of all the early Javanese kingdoms. The 14th century chronicle, *Nagarakertagama* (now known as the *Desawarnyana*), gives a detailed insight into life in Majapahit.

3.15 Singhasari's empire outside Java. *Although earlier Javanese kingdoms had raided parts of Sumatra and even Cambodia and the Tonkin delta, Kertanegara's kingdom was the first to establish a more permanent hegemony outside Java, with its conquest of Jambi-Melayu in 1275 and with its dominance of Madura, Bali and central Java. Kertanegara's influence very likely extended also to the southern coast of Borneo but, as with all these early kingdoms, Kertanegara's dominance rested more on the glittering attractiveness of his court and on periodic intimidatory expeditions than on direct administrative control.*

3.16 Majapahit's empire on Java. *As the pace of commerce quickened in the Indonesian archipelago and population increased, Java's rice became an increasingly valuable resource. Majapahit's trade passed mainly through the market cities of Bubat and Canggu, where tolls were also collected. The capital of Majapahit, Trowulan, seems to have been reserved for more political and ceremonial purposes.*


14th century
Although the rulers of Majapahit repeatedly clashed with rulers from western Java, they seem to have been unable to establish any kind of hegemony over the region. The Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pajajaran is generally regarded as the dominant power in the west in this era, but little is known of its extent or internal structure .
Under Majapahit's dominance by 1350
Although the Mongols were expelled in 1293, Majapahit could not claim control of all the former heartland of Singhasari until about 1331. Bali was not reconquered until 1343. Majapahit's further overseas expansion began in about 1347.
PAJAJARAN
GALUH
Tuban
SUMENEP
MADURA
Gresik
Surabaya
Canggu
Bubat
Trowulan
MAJAPAHIT
PANARUKAN
Brantas R.
BALI
Little is known of central Java in this era, but there has been speculation that the region was plagued by damaging volcanic eruptions, which disrupted agriculture and drove the population to other parts of Java.
100 kilometres
3.16

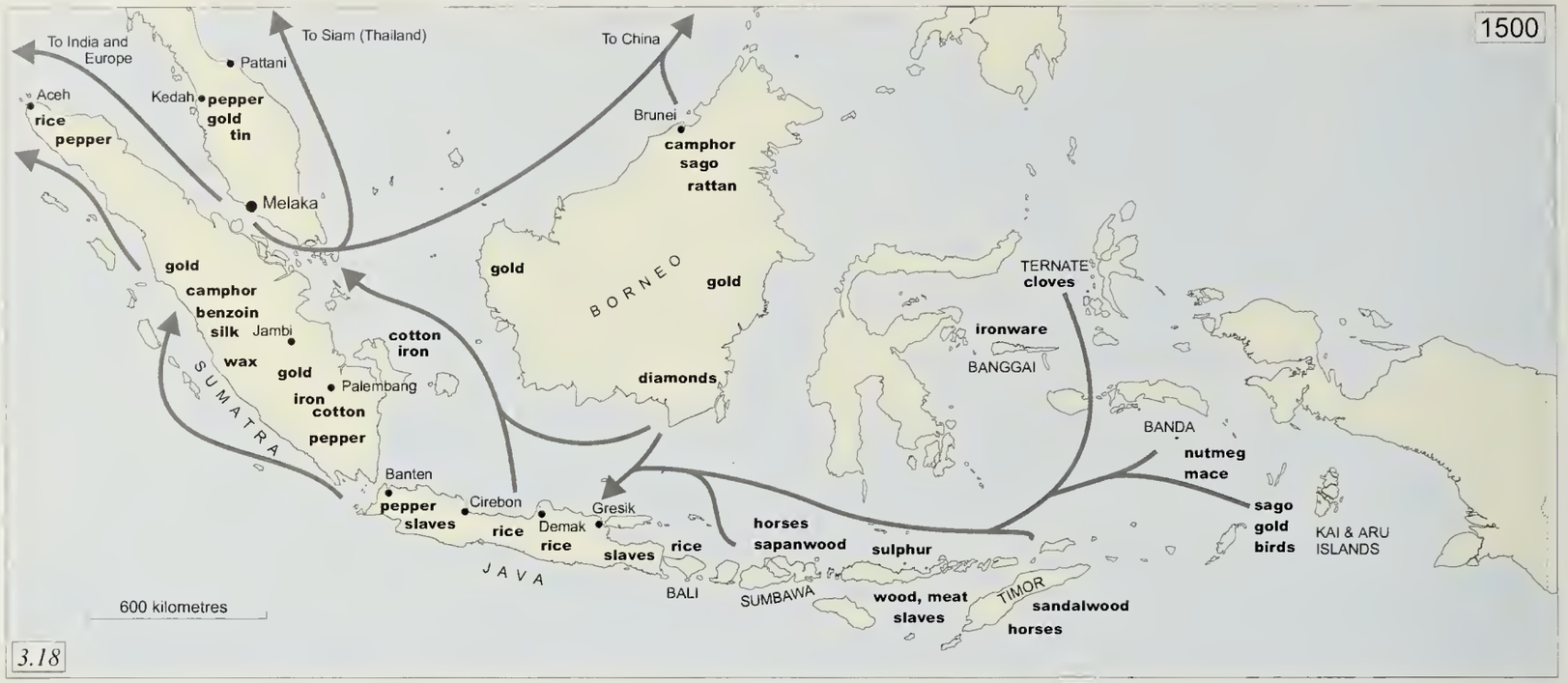
3.17 Majapahit's overseas empire. *From about 1347, Majapahit began a campaign of overseas expansion. Gajah Mada, as prime minister, is said to have been the architect of this policy: he reportedly vowed to abstain from 'palapa', which may have been a fruit, a drink, a religious ceremony or even sexual relations, until he had brought the 'Nusantara', literally the 'islands between', that is, the Indonesian archipelago, under Majapahit's authority.*

The precise nature of Majapahit's empire has been a source of controversy. The Nagarakertagama (Desawarnyana) claimed for Majapahit an empire of 98 tributaries, stretching from Sumatra to New Guinea, but some scholars have seen this claim as representing only a sphere of limited influence or even as being no more than a statement of geographical knowledge. There is no doubt, however, that Majapahit fleets periodically visited many parts of the archipelago to obtain formal submission, or that the splendour of the Majapahit court led many regional rulers to send it tribute, in much the same way as they sent tribute to China, without any intention of submitting to orders from eastern Java. The trading power of Majapahit gave it a powerful sanction against defiant rulers. The eastern Java kingdom established especially close trading links with pepper suppliers in Sumatra and with other spice-producing regions in eastern Indonesia. It is probably best, therefore, to see Majapahit's claims of empire as representing real authority, with the proviso that such authority never gave Majapahit significant administrative power outside Java, Bali and Madura.

Majapahit reached the pinnacle of its power under the rule of Rajasanagara (r. 1350–89), better known as Hayam Wuruk, and his prime minister, Gajah Mada, who held office from about 1331 until his death in 1364. Under their joint rule, Majapahit seems to have been particularly successful in establishing closer royal rule in the Brantas valley, by means of royal charters on land and other productive resources such as ferries. These charters diverted taxation income from local elites to the royal treasury and enabled the king to pay for a network of roads which made communication within the region easier. The capital city itself reflected the ruler's wealth, with high, thick walls of brick, spacious pavilions and abundant flowers.

After the death of Hayam Wuruk in 1389, Majapahit went into decline. Its influence abroad contracted and it was wracked by civil war and succession disputes at home. Little is known of Javanese history in the 15th century. Majapahit is traditionally said to have fallen in 1478, but the state seems to have survived in attenuated form until about the 1530s. Hindu–Buddhist states such as Pengging, Kediri and Balambangan emerged within the former territory of Majapahit, but none was able to recreate its dominion, even in eastern Java.

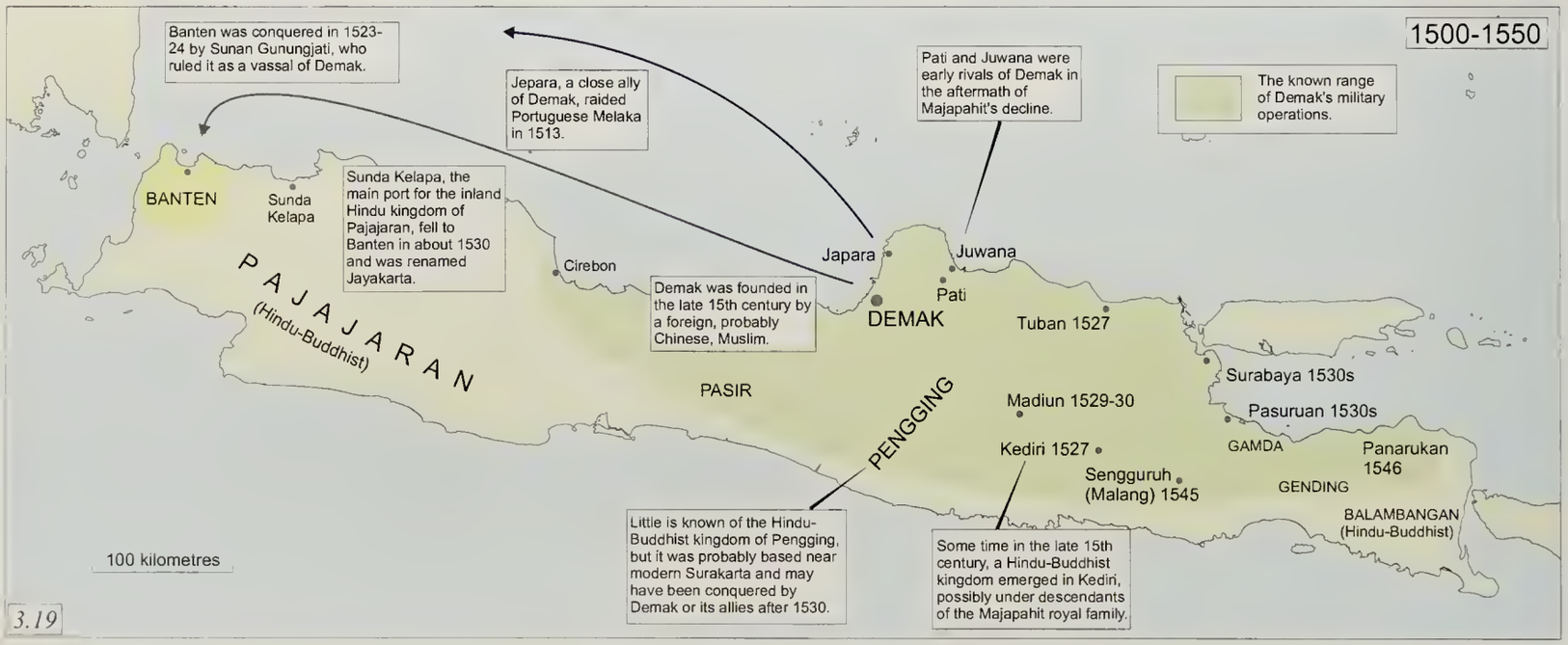
Instead power shifted to trading city-states of the north coast, notably Demak, which had converted to Islam in the late 15th century. The struggle of Muslim Demak and its coastal allies with the Hindu–Buddhist states of the interior possibly had some elements of religious war, but at stake was also the question of whether Java's growing role in international trade could pull the centre of Javanese power away from the interior and to the coast.

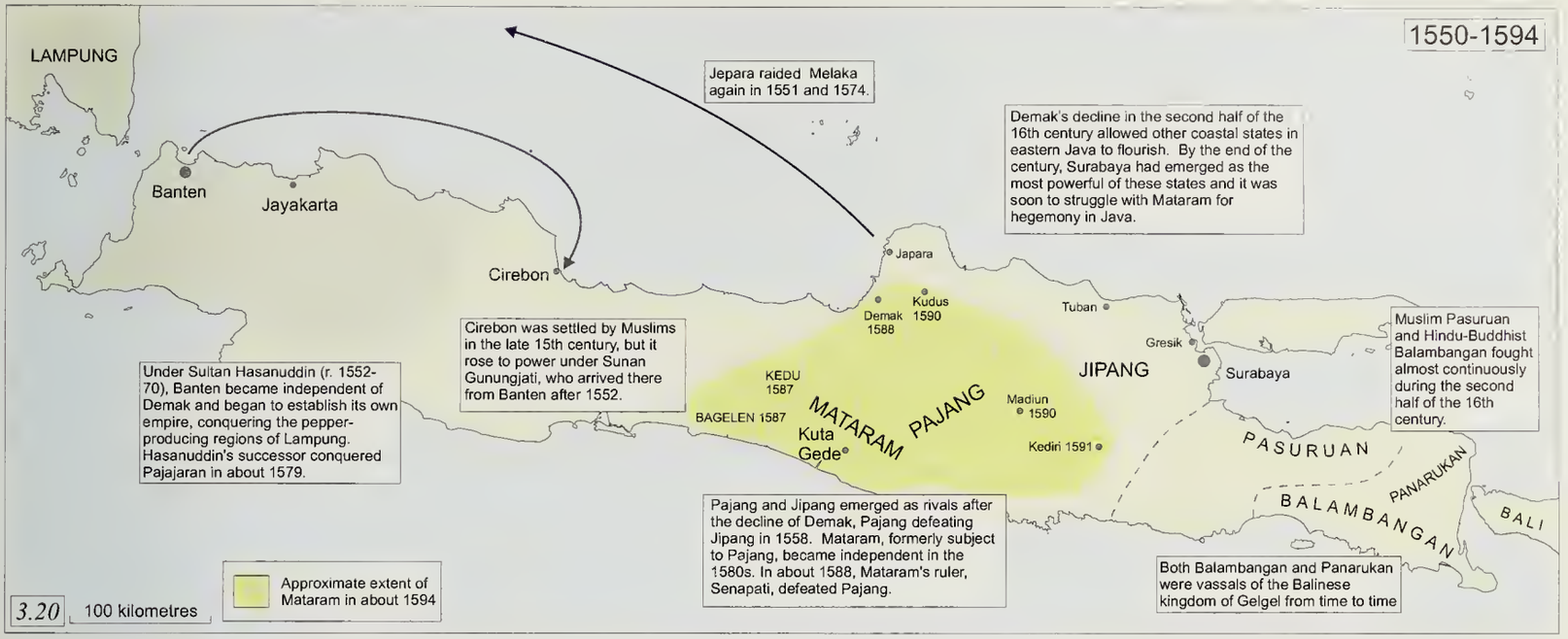


3.18 Major trade routes and export commodities in the Indonesian archipelago, ca 1500.

Demak was briefly the strongest military power on Java, but its emergence marked the end of relatively united imperial rule under Majapahit and a return to warfare between smaller states. Although Muslims had been present in the court of Majapahit, Demak was the first major Muslim state in Java, and its military campaigns in eastern Java during the first half of the 16th century were intended not only to assert its hegemony but to spread allegiance to Islam. Demak destroyed the last of the Hindu–Buddhist kingdoms in the old heartland of Majapahit, though the kingdom of Balambangan survived in the farthest reaches of the eastern peninsula. There is little sign, however, that

3.19 Java, first half of 16th century: the rise of Demak.


1500-1550
Banten was conquered in 1523-24 by Sunan Gunungjati, who ruled it as a vassal of Demak.
Jepara, a close ally of Demak, raided Portuguese Melaka in 1513.
Pati and Juwana were early rivals of Demak in the aftermath of Majapahit's decline.
The known range of Demak's military operations.
BANTEN
Sunda Kelapa
Sunda Kelapa, the main port for the inland Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran, fell to Banten in about 1530 and was renamed Jayakarta.
PAJAJARAN
(Hindu-Buddhist)
Cirebon
Japara
Juwana
Pati
DEMAK
Demak was founded in the late 15th century by a foreign, probably Chinese, Muslim.
Tuban 1527
Surabaya 1530s
Pasuruan 1530s
PASIR
PENGGING
Madiun 1529-30
Kediri 1527
Sengguruh (Malang) 1545
GAMDA
Panarukan 1546
GENDING
BALAMBANGAN (Hindu-Buddhist)
Little is known of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Pengging, but it was probably based near modern Surakarta and may have been conquered by Demak or its allies after 1530.
Some time in the late 15th century, a Hindu-Buddhist kingdom emerged in Kediri, possibly under descendants of the Majapahit royal family.
100 kilometres
3.19

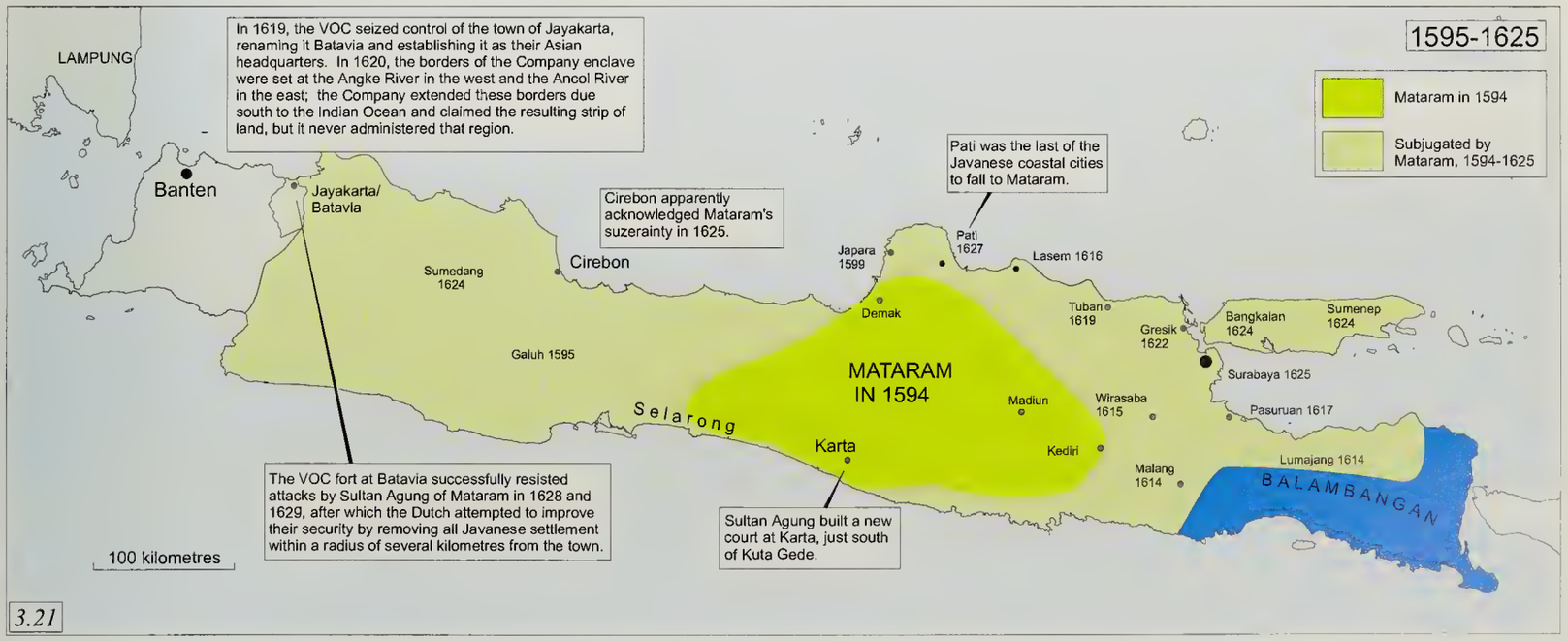

1550-1594
LAMPUNG
Banten
Jayakarta
Cirebon
Jepara raided Melaka again in 1551 and 1574.
Demak's decline in the second half of the 16th century allowed other coastal states in eastern Java to flourish. By the end of the century, Surabaya had emerged as the most powerful of these states and it was soon to struggle with Mataram for hegemony in Java.
Japara
Demak 1588
Kudus 1590
Tuban
Gresik
JIPANG
Surabaya
Muslim Pasuruan and Hindu-Buddhist Balambangan fought almost continuously during the second half of the 16th century.
Cirebon was settled by Muslims in the late 15th century, but it rose to power under Sunan Gunungjati, who arrived there from Banten after 1552.
Under Sultan Hasanuddin (r. 1552-70), Banten became independent of Demak and began to establish its own empire, conquering the pepper-producing regions of Lampung. Hasanuddin's successor conquered Pajajaran in about 1579.
KEDU 1587
BAGELEN 1587
MATARAM
PAJANG
Kuta Gede
Madiun 1590
Kediri 1591
PASURUAN
PANARUKAN
BALAMBANGAN
BALI
Pajang and Jipang emerged as rivals after the decline of Demak, Pajang defeating Jipang in 1558. Mataram, formerly subject to Pajang, became independent in the 1580s. In about 1588, Mataram's ruler, Senapati, defeated Pajang.
Both Balambangan and Panarukan were vassals of the Balinese kingdom of Gelgel from time to time
Approximate extent of Mataram in about 1594
3.20
100 kilometres

3.20 Java, 1550–1594: the emergence of Mataram and Surabaya.

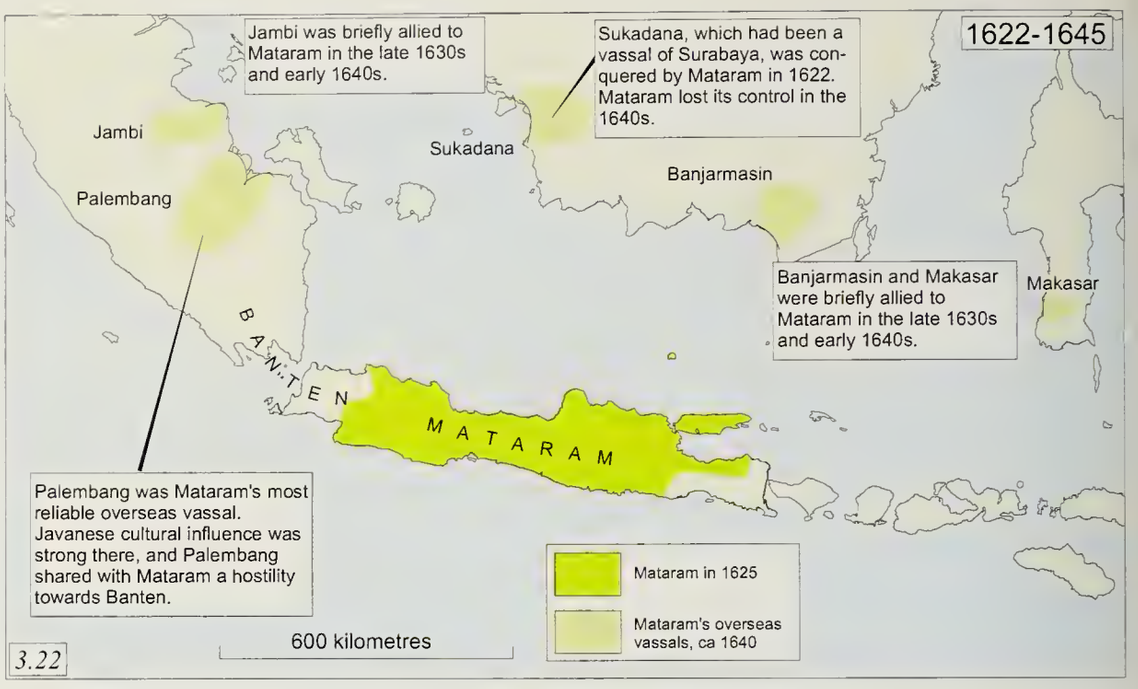
Demak succeeded in establishing a firm hegemony over the interior, and during the second half of the century its power withered with the rise of Surabaya and a state in central Java which took the name Mataram, after the 8th-century kingdom in the same region.

The emergence of Mataram in the late 16th century restored the interior of central Java to a position of political dominance it had not held since the 10th century. As in much of early Javanese history, there is uncertainty about the precise role of Mataram's founder, Senapati (r. 1584–1601), and its greatest ruler, Sultan Agung (r.1613–1646) in expanding the state, but there is no doubt that Mataram came to exercise closer control over a larger part of Java than any preceding kingdom.

3.21 Java, 1595–1625. *In the space of about thirty years, Mataram's empire came to encompass a larger part of Java than any previous kingdom. Only the small Hindu–Buddhist kingdom of Balambangan in the east, the Muslim sultanate of Banten in the far west, and the VOC settlement of Batavia successfully resisted Mataram's power.*

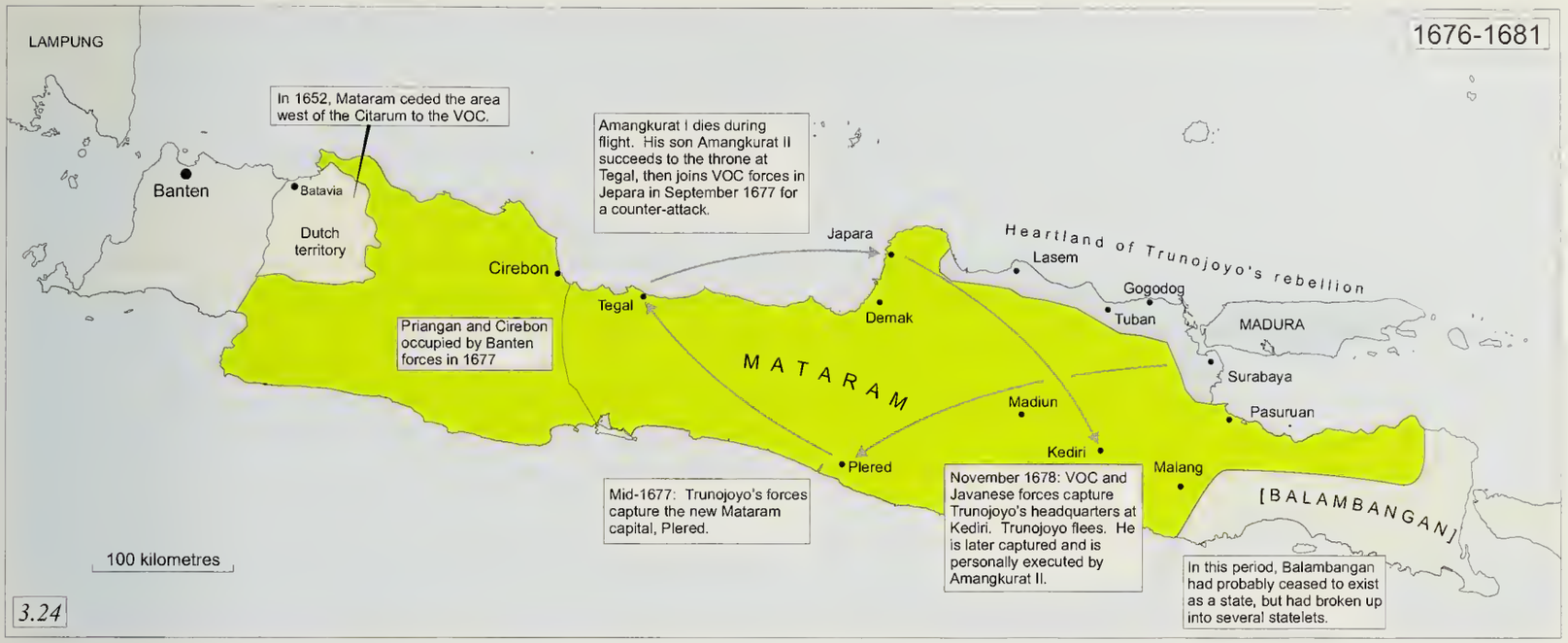

1595-1625
LAMPUNG
In 1619, the VOC seized control of the town of Jayakarta, renaming it Batavia and establishing it as their Asian headquarters. In 1620, the borders of the Company enclave were set at the Angke River in the west and the Ancol River in the east; the Company extended these borders due south to the Indian Ocean and claimed the resulting strip of land, but it never administered that region.
Mataram in 1594
Subjugated by Mataram, 1594-1625
Banten
Jayakarta/ Batavia
Cirebon apparently acknowledged Mataram's suzerainty in 1625.
Pati was the last of the Javanese coastal cities to fall to Mataram.
Pati 1627
Japara 1599
Lasem 1616
Sumedang 1624
Cirebon
Demak
Tuban 1619
Gresik 1622
Bangkalan 1624
Sumenep 1624
Galuh 1595
MATARAM IN 1594
Surabaya 1625
Madiun
Wirasaba 1615
Pasuruan 1617
Selarong
Karta
Kediri
Malang 1614
Lumajang 1614
BALAMBANGAN
The VOC fort at Batavia successfully resisted attacks by Sultan Agung of Mataram in 1628 and 1629, after which the Dutch attempted to improve their security by removing all Javanese settlement within a radius of several kilometres from the town.
Sultan Agung built a new court at Karta, just south of Kuta Gede.
100 kilometres
3.21

The administrative structure of Mataram was always in flux, as Sultan Agung and his successors endeavoured to maintain control of potential rivals. In broad terms, however, the kingdom was divided into four zones. At the centre lay the capital, Karta, a city laid out according to ceremonial formulas which put it in harmony with the cosmic order. The region immediately around Karta, the heart of the empire, was known as the *negara agung*; here the king allocated lands to his courtiers and ministers, providing them with income and binding them in loyalty to him. The *negara agung* thus was a region of direct administration by the court. The outlying regions, known as the *mancanegara*, were too distant for direct control and were ruled instead by regional lords, generally known as *bupati*. They were generally drawn from powerful local families and could not easily be displaced by a central ruler. In time of conflict, their independent military power made them a crucial element in the empire's resources. The *mancanegara* shaded in turn into the *nusantara*, the island world of western Indonesia over which Mataram made a general claim to hegemony. Powerful and distant regional lords such as the rulers of Cirebon and Madura were sometimes more like allies than subordinates, but their precise standing in relation to the central court was very much a matter of the politics of the moment.


1622-1645
Jambi was briefly allied to Mataram in the late 1630s and early 1640s.
Sukadana, which had been a vassal of Surabaya, was conquered by Mataram in 1622. Mataram lost its control in the 1640s.
Jambi
Sukadana
Banjarmasin
Palembang
Banjarmasin and Makasar were briefly allied to Mataram in the late 1630s and early 1640s.
Makasar
BANTEN
MATARAM
Palembang was Mataram's most reliable overseas vassal. Javanese cultural influence was strong there, and Palembang shared with Mataram a hostility towards Banten.
Mataram in 1625
Mataram's overseas vassals, ca 1640
600 kilometres
3.22

3.22 Mataram's overseas empire. *Like its predecessors, Mataram never exercised direct administrative control in the territories of its distant vassals. Its rulers sought as far as possible to bring trade under their control, but when this was not possible, they preferred to close the northern coasts of Java and to end trade altogether, rather than allow it to come into the hands of potential rivals. Mataram's overseas adventures were correspondingly modest: it did not seriously seek to recreate the archipelagic empire of Majapahit, and indeed it would have found great difficulty in doing so, for Europeans, especially the Dutch in their United East Indies Company (VOC), had become an increasingly potent naval force in the region.*

3.23 Mataram at the height of its power, early 17th century.

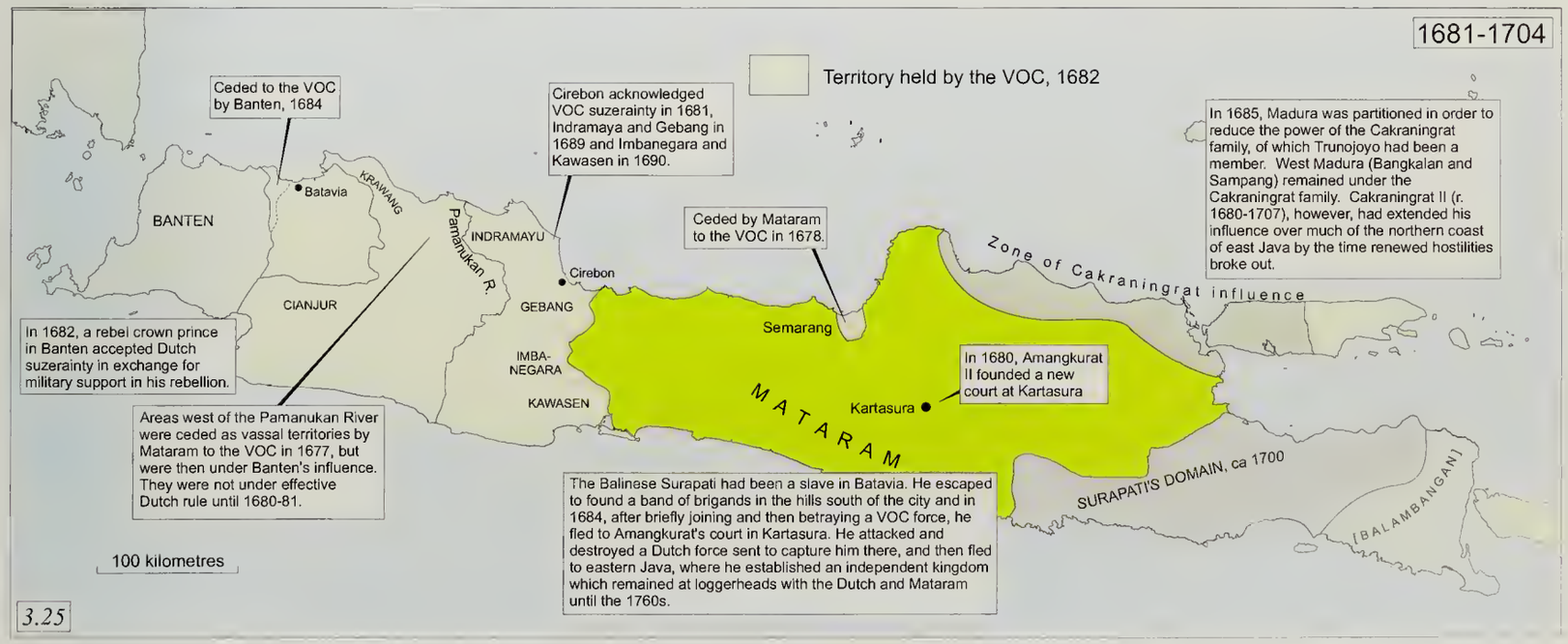

1676-1681
LAMPUNG
In 1652, Mataram ceded the area west of the Citarum to the VOC.
Banten
Batavia
Dutch territory
Amangkurat I dies during flight. His son Amangkurat II succeeds to the throne at Tegal, then joins VOC forces in Jepara in September 1677 for a counter-attack.
Japara
Heartland of Trunojoyo's rebellion
Lasem
Cirebon
Gogodog
Tegal
Demak
Tuban
MADURA
Priangan and Cirebon occupied by Banten forces in 1677
MATARAM
Surabaya
Madiun
Pasuruan
Kediri
Plered
Malang
November 1678: VOC and Javanese forces capture Trunojoyo's headquarters at Kediri. Trunojoyo flees. He is later captured and is personally executed by Amangkurat II.
[BALAMBANGAN]
Mid-1677: Trunojoyo's forces capture the new Mataram capital, Plered.
In this period, Balambangan had probably ceased to exist as a state, but had broken up into several statelets.
100 kilometres
3.24

3.24 Java in turmoil, 1676–1681: the Trunojoyo rebellion.

Mataram's period of dominance was brief. Sultan Agung's brutality in eliminating potential opposition was exceeded by that of his successor, Amangkurat I, who soon alienated a large part of the Javanese elite. Full-scale rebellion broke out in 1675, led by a disaffected prince of Madura named Trunojoyo, who was in league both with Makasar refugees from southern Sulawesi and with the crown prince, Amangkurat's son. The rebellion began in the coastal regions which had felt the brunt of Mataram's hostility to trade, but quickly found support in the interior after Trunojoyo defeated the Mataram forces at Gogodog in 1676 and, abandoning the crown prince, declared himself king.

Mataram would certainly have fallen but for the fact that the VOC, fearing the rise of a new, assertive dynasty on Java, gave military support to Mataram in exchange for territorial and trading concessions. In 1678, after Amangkurat I had died and the crown prince had been installed as Amangkurat II, Dutch troops marched into eastern Java to begin a three-year campaign alongside Mataram forces which destroyed the rebel armies. The intervention established the VOC as the single most powerful military force in Java, gave it hegemony over a large hinterland south and east of Batavia, as well as control of the enclave of Semarang, and reduced the power and territory of Banten.

3.25 Mataram truncated: Amangkurat II and his rivals, 1681–1704.

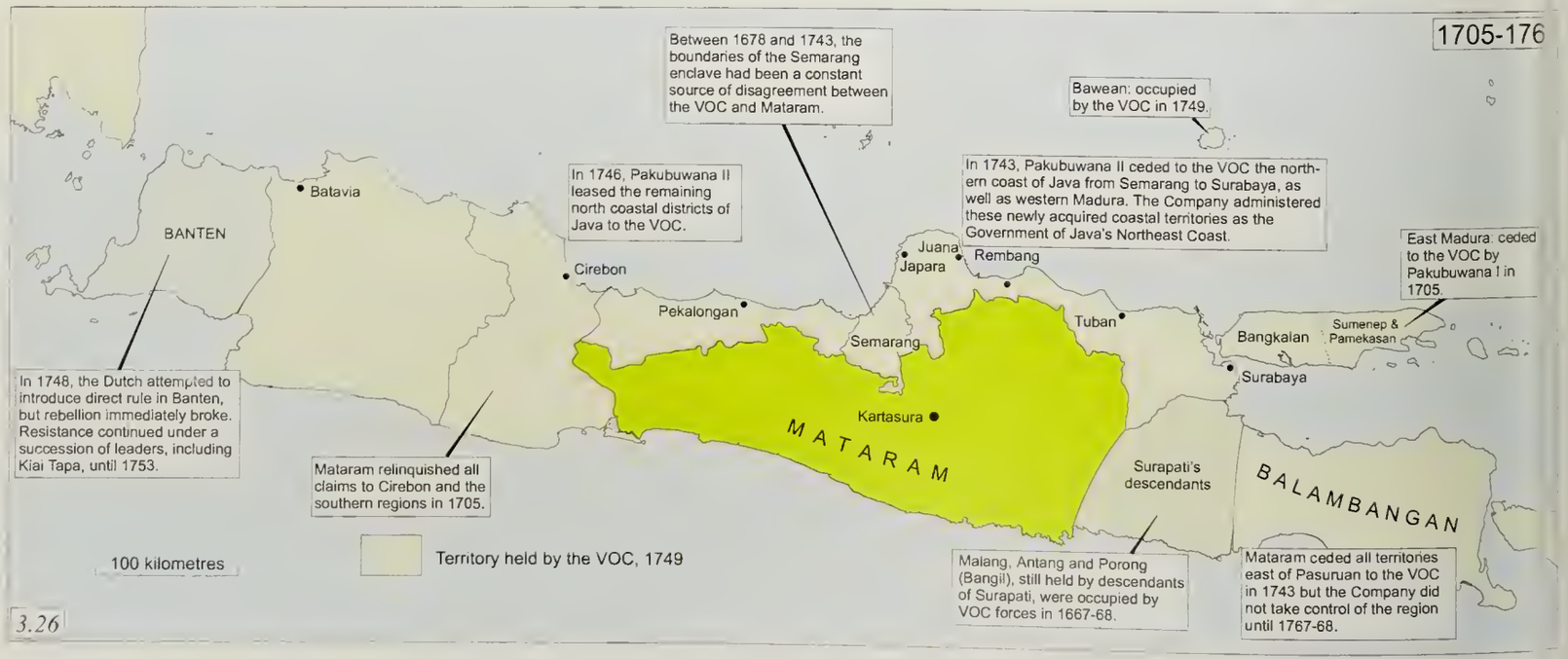

1681-1704
Territory held by the VOC, 1682
Ceded to the VOC by Banten, 1684
Cirebon acknowledged VOC suzerainty in 1681, Indramaya and Gebang in 1689 and Imbanegara and Kawasen in 1690.
In 1685, Madura was partitioned in order to reduce the power of the Cakraningrat family, of which Trunojoyo had been a member. West Madura (Bangkalan and Sampang) remained under the Cakraningrat family. Cakraningrat II (r. 1680-1707), however, had extended his influence over much of the northern coast of east Java by the time renewed hostilities broke out.
Batavia
KRAWANG
BANTEN
Pamanukan R.
INDRAMAYU
Ceded by Mataram to the VOC in 1678.
Cirebon
Zone of Cakraningrat influence
CIANJUR
GEBANG
Semarang
In 1682, a rebel crown prince in Banten accepted Dutch suzerainty in exchange for military support in his rebellion.
IMBA-NEGARA
In 1680, Amangkurat II founded a new court at Kartasura
KAWASEN
Kartasura
MATARAM
Areas west of the Pamanukan River were ceded as vassal territories by Mataram to the VOC in 1677, but were then under Banten's influence. They were not under effective Dutch rule until 1680-81.
SURAPATI'S DOMAIN, ca 1700
[BALAMBANGAN]
The Balinese Surapati had been a slave in Batavia. He escaped to found a band of brigands in the hills south of the city and in 1684, after briefly joining and then betraying a VOC force, he fled to Amangkurat's court in Kartasura. He attacked and destroyed a Dutch force sent to capture him there, and then fled to eastern Java, where he established an independent kingdom which remained at loggerheads with the Dutch and Mataram until the 1760s.
100 kilometres
3.25

Although Dutch troops had preserved the Mataram dynasty, the kingdom was now a shadow of its former power. Territorial concessions to the Dutch in the west, creeping political influence by the Madurese along the coast, and a full-scale rebellion by Surapati in the east left it sadly truncated. When Amangkurat II died in 1703, moreover, the Dutch backed his brother, Pangeran Puger, to succeed to the throne over Amangkurat's son, Amangkurat III. In 1706, in what came to be called the First Javanese War of Succession, VOC forces with numerous indigenous allies marched on Kartasura and installed Puger as Pakubuwana I. Amangkurat III fled to join the former slave, Surapati, whose followers controlled much of Java's eastern peninsula. Bitter fighting continued in which Surapati was killed and Amangkurat III captured by ruse and sent into exile. In exchange for VOC support, Pakubuwana ceded eastern Madura to the Dutch and gave them the right to build fortifications anywhere in Java.

The six decades which followed were a time of constant turmoil for Java. The descendants of Surapati maintained his kingdom south of the Brantas; further east, they fought with Balinese princes and with remnants of the kingdom of Balambangan for control of the eastern peninsula. The coastal regions from Surabaya to Juana remained under the influence of the powerful Cakraningrat family in western Madura, while the question of whether the VOC was Mataram's greatest enemy or its best potential ally underpinned incessant factional conflict within the Mataram court.

A Second War of Succession followed from 1719 to 1723, after the death of Pakubuwana I. His son, Amangkurat IV, again held his throne against rebel forces thanks only to VOC intervention. During the reign of Amangkurat IV's son, Pakubuwana II, a further round of fighting broke out, eventually merging into the Third Javanese War of Succession. Although conflict had been endemic in the intervening years, 1740 marked the beginning of an era of cataclysmic violence. The e began with a wholesale massacre of Chinese in Batavia – probably abo 10,000 perished – by Dutch citizens resentful of their prosperity ar stirred by VOC fears of a Chinese rebellion. Chinese bands fleei the destruction moved along the north Java coast destroying VOC po one by one and massacring their inhabitants. Pakubuwana II joined t rebels in attacking Semarang, while the VOC formed an alliance wi the Cakraningrats. As the tide turned towards the VOC, Pakubuwa sued for peace, but found himself at once facing a rebellion amon Javanese and in mid-1742 he was driven out of his capital. VOC troo on the coast, however, and Madurese troops inland were successful stemming the rebellion and in late 1743, Pakubuwana was forma restored to his throne in exchange for further territorial concessio to the VOC, the guarantee of a perpetual tribute in rice, and t acceptance of a VOC garrison in the Kartasura court. Although t Cakraningrats had been instrumental in the VOC victory, their fa was still less favourable. They were given none of the concessions th wanted on the eastern Java mainland and in 1745 they went to w against the VOC. The fighting ravaged Madura and much of the no coast, but by the end of the year the Madurese were defeated and W Madura's status as a VOC vassal was confirmed.

3.26 The expansion of Dutch control in Java, 1705–17

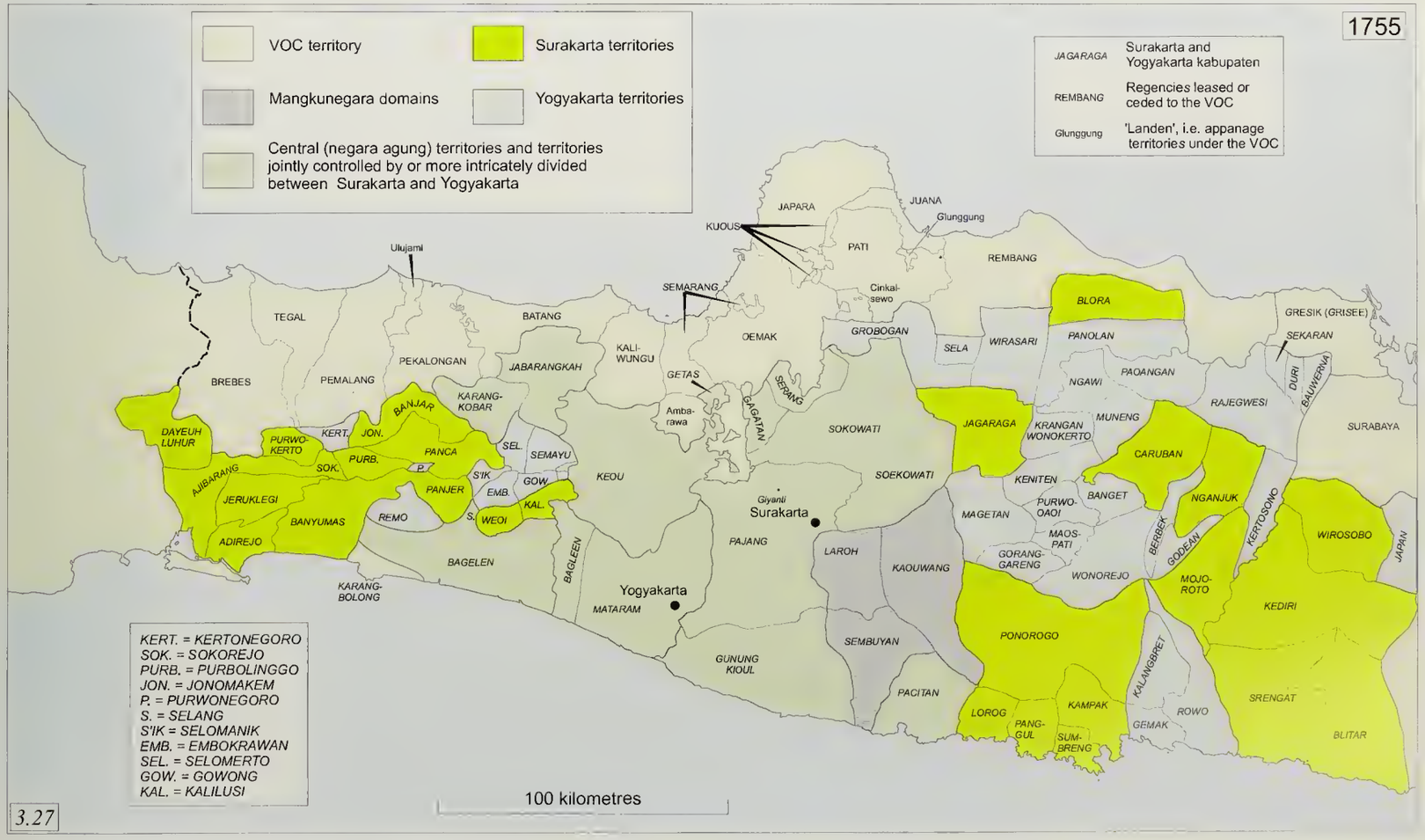

1705-176
Between 1678 and 1743, the boundaries of the Semarang enclave had been a constant source of disagreement between the VOC and Mataram.
Bawean: occupied by the VOC in 1749.
In 1746, Pakubuwana II leased the remaining north coastal districts of Java to the VOC.
In 1743, Pakubuwana II ceded to the VOC the northern coast of Java from Semarang to Surabaya, as well as western Madura. The Company administered these newly acquired coastal territories as the Government of Java's Northeast Coast.
East Madura: ceded to the VOC by Pakubuwana I in 1705.
Batavia
BANTEN
Cirebon
Juana
Japara
Rembang
Pekalongan
Semarang
Tuban
Bangkalan
Sumenep & Pamekasan
Surabaya
Kartasura
MATARAM
Surapati's descendants
BALAMBANGAN
In 1748, the Dutch attempted to introduce direct rule in Banten, but rebellion immediately broke. Resistance continued under a succession of leaders, including Kiai Tapa, until 1753.
Mataram relinquished all claims to Cirebon and the southern regions in 1705.
100 kilometres
Territory held by the VOC, 1749
Malang, Antang and Porong (Bangil), still held by descendants of Surapati, were occupied by VOC forces in 1667-68.
Mataram ceded all territories east of Pasuruan to the VOC in 1743 but the Company did not take control of the region until 1767-68.
3.26

Pakubuwana II's concessions to the Dutch in 1743 included the right for the VOC to take a narrow strip of land along the entire north coast, as well as along rivers feeding into the Java Sea. The VOC did not take up this option but instead in 1746 pressed the king to lease to the VOC the entire north coastal region. Despite opposition from within the court, the king acquiesced, prompting a further rebellion, led by the capable Pangeran Mangkubumi. By 1749, the king's new court at Surakarta was under threat from the rebels and in desperation he signed over his entire domain to the VOC. Upon Pakubuwana's death a few days later, the VOC installed his son as Pakubuwana III, but Mangkubumi also declared himself king, likewise with the name Pakubuwana. After another six years of war, the VOC and Mangkubumi finally reached an agreement, the 1755 Treaty of Giyanti, which partitioned Mataram between the two royal contenders. Mangkubumi took the title of Sultan and the regnal name Hamengkubuwana, and established his capital in the town of Yogyakarta, while Pakubuwana III remained as Susuhunan in the older city of Surakarta. Both rulers confirmed the VOC's lease over the north coast and its ownership of the eastern peninsula.

Until 1755, VOC policy had been to support whichever ruler of Mataram they believed could be bent to their interests. From 1755, their policy was one of divide and rule. The partition of Mataram was repeated in Surakarta in 1757 with the installation of another former rebel as prince Mangkunegara I with a domain which was beneath Surakarta in status but not quite subordinate in practice. The arrangement was made all the more complex by the fact that Surakarta and Yogyakarta territories were scattered across the whole of the remaining former territory of Mataram and the fact some territories were still held jointly. There was almost constant conflict over land between the three authorities until a more detailed settlement was reached in 1774.

The Javanese territories continued to be divided into *mancanegara* and *negara agung*, as in the time of Sultan Agung, but areas such as Banyumas and Pacitan were now included in the *negara agung*. These boundaries remained intact until the end of the century.

3.27 Java after the Treaty of Giyanti, 1755. *The place of boundaries in early Javanese political geography has been subject to considerable debate. Some scholars have stressed the importance of the political centre – the court and capital – in defining the identity of a regime and have argued that political authority simply attentuated with distance from the centre, so that there were no true external boundaries. On the other hand, there is the evidence of Airlangga's partition of his kingdom, as well as evidence of the demarcation of regions using stone* tugu, *or monuments.*

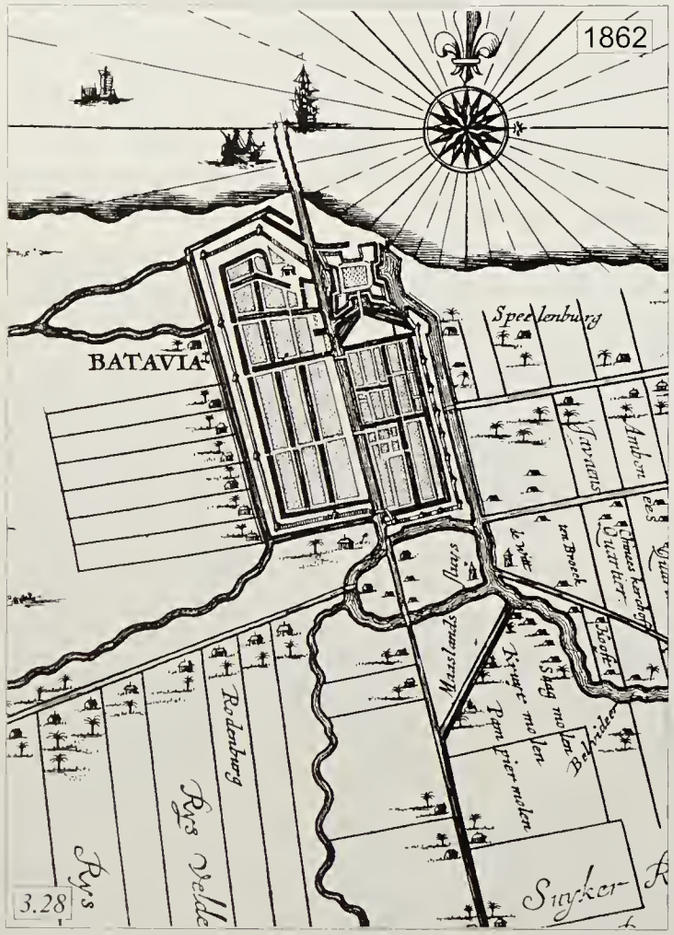


By the second half of the 18th century, the VOC controlled more than half of Java. Only Banten and a severely truncated Mataram remained outside their control, and in fact the rulers of both territories had formally acknowledged Dutch suzerainty, Mataram in 1749 and Banten in 1752.

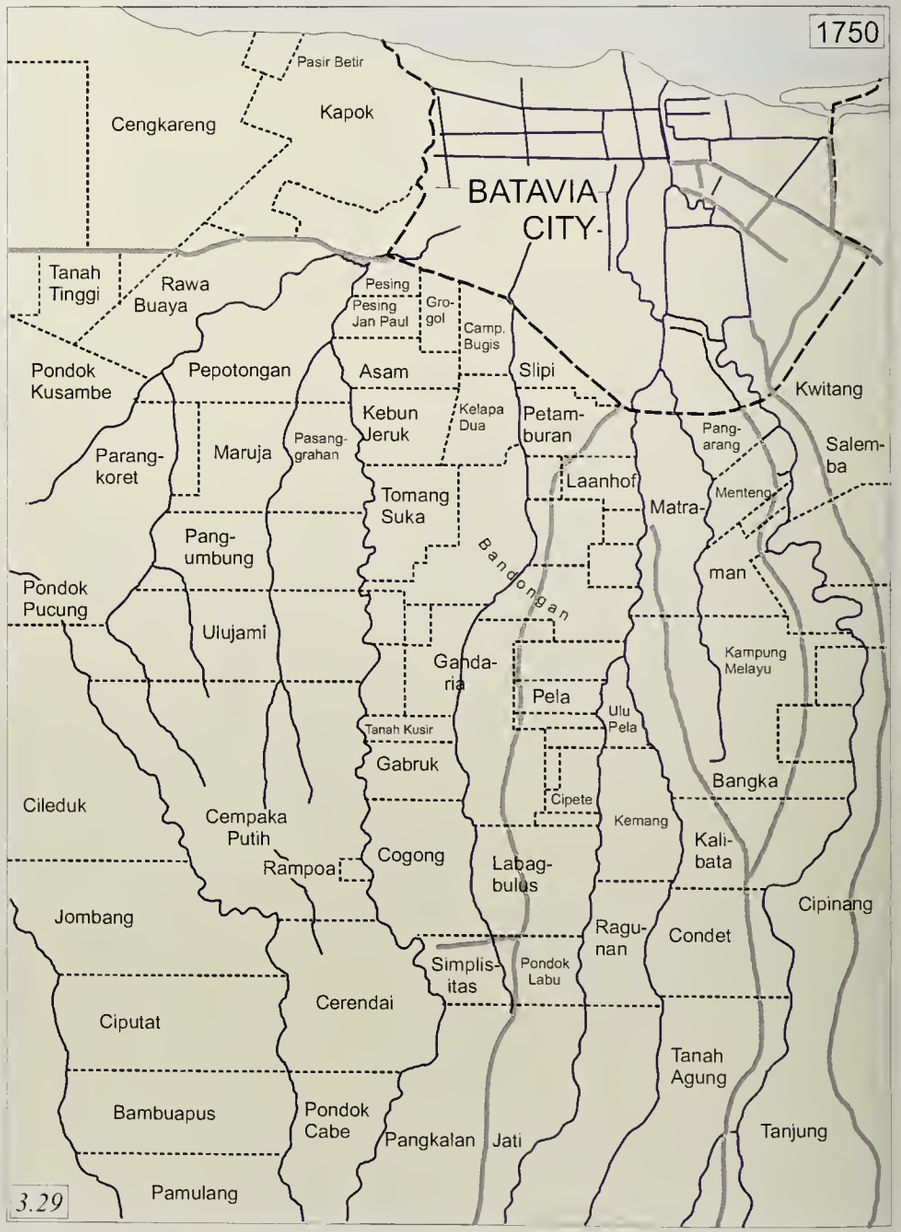
Because Dutch dominion had grown gradually under widely differing political and economic conditions, the character of Dutch rule varied from region to region. The oldest region of Dutch rule – Batavia and its surrounding territories, known as the Ommelanden – had been purged of its indigenous inhabitants soon after the first Dutch settlement and was inhabited in the 18th century by the descendants of immigrants, some free-born, some slaves, drawn from many parts of the archipelago and beyond. Balinese and Chinese were an especially significant component of the ethnic mix on the outskirts of the city.

The Ommelanden fell under the authority of a 'delegate for native affairs', responsible to the Governor-General in Batavia, but for the most part they were left to their own devices under a system of private estates (*particuliere landerijen*), whose landlords had quasi-feudal rights over their tenants. The granting of private estates continued into the early 19th century, by which time they encompassed virtually the whole of the northern coastal plain of West Java. The region was fertile and productive, sugar, rice and cotton being the main crops, but it was also unruly: small-scale landlords and entrepreneurs squeezed their tenants for what they could, and the tenants in turn simmered constantly on the threshold of revolt or brigandage.

The city of Batavia, on the other hand, gradually developed into a significant urban settlement. Built at first in Dutch style, with tall buildings facing on to a grid of narrow canals, the city soon spread beyond its old walls. In the newer southern suburbs of the city, called Weltevreden, Dutch architecture was modified to take more account of the needs of life in the tropics.



3.28 Batavia in 1682.



3.29 Private estates close to Batavia. *The estates of the Batavia Ommelanden supplied the city with most of its fresh food. Many of them gave their names to later suburbs of Jakarta. This map is based on an undated original which probably shows the situation around 1750.*

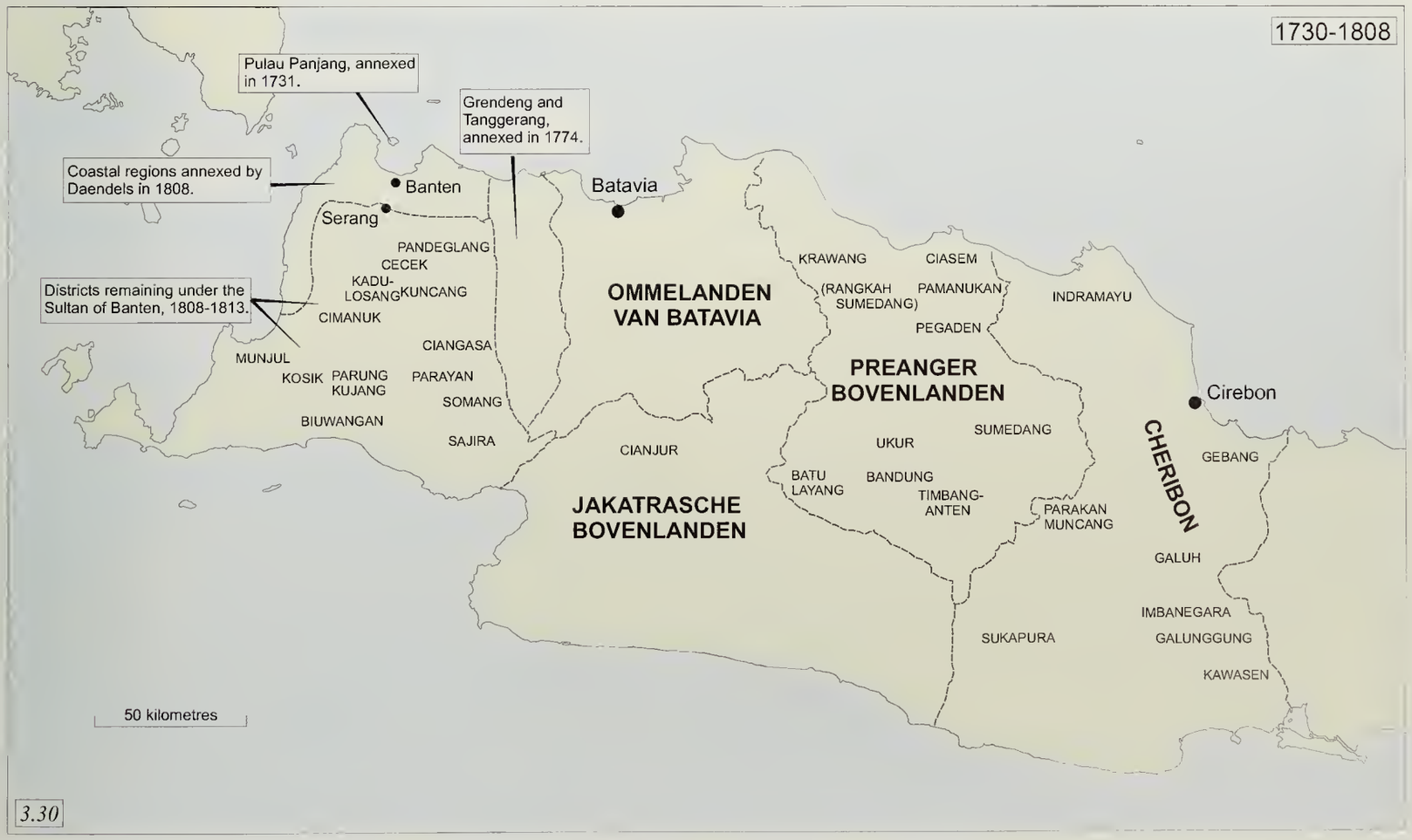
As far as possible, the VOC preferred not to take a direct hand in the day-to-day administration of the territories they dominated. Rather, they sought to work with established indigenous elites, believing that these elites possessed a political legitimacy as rulers which the Dutch would never have and that Dutch domination thus could be maintained without unduly offending indigenous sensibilities. On Java, they turned for the most part to the *bupati* who had been regional lords under Mataram and whom they referred to as *regenten* (regents).

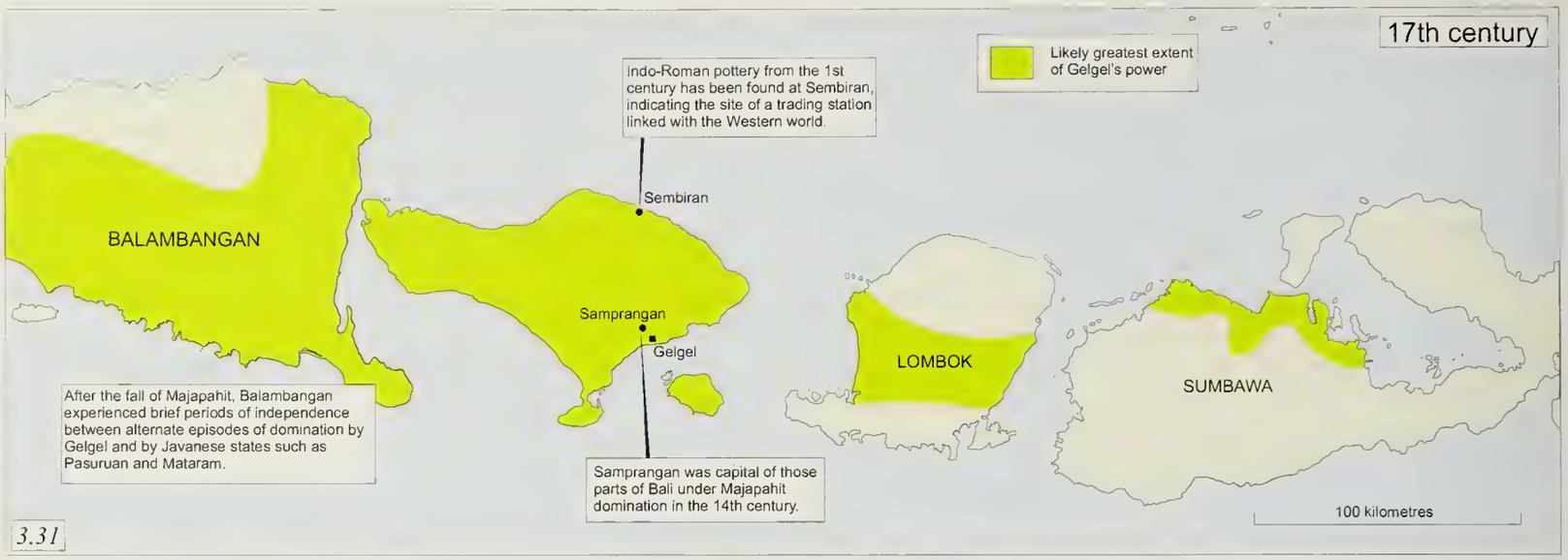
The Dutch maintained the *bupati* as symbols of traditional authority and each *bupati* had responsibility for law and order in his district. In most regions, however, the *bupati* were also deeply involved in Dutch economic programmes. The most important of these programmes was the Preanger-Stelsel (Priangan System), applied in the so-called Priangan Regencies (Preanger Regentschappen). The people of the region farmed coffee estates for the *bupati*, who received 10% of the produce for their role. The producers were obliged to deliver the remainder of the crop to the Company, which paid them at half the market rate, in exchange for exempting them from land tax and further feudal services to the *bupati*. In practice, however, the *bupati* retained wide powers to tax their subjects on top of the official provisions. This lucrative arrangement remained in force from the early 18th century until 1870.

In the early days of the Company's settlement at Batavia, Banten (which the Dutch called Bantam) had been a major regional power. Because it possessed only a small agricultural hinterland, it was much more vulnerable than Mataram and its military power was decisively broken in 1677. Thereafter, although the Dutch repeatedly nibbled at the boundary with Banten in order to increase the territory around Batavia, and although they forced the sultan to recognize their suzerainty in 1752, the sultanate was left intact. Only in 1808 did the Dutch annex the coastal regions, a prelude to the incorporation of the rest of the territory in 1813.

In Cirebon, the Dutch preserved an unusual arrangement in which the heads of two related families, Kanoman and Kesupuhan, both carried the hereditary rank and powers of sultan. The upland regions to the south were incorporated into the Priangan System, but the sultans retained extensive powers in the lowlands, where they farmed their estates out to Chinese entrepreneurs, with miserable consequences for the peasants. Cirebon was the scene of repeated famine and uprising in the late 18th century.

3.30 West Java: colonial political divisions, 1730–1808.




17th century
Likely greatest extent of Gelgel's power
Indo-Roman pottery from the 1st century has been found at Sembiran, indicating the site of a trading station linked with the Western world.
Sembiran
BALAMBANGAN
Samprangan
Gelgel
LOMBOK
SUMBAWA
After the fall of Majapahit, Balambangan experienced brief periods of independence between alternate episodes of domination by Gelgel and by Javanese states such as Pasuruan and Mataram.
Samprangan was capital of those parts of Bali under Majapahit domination in the 14th century.
100 kilometres
3.31

3.31 The empire of Gelgel at its greatest extent, 17th century.

Bali and Nusatenggara

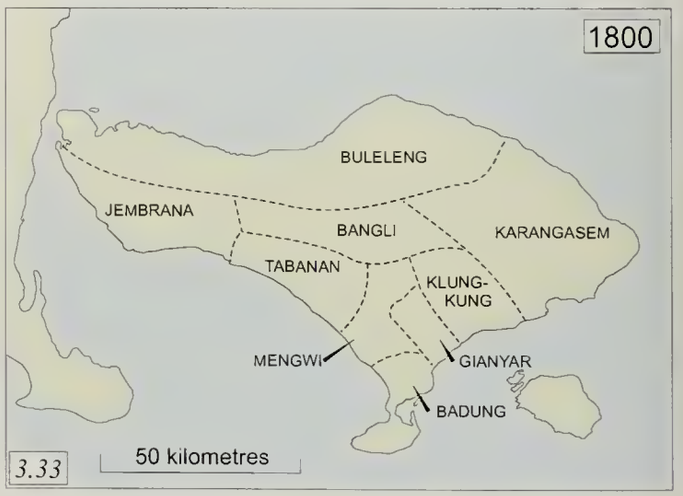
Recent archaeological work has shown that Bali was part of a trading network linking the archipelago with the Indian and Roman worlds from about the 1st century A.D., but very little is known of the island's history before the 8th century, when it begins to be mentioned in Javanese accounts. Successive Javanese rulers, notably Airlangga in the 11th century, appear to have held some degree of hegemony over Bali, and many elements of Javanese culture, including Hindu–Buddhist beliefs, were transmitted in this era. According to the *Nagarakertagama* (*Desawarnyana*), Majapahit conquered Bali in 1334, establishing a ruling class of nobles called Arya.

Some time after the decline of Majapahit, probably in the early 16th century, Bali came under the dominance of a royal family based in the town of Gelgel, who created an empire encompassing not just Bali but parts of Lombok, Sumbawa and the eastern peninsula of Java.

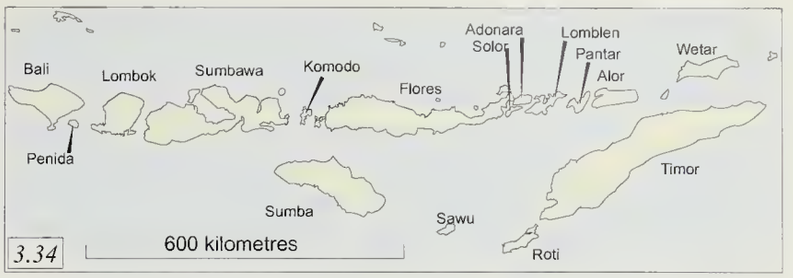
Gelgel appears to have collapsed in the mid-17th century, and Bali disintegrated into a number of warring states, the most important of them Buleleng in the north, Mengwi in the south and Klungkung in the east; Klungkung's capital was just a few kilometres from the site of Gelgel and its royal family claimed to be the senior lords on the island. Over the next century and a half, however, the balance of power between the kingdoms, large and small, was constantly in flux. Buleleng went into decline in the 18th century, while Karangasem rose in power to dominate virtually all of southern Bali. The rulers of Karangasem carved out an empire on Lombok and even sought to recover Gelgel's hegemony over Sumbawa. Mengwi was the most powerful state in the south of the island for most of the 18th century, but much of its energy was consumed in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to regain and maintain hegemony over Balambangan.

3.32 The Balinese kingdoms, ca 1700.

3.33 The Balinese kingdoms, ca 1800. *Borders shown are approximate only and reflect early Dutch accounts.*



To the east of Bali lies the long chain of islands known as the Lesser Sundas or Nusatenggara (Southeastern Islands). For the most part, these islands were involved only peripherally in the trade and civilization of the western archipelago until the colonial area. Although the *Nagarakertagama* (*Dasawarnyana*) lists Timor and Sumba as tributaries of 14th-century Majapahit, Javanese culture has left at the most only scattered traces in the region. No significant local inscriptions have been found to attest to the existence of early kingdoms and Chinese records are vague. The region's economic relations with the outside world seem to have been based on the export of sandalwood, especially from Timor, a trade which may have begun in the 7th century.



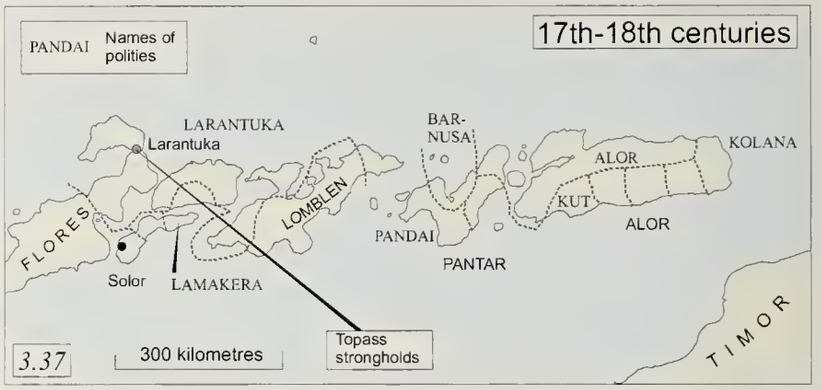
3.34 The islands of Nusatenggara.

3.35 Polities in Lombok and Sumbawa, 16th century.

3.36 Polities in Sumba, 17th to 18th centuries.

From about the 16th century, the western islands of Lombok and Sumbawa came under the increasing domination of outside forces. Balinese settlers from the kingdom of Karangasem displaced the indigenous Sasaks from western Lombok and by the end of the 17th century held a loose hegemony over the east of the island, while raiders and settlers from Makasar drew Sumbawa increasingly into their orbit. The island was effectively subject to Makasar from 1618, and Manggarai, at the western end of Flores, soon followed. The rest of Flores, however, and the whole of Sumba remained divided into a large number of small states until the colonial era.

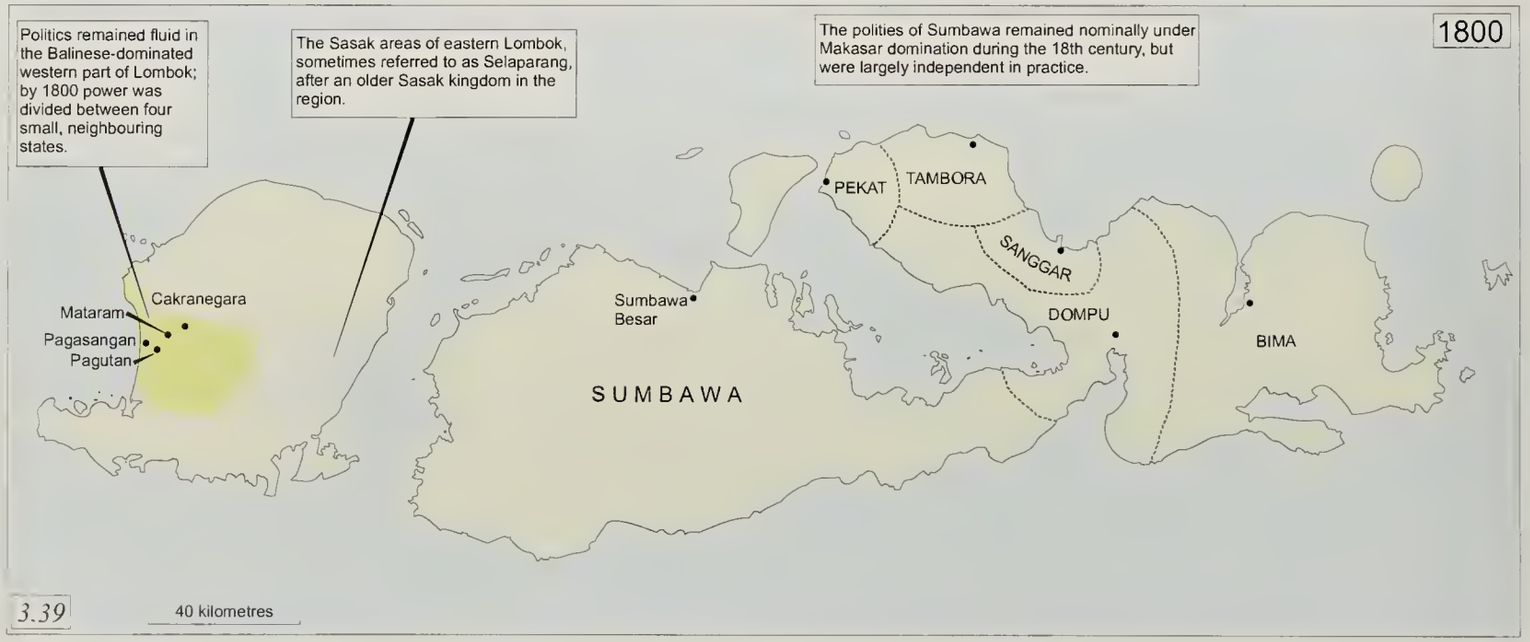
Balinese rule on Lombok was turbulent. By the middle of the 18th century, they had subdued the Sasak aristocracy in the east of the island. A few decades later, however, disunity led them to split into four separate kingdoms, while the Sasak domains in the east regained much of their independence. Even in times of Balinese control, the east of the island was often restive.



3.37 (above) Polities in the Solor and Alor archipelagos, 17th to 18th centuries.

3.38 (middle) Polities in Flores, 17th to 18th centuries.

3.39 (below) Lombok and Sumbawa, ca 1800.


Politics remained fluid in the Balinese-dominated western part of Lombok; by 1800 power was divided between four small, neighbouring states.
The Sasak areas of eastern Lombok, sometimes referred to as Selaparang, after an older Sasak kingdom in the region.
The polities of Sumbawa remained nominally under Makasar domination during the 18th century, but were largely independent in practice.
1800
PEKAT
TAMBORA
SANGGAR
Cakranegara
Mataram
Pagasangan
Pagutan
Sumbawa Besar
DOMPU
BIMA
SUMBAWA
3.39
40 kilometres

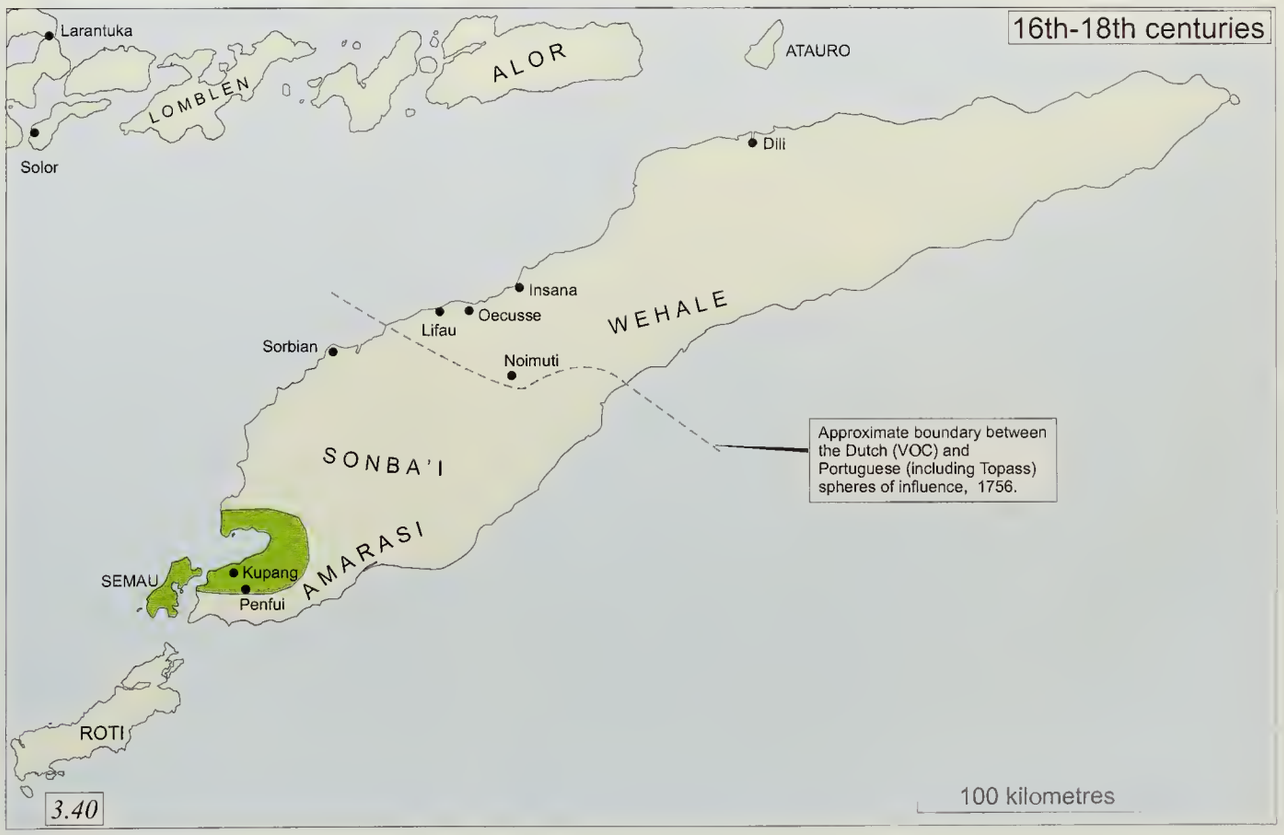
Evidence from the earliest European visitors to the Nusatenggara region suggests that the normal state of affairs was one of division into a large number of small polities, which were linked into larger confederacies or empires whose significance was sometimes political and economic but more often symbolic. Timor produced sandalwood, which was valued for trade to China, and management of this trade necessarily meant a relationship between port towns such as Sorbian, Insana and Dili, and the polities of the interior. In the centre and east of the island, the ruler of Wehale (Belu), sometimes based in the port of Dili, sometimes based in the interior, claimed a hegemony over some forty-six *liurai* or 'kings' along the coast and the interior. In the west the confederacy of Sonba'i (Sonnebait), sometimes based in Sorbian, claimed a similar hegemony over sixteen *liurai*. The port of Kupang seems to have been independent of both of these power centres.

The Portuguese began trading and missionary activities in the Timor region soon after they had captured Melaka, and they established settlements at Lifau and Kupang in about 1520 and a fort on Solor in 1566 to protect both their trading interests and their converts. The fort soon became the nucleus for a community of mixed race 'Black Portuguese' or Topasses. When Dutch vessels captured Solor in 1613, many of the Topasses fled to Larantuka, where they established an independent community, which later extended its influence to the northern coast of west Timor. In 1642, a Portuguese expedition devastated the confederacy of Wehale and intimidated the Sonba'i states into submission, but Portuguese power remained slight and until the end of the century it was represented mainly by the Topasses.

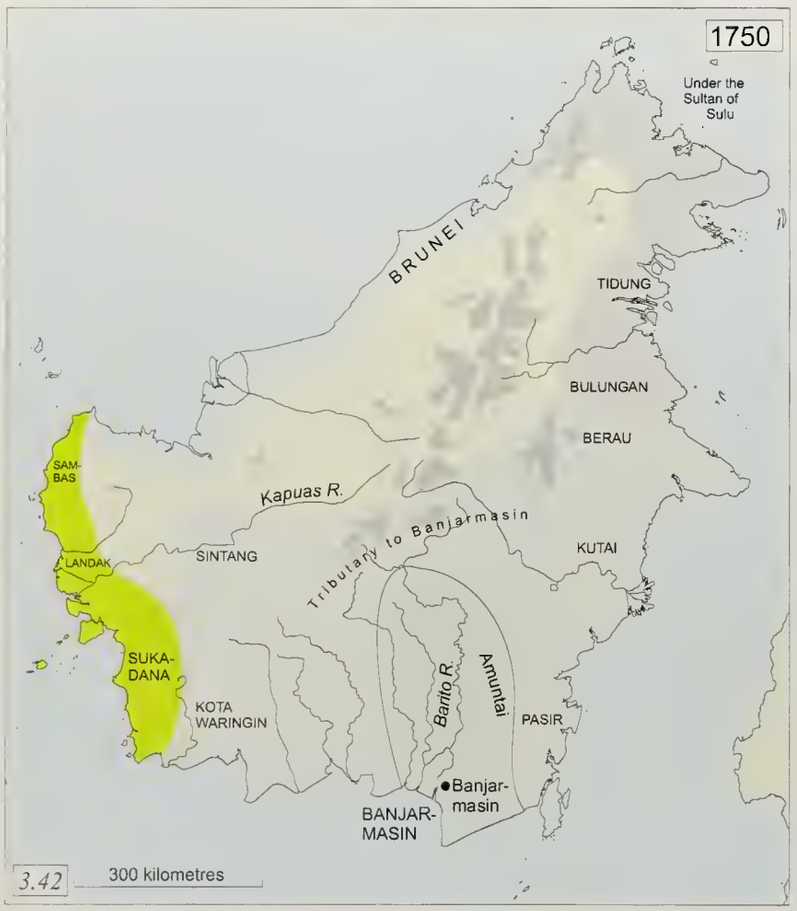
In 1653, the Dutch shifted their local headquarters from Solor to Kupang in Timor. They were defeated by the Topasses in a campaign in Amarasi in 1653, but signed treaties with five small states near Kupang in 1654 and 1655 which confirmed their foothold on the island. Battles with the Topasses continued on and off for the next century, and the strength of Topass resistance was the main reason why Portuguese influence persisted in the Timor region whereas the Dutch were able to remove it from everywhere else in the archipelago. Only with the defeat of Topass forces in the battle of Penfui in 1749 were the Dutch able to extend their influence into the interior of western Timor.

Although the Topasses from time to time nominally acknowledged the sovereignty of Portugal, they were entirely independent of Portuguese control, and from 1719 to 1731 joined an alliance of *liurai* in the east to fight the Portuguese. The defeat of this alliance and the rise of Dutch power in the west with the victory at Penfui led the official representatives of Portugal to shift their headquarters from Lifau to Dili in 1769.

The VOC was now free to extend closer influence over the west of the island, and in 1756 it signed a contract with fifteen *liurai*, taking them as vassals. In the following years, the VOC extended a loose hegemony over the middle of the island, with the exception of the Topass enclaves, but a clear demarcation of territory with the Portuguese was not made until the 19th century.



3.40 Timor and nearby islands 1500–1800. *In the early 17th century, the small island of Roti was divided into more than twenty tiny, antagonistic states. Attempts by some rulers to draw the VOC into their disputes led to a series of Dutch campaigns between 1656 and 1681 which devastated many island communities but Roti did not come firmly under Dutch control until 1756.*



Borneo (Kalimantan)

Unlike Java and Sumatra, Borneo has not experienced volcanic activity in historical times and its soils are correspondingly poor. As a result, although some of the earliest known polities in the Indonesian archipelago were located on the Borneo coasts, the island was never able to support the substantial populations which underpinned empires such as Srivijaya and Majapahit. The interior of Borneo was consistently important as a source of minerals and forest products, but the kingdoms which emerged on the coast never became powerful enough to extend their control over more than a small part of the island, and there is no record of a Borneo state exercising influence further afield than Borneo's offshore islands. Besides, very few early inscriptions have been recovered from Borneo, so that the record of early state formation there has to be based mainly on external records. Chinese records from the 10th to 15th centuries speak of a significant state called 'Poni' on the northern coast of the island which was tributary to China as a trading partner. The name suggests a connection with the later state of Brunei, but Poni's location remains uncertain. Archaeological research suggests that 'Poni' may have centred originally at Santubong, near the mouth of the Sarawak River, before moving at some stage to Brunei Bay.

The most extensive early account comes from the 14th-century Javanese *Nagarakertagama* (*Desawarnyana*), which records over twenty states in Borneo as tributary to Majapahit (see p. 87). Just how significantly this claim, like that of China, was felt by the Borneo states themselves is open to debate. Archaeological evidence indicates the existence of a state called Negaradipa in what is now the hinterland of Banjarmasin.

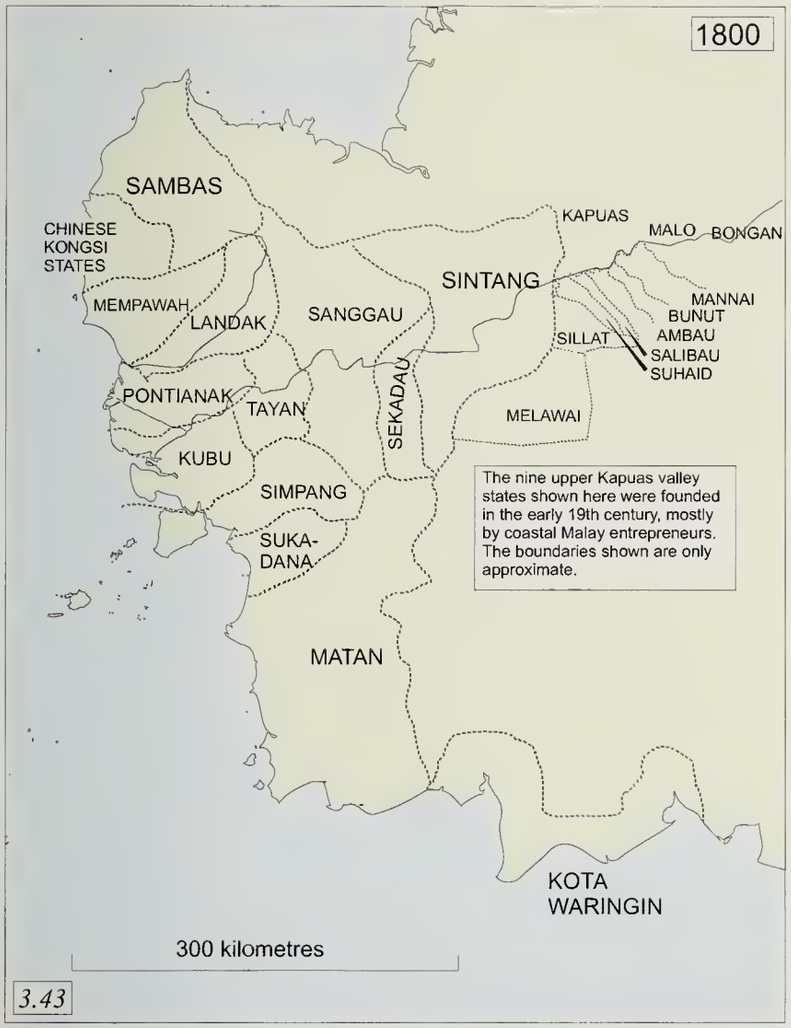
Little is known of Borneo in the 15th century, but the most significant states were apparently Sukadana and Banjarmasin in the south (both of them tributaries to Demak and later Mataram), Berau in the east, and Brunei in the north. Sukadana is said to have been established by Brawijaya, a ruler of Majapahit, and to have converted to Islam in about 1550. Throughout these years, the interior of the island was the domain of indigenous Dayak tribes.

Shortly after the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, however, Brunei seems to have converted to Islam, perhaps as the consequence of an influx of Muslim refugees (though Brunei's own dynastic records suggest that conversion took place a century earlier). During the 16th century, the sultans of Brunei created an empire which stretched along the entire northern coast of Borneo and into what is now the southern Philippines, though their control was probably tenuous at that distance. The port of Brunei itself became a major entrepot on the spice route between the Moluccas and China and was described in glittering terms by members of the Spanish expedition of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521.

With its mountainous, densely forested interior, Borneo could not easily be dominated by a single power, and each of its four coasts has generally had its own distinctive history.

3.41 (above) Main states of Borneo in the 15th and 16th centuries.

3.42 (left) Borneo, ca 1750.



3.43 The states of western Borneo, ca 1800.

In the south, the sultanate of Banjarmasin grew strong on the pepper trade. Large areas in the hills behind Banjarmasin were cleared for pepper cultivation and from the middle of the 17th century the region threw off its tradition of vassaldom to Java to become a significant regional power. Banjarmasin's heartland was the basin of the Barito River, especially the fertile uplands of Amuntai, but at the height of its power, it claimed suzerainty over all the coastal states from Kota Waringin to Bulungan, and even claimed some influence in Sintang in the Kapuas basin. In the west, the main power at the beginning of the 17th century was Sukadana, a major exporter of diamonds and forest products, though its influence was being challenged by Sambas to the north, which was a vassal of Johor. The state of Landak came under Sukadana's control in about 1600, but frequently sought its independence.

In 1622, forces from Mataram conquered Sukadana. Mataram, however, soon declined and by 1650 Sukadana had recovered to dominate the entire west coast. In 1699, rebels from Landak joined forces with the Javanese state of Banten to conquer Sukadana. Banten's domination of Sukadana was brief. With the help of Bugis mercenaries based in Banjarmasin, the sultan managed to recover his throne and Sukadana once more became the major trading power of the west coast. Towards the end of the century, however, Sukadana's power was increasingly challenged by the new state of Pontianak, founded by an Arab adventurer in 1772. In 1778, Banten ceded its defunct rights over Sukadana to the VOC, which joined Pontianak in 1786 in an attack which utterly destroyed the city. The royal family of Sukadana continued to rule the minor state of Matan (Kayung), but Sukadana was abandoned and Pontianak became the main centre of trade on the west coast. In the final years of the century, the rulers of Pontianak claimed Sanggau, Landak, Matan and Tayan as vassals, but they never ruled those areas directly. North of Pontianak, the states of Sambas and Mempawah were transformed from about 1760 by the arrival of Chinese miners to work the gold fields of the region. The miners came at first at the invitation of the local rulers, but their commercial organizations, or *kongsi*, soon developed into small republics virtually independent of the rulers. States of a different kind also emerged in this era in the interior of western Kalimantan, along the Kapuas river and its tributaries. For the most part, the elites of these states were Malays, often with trading interests, who established varying degrees of hegemony over the indigenous Dayaks. The largest of these states, Sintang, was moderately significant, but the states further upstream were small – sometimes claiming only a few hundred subjects.

Brunei, meanwhile, was also in decline before the rising sultanate of Sulu, based in the archipelago between Borneo and Mindanao. In return for backing the successful claimant in a succession dispute in Brunei, Sulu received suzerainty over much of Borneo north of Brunei itself. Sulu's influence also increased on the east coast of Borneo.

The principal state of the east coast was Kutai, a Malay kingdom in the Mahakam river basin which converted to Islam in the 16th century. From the late 17th century, however, many Buginese settled on the east coast, founding the state of Pasir and for a time dominating the Tidung, Bulungan and Berau regions, though these northern areas were to come under the Sulu sultanate.

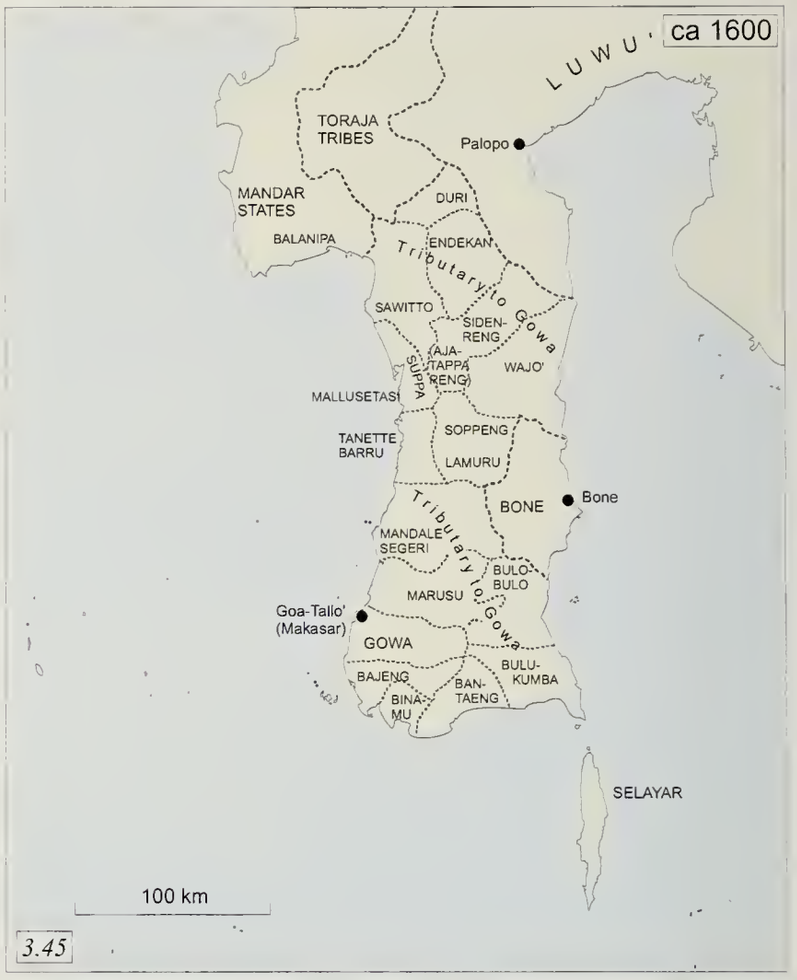
3.44 Southern Sulawesi, ca 1500.

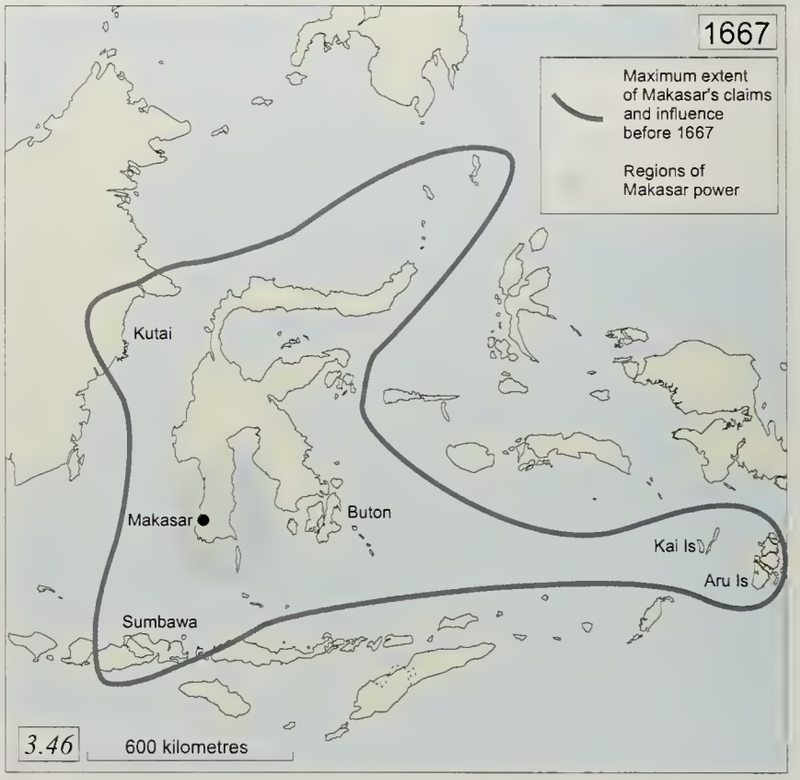
Sulawesi and Maluku (The Moluccas)

Like Nusatenggara, the island of Sulawesi offers only a sparse historical and archaeological record before the 17th century. By the 14th century, states had begun to form in the southwestern peninsula (generally called South Sulawesi), but because there appears to have been little Indic cultural influence in this process, there are no significant inscriptions from this era. In 1300, the main states were Luwu' (by tradition the oldest state in the region) and Soppeng, both of them consisting of powerful centres dominating a number of surrounding lesser states, including Sidenreng and Lamuru. Soppeng's power seems to have been based especially on the export of rice, while Luwu' exported iron from the interior. In the late 15th century, Soppeng appears to have declined in power, while Wajo' emerged as junior member of an alliance with Luwu'. The dominance of Luwu', however, was checked by the rise of Bone in the early 16th century, while a new power arose in the south in the form of Gowa. Little is known about the other peninsulas of Sulawesi in this period.

From about 1530, the formerly small south Sulawesi state of Gowa began to grow in power, and its port, Makasar, became increasingly important as a centre of trade in the western archipelago. Gowa used military force to bring much of South Sulawesi under its domination, though the more distant and powerful states such as Wajo' had the standing of slightly subordinate allies, rather than true vassals; only the Bugis state of Bone on the east coast successfully resisted Gowa's campaigns. The port of Makasar became still more important in the early 17th century. Its ruler converted to Islam in 1605, making the port more attractive to Muslim traders, and it also became a centre for traders, both European and indigenous, excluded from Maluku by the monopoly practices of the VOC. Conversion to Islam led Gowa into a new bout of conquests in the region, including Wajo' in 1610 and finally Bone in 1611. Further campaigns in the following decades took Gowa's influence to Sumbawa, the east coast of Borneo and even the Kai and Aru Islands, though except in Sumbawa and Butung Makasar never exercised significant authority and in many areas, such as the northern parts of Sulawesi, the Makasar claim was a fiction supported only by the absence of significant local powers to question it.

As the centre for trade which the Dutch regarded as smuggling, Makasar soon became the target for intermittent Dutch hostility, and Makasar responded by assisting the Company's enemies in Maluku. In 1666, the Dutch decided to make an end once and for all to Makasar's resistance. They made an alliance with Arung Palakka, a Bugis prince from Bone, who had been exiled by Makasar to Butung in 1660 after an abortive uprising. The combined force defeated Makasar in 1667, and forced the sultan to sign the Treaty of Bungaya in which Makasar relinquished all its vassals, both in south Sulawesi and abroad, and allowed the Dutch to build a fort in the heart of its main port. The treaty was decisive in ending Makasar's power, but it took a further round of fighting until 1669 before Makasar was fully defeated. Arung Palakka became ruler of Bone and the dominant political force in the region,





3.45 (above): Makasar and the subordinate states of south Sulawesi, ca 1600.
3.46 (right): The Makasar empire before 1667.

but his authoritarian rule and destructive military campaigns against rebellious vassals led to a massive exodus of Buginese and Makasar warriors seeking safer homes elsewhere in the archipelago (see p. 52). The northern arm of Sulawesi had come under Spanish influence from the nearby Philippines in the 16th century, but was incorporated in the Dutch sphere of influence after the Treaty of Bungaya.

Pre-colonial records are even sparser for eastern Indonesia than they are for Sulawesi, and only the sketchiest outline can be given of the region's history before the 17th century.

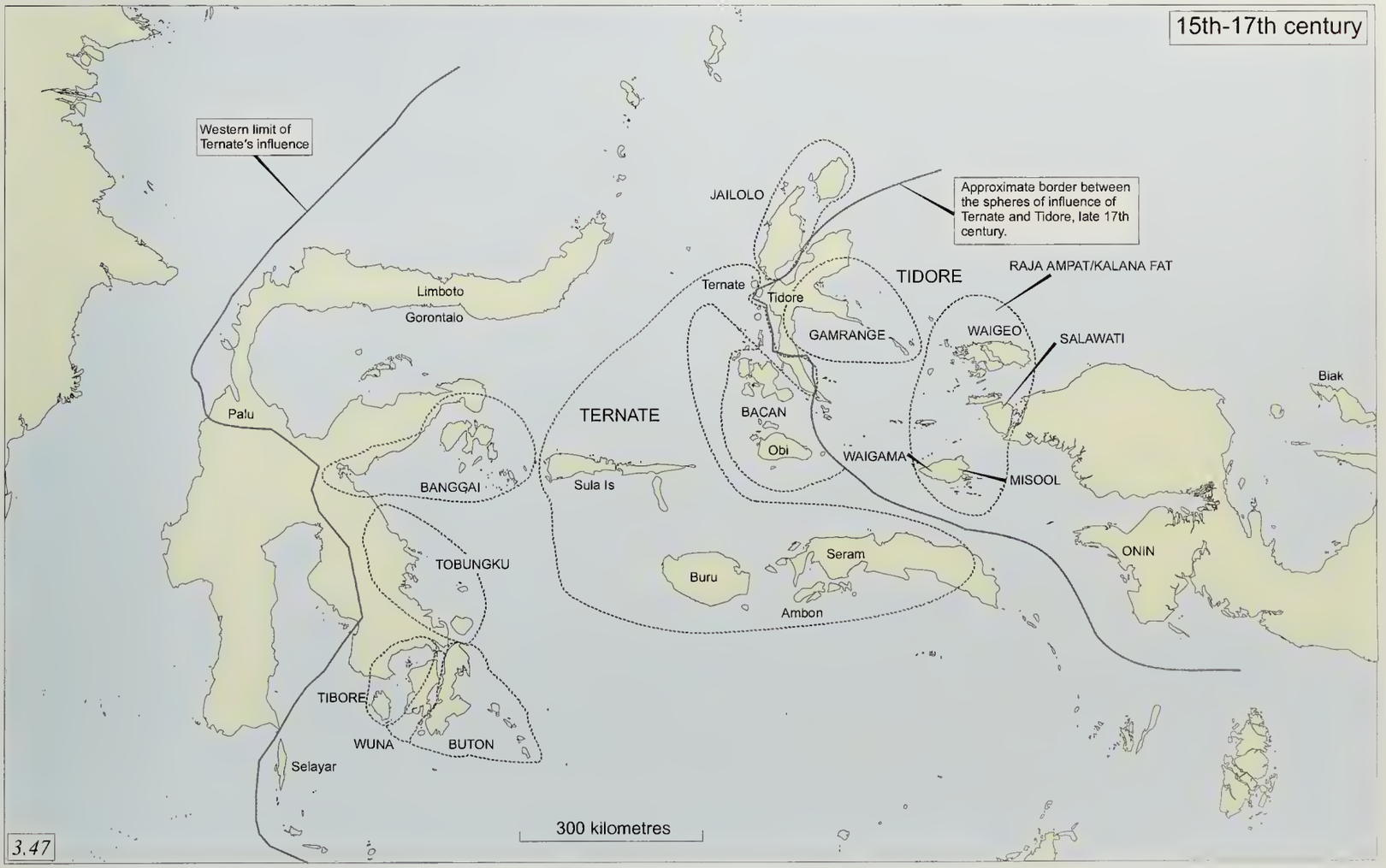
The islands of Maluku had supplied cloves to other parts of the world since at least 1700 B.C., according to archaeological evidence from the Middle East, and were also the only source of nutmeg. The small islands with their narrow coastal plains, however, could only sustain a relatively small population, and there appear to have been no large polities in the region before the 15th century, when the tiny clove-producing islands of Ternate and Tidore began to emerge as major political centres. Except in Sula, Buru, Ambon and Seram, where Ternatean aristocrats ruled directly, both empires operated as a network of alliances and vassalages, rather than as tightly ruled polities, and there was considerable ebb and flow in the degree of authority that each exercised. Ternate reached the peak of its power in the late 16th century under the warlike Sultan Baabullah.

As the main reason for European interest in the Indies, the spice islands were amongst the first to experience direct European military intervention. Ternate and Tidore were unable to prevent first the Portuguese and Spanish and later the Dutch and English from establishing fortified trading posts in the region, though Ternate had a number of military victories over the Europeans in the course of the sporadic hostilities of the 16th and early 17th centuries.

By the middle of the 17th century, however, Ternate's need for free trade in spices was fundamentally in conflict with the Dutch aims for monopoly. In 1652, the Dutch extracted a treaty from Ternate giving the Company a monopoly of clove production, and in a series of bloody campaigns during the next few years broke the power of local Ternatean lords. The Company then centred clove production on Ambon and sent out periodic expeditions to destroy clove trees in other regions.

The great island of New Guinea was also a major centre of population, but its people were concentrated in the interior and except on the fringes close to Maluku there is no record at all of political forms before European contact.

3.47 Traditional kingdoms of Maluku, early 15th century, and the spheres of influence of Ternate and Tidore, 16th to 17th centuries.



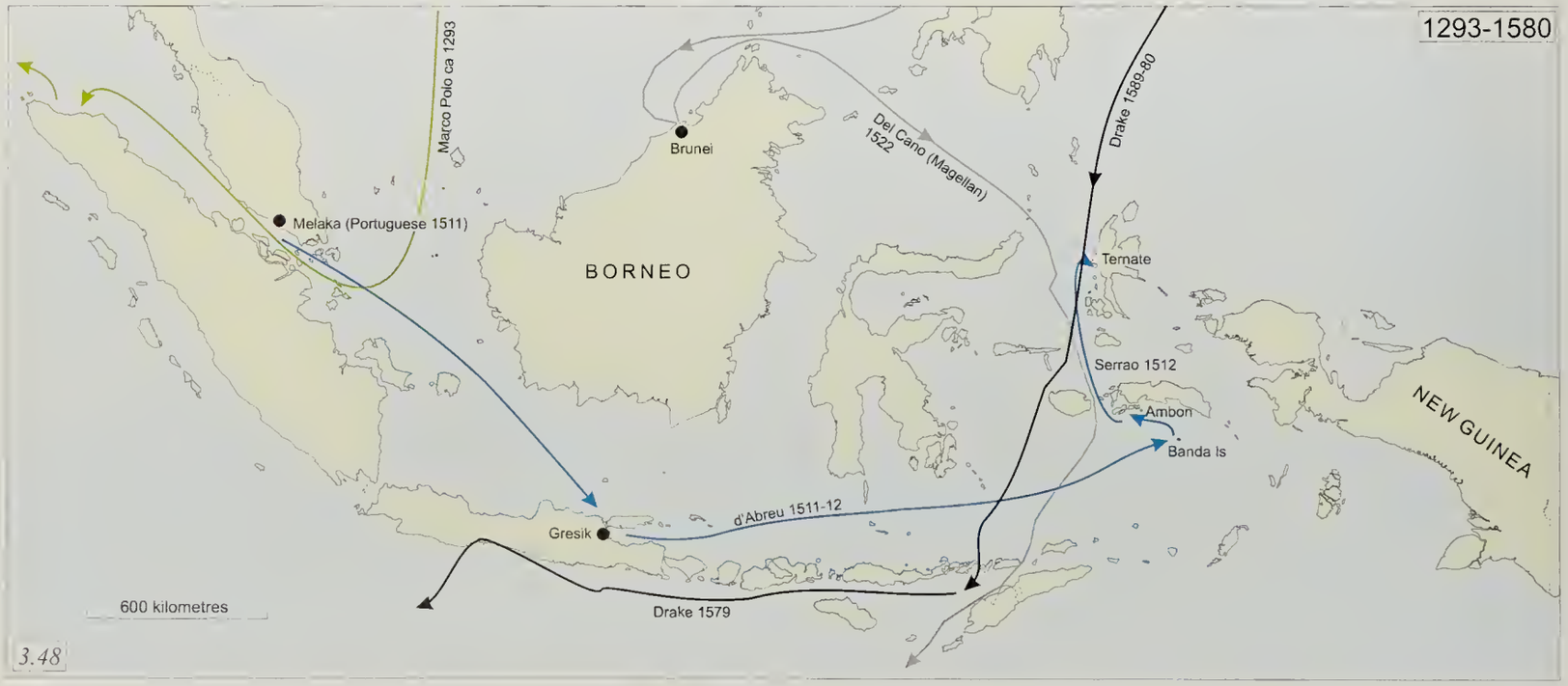
Europeans in the Archipelago

Europeans had been aware of the existence of a rich archipelago off the southeastern corner of Asia since classical times, and the name 'Java' in particular often appeared in various forms on European maps of the world before 1500. Closer European knowledge of the Indies, however, had to await the establishment of direct contact after the Portuguese Vasco da Gama discovered the sea route to India around the Cape of Good Hope (though Marco Polo's brief passage through the archipelago at the end of the 13th century had begun to extend European knowledge). The Portuguese Antonio d'Abreu and Francisco Serrão, sent eastwards after the capture of Melaka, gave detailed reports of Maluku, but the Portuguese were most secretive about their activities in the east and it was not until the later expeditions of the Spaniard Ferdinand Magellan (who died before reaching the Indies) and the Englishman Francis Drake that information on the Indies became more widely published in Europe.

These visits were the prelude to an era of more than four centuries in which European traders, soldiers, administrators and missionaries utterly transformed the Indonesian archipelago.

Historians continue to debate when European influence in the Indonesian archipelago began to produce significant political, social and economic change. The Portuguese attack on Melaka in 1511 was significant as the first attack on the Indonesian archipelago from outside since the brief Mongol invasion of the 13th century and the attack had major religious and political consequences for western Indonesia. Many regions, however, remained entirely or largely unaffected by the Europeans for decades or even centuries thereafter.

3.i Portuguese ship.



3.48 Early European visitors to the Indonesian archipelago.

3.49 Portuguese forts and posts in Indonesia, 16th and 17th centuries.

The Europeans were drawn to Indonesia by the spice trade, but all the major European powers with interests in the archipelago claimed more than traders' rights there. Portugal and Spain, the only European powers active in the archipelago during the 16th century, claimed authority throughout the region on the basis of the so-called Papal Donation of 1493, which had allocated the western hemisphere to Spain and the eastern hemisphere to Portugal. This Donation, ratified in the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, implicitly established a line of demarcation in the Indies at 129°E, thus partitioning Maluku. Determining longitude in the field, however, was a difficult exercise, and the course of the line remained uncertain. In 1527, Spain and Portugal signed a further treaty in Saragossa which shifted the boundary seventeen degrees to the east, giving Portugal clear title over Maluku and most of the island of New Guinea in exchange for a payment of 350,000 ducats. Nonetheless, Spain briefly established a post in Tidore between 1542 and 1545 while further north the Spanish claimed what became the Philippines by virtue of Magellan's 'discovery' in 1521. An expedition from New Spain landed in the islands in 1565 and laid the basis for Spanish control which confirmed the separation of the Philippines from the Indonesian world.

The Portuguese *Estado da India* was governed from Goa, on the Indian west coast. It consisted primarily of a sprinkling of forts and trading posts, stretching eventually from Mozambique to Japan, and its power lay not in trade but in tax collection. Although the Portuguese crown declared a royal monopoly over the trade of spices from Indonesia to Europe, the Portuguese authorities in Asia were unable and unwilling to enforce it. Instead, in exchange for payment, they issued *cartaze*, or certificates of safe conduct, to trading vessels within their sphere of influence and connived at smuggling on a massive scale by Portuguese returning to Europe. The Catholic missionary Francis Xavier commented that the learning of the Portuguese in Maluku was limited to the Latin verb *rapio* ('I seize'), but that they had invented many new and imaginative ways to use it. Nonetheless, partly because of the widespread settlement of Portuguese men in the archipelago, partly because of Portugal's control of major trading points, the Portuguese language spread widely as a second lingua franca alongside Malay. Portuguese-speaking communities survived in the region until the 19th century and many Portguese words entered Malay itself.

The Portuguese initially had an advantage in firearms and ship design, but both advantages quickly diminished as Southeast Asians learnt European techniques and individual Portuguese took service with Southeast Asian rulers. Portugal, moreover, was a small country whose army and navy were thinly spread over a vast region, and their posts and forts were vulnerable to local emerging powers. Their efforts to control the trade routes were under constant challenge from states such as Aceh, Johor, Banten and Jambi. In 1574, the people of Ternate expelled them, as Japan did in 1637.

The greatest threat to Portugal, however, came from the Dutch and English trading companies. In 1601 a Dutch fleet drove the Portuguese from Banten, and in 1605 the Dutch seized the Portuguese forts in Maluku. Solor fell to the Dutch in 1613, and Melaka in 1641. Portuguese influence was then limited to Larantuka, which remained in their hands until 1859.

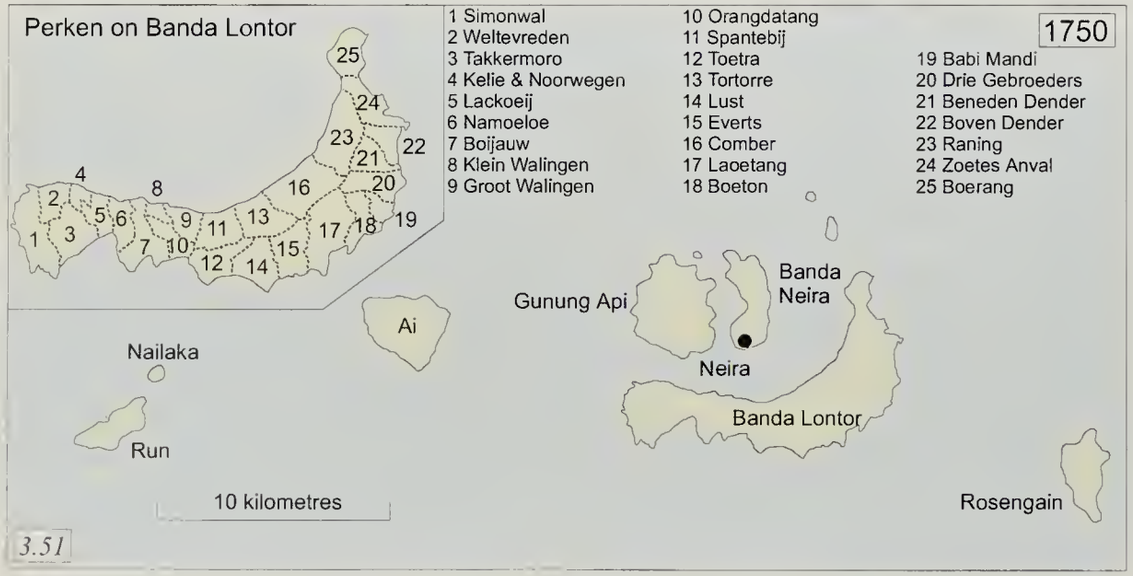
In 1587, following the union of Spain and Portugal in 1580, the Spanish king allocated the royal monopoly in the Indies to Fuggers and Welsers, the Habsburg bankers of Augsburg, who formed the Companhia Portugueza das Indias Orientaes, but this change came too late to deflect the military and commercial challenge presented by the Dutch.

3.50 Major VOC posts and forts in the archipelago, 17th century.

Unlike the *Estado da India*, the Dutch East India Company (VOC, Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) was a joint stock company, formed in 1602 by merging several smaller companies founded in the 1590s to trade with the Indies. The joint stock company was a relatively new commercial form which became one of the most important vehicles for the development of modern capitalism. Its essence was that investors purchased shares in a joint operation which they themselves did not necessarily operate. In this way it became possible not only to produce a very large operating capital at short notice but to separate the functions of providing capital and managing the operation.

The VOC also brought to its operations a charter from the Dutch government which gave it the right to administer and to make war and peace in the regions east of the Cape of Good Hope. Although it was technically a private company, its owners were from the same merchant class that dominated the Dutch Republic, and it could thus draw on the protection of the Dutch state.

Newly free from Spanish rule themselves, the Dutch rejected in principle the Treaty of Saragossa and its partition of the Indies, arguing instead the principle of freedom of the seas. With a large fleet of ships willing to break the Portuguese monopoly, they were initially welcomed in Southeast Asia. By making exclusive commercial agreements with indigenous rulers, and by direct military action against their European rivals and local challengers, they sought to create an exclusive sphere of influence in the Indies. The inter-European contest of the 17th century



3.51 Banda under Dutch rule. *As the only region producing valuable nutmeg, the tiny Banda archipelago was an immediate target of European ambitions. Its rulers resisted Portuguese efforts to set up a fort and opposed a monopoly claimed by the VOC. In response the VOC attacked the islands in 1609; ten years of war followed in which the population of Banda, estimated at 15,000 was reduced to about a thousand miserable survivors who were finally shipped to the Kai Islands. The main nutmeg island, Banda Lontor, was then divided into nutmeg perken, or gardens, which were allocated to officials and friends of the Company.*

3.52 VOC territories and trading posts in Asia, 1650.

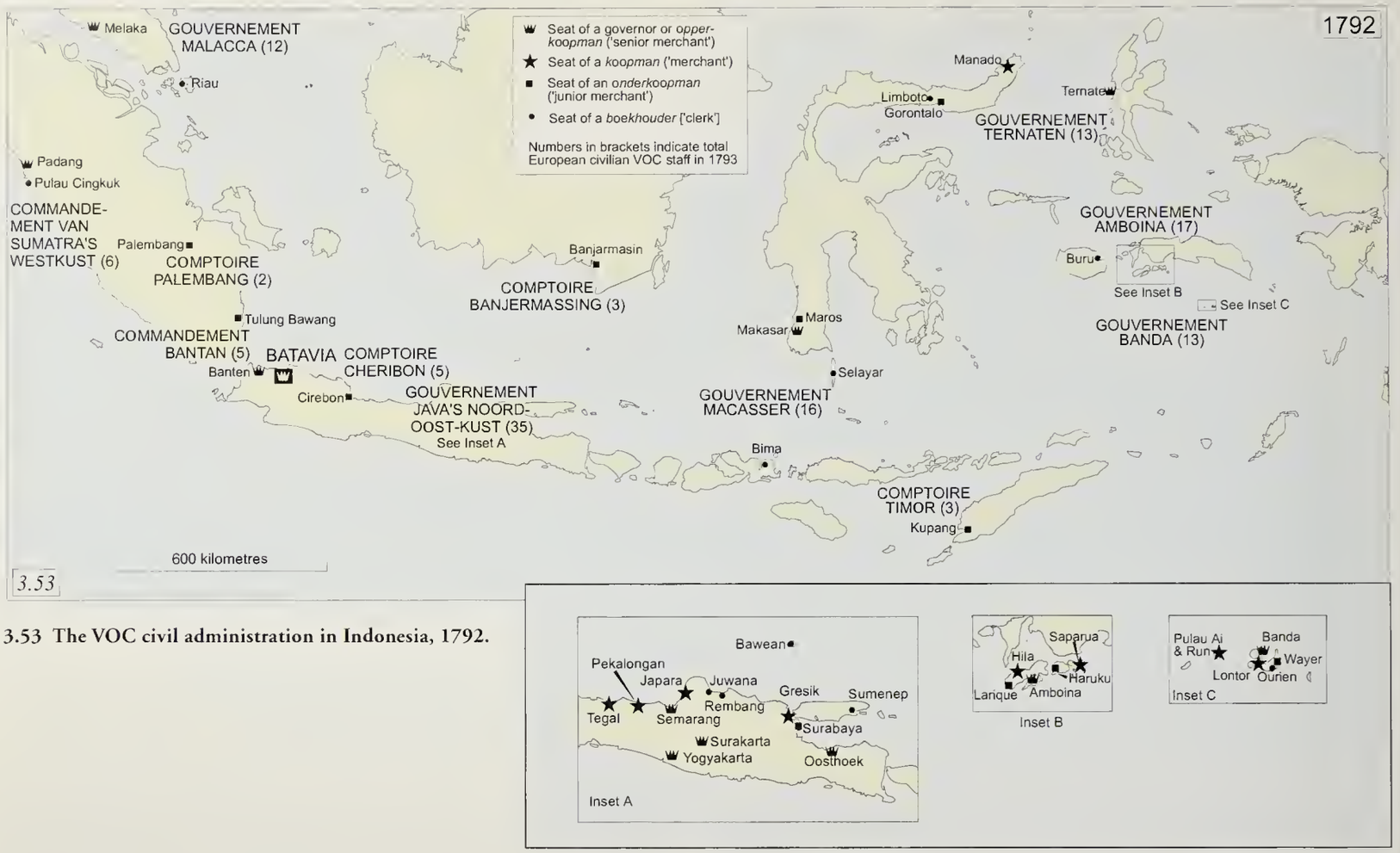
involved only tiny patches of territory and relatively small numbers of indigenous people, but it determined that the Indonesian archipelago was to be the sphere of influence of the VOC. By the end of the century, the Dutch were a significant power only in parts of Java and Maluku, but their rivals were gone or confined to insignificant peripheral regions of the archipelago – Spain to the Philippines, Portugal to Timor and a few adjacent islands, and the British to the west coast of Sumatra.

The Company's initial interest was in obtaining spices from Maluku for direct shipment to Europe, and it established a fort in Ambon (Amboina) in 1605. Under the third Governor-General, J.P. Coen, however, the Company's ambitions began to extend to taking part in trade within Asia. Coen decided that the Company needed a more central base and in 1619 founded a new headquarters, which he called Batavia, in the small trading city of Jayakarta on the northwestern coast of Java. In developing this so-called inter-Asian trade, the VOC made the most both of its capital reserves, which gave it disproportionate power in the market place, and its naval strength, which enabled it to sweep from the seas both pirates and Asian traders it now classified as smugglers because they infringed its monopolies.

The VOC's interests in Indonesia were only part of its Asian empire. The Company had major trading operations in India and was the only European power permitted to trade in Japan. It came to control the islands of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Formosa (now Taiwan), as well as a significant territory at the Cape of Good Hope. Most of the Company's territories were ruled by governors subordinate to the Governor-General in Batavia; the gouvernement of Java's Northeast Coast, therefore, was no more directly monitored from Batavia than was the distant Cape settlement. Even within the VOC structure, therefore, the 'Netherlands Indies', as a precursor to modern Indonesia, had no formal existence.

The naval commercial power of the VOC, especially in an island region such as Indonesia, meant that the Company could pursue its interests on many fronts, but its two most important adversaries in the period to 1800 were Makasar and Mataram. Makasar, the main port in southern Sulawesi, became a major centre for the 'smuggling' trade which defied the Dutch monopoly until it succumbed to the Dutch and allied indigenous forces in a three-year war ending in 1669.

3.ii One of the world's first corporate logos: the VOC symbol. *This was used widely on coinage, flags and public buildings in Dutch Asia.*



3.53 The VOC civil administration in Indonesia, 1792.

Coen had placed his headquarters on Java some distance from the rising central Java power of Mataram, but the two quickly came into conflict. In 1628 and 1629 forces from Mataram attacked Batavia but were repulsed. Thereafter, it was the Company which harassed Mataram, both deliberately circumscribing its power and finding itself drawn into civil wars and political conflicts within Mataram to defend its own interests. Following its participation in the defeat of Trunojoyo in 1678–1681, the VOC was a permanent element in Javanese politics and the Company gradually moved from being a maritime trading power to managing a territorial empire on Java. The Company's administrative structure, however, continued to resemble that of a trading company, with officials below the level of governor holding mercantile titles and retaining principal responsibility for commercial matters along with administration.

This administrative burden contributed to growing financial difficulties for the VOC during the 18th century. The Company's monopoly policies, moreover, had contributed to serious impoverishment in the archipelago, diminishing the possibility of large profits. In response, the Dutch sought to drive down the purchase price of produce by various systems of forced delivery which often caused enormous hardship to their Indonesian subjects. A further problem was high levels of corruption amongst Company officials, despite draconian penalties for those who were caught. Another blow were French raids on Ambon in 1769–1772 which obtained clove plants and allowed the French to begin cultivation of cloves in Mauritius. The consequence was the Company began to borrow money to pay its still-impressive dividends to investors, thereby digging itself into deeper financial problems. Many attempts at reform were begun during the 18th century, some of them tightening systems of control, others proposing some liberalization, but entrenched interests in Batavia were able for the most part to prevent reforms from having long-term effect.

By the end of the century, the VOC could no longer pay its way, and on 31 December 1799 it was formally wound up, its property, debts and interests in the Indies being taken over by the Dutch state. At that moment, however, not just the system of Dutch rule in the archipelago was in the balance. Dutch power itself appeared likely to disappear in the Napoleonic world war between England and France.

The English East India Company (EIC), founded in 1600, was a joint stock company like the VOC formed to exploit the trading opportunities of Asia. Unlike the VOC, it was reconstituted initially after each voyage and then at intervals of four years, so that it did not immediately develop a lasting bureaucratic stucture like that of the Dutch company. The two companies almost immediately came into conflict over trade in the archipelago, with Governor-General Coen unilaterally declaring Maluku closed to the English in 1616. The English established posts on Lontor and Run in the Banda Islands, but were generally outmanoeuvred by the Dutch. The conflict came to a head in 1623, in the so-called Amboyna massacre, when ten English company agents on Ambon were tortured and executed on charges of conspiring against the VOC.

The English briefly established a headquarters at Legundi off the southern tip of Sumatra, but were forced by disease to move first to Batavia and then to Banten. Their interest, however, was moving towards India and they did not attempt to maintain more than a scattering of small posts in Indonesia from this time.

By 1684 the English had lost all their former posts and forts in Indonesia, but in the following year they began to develop interests on the western coast of Sumatra, beginning with Pariaman. These interests grew into control of the southern part of that coast, with a headquarters at Bengkulu (Bencoolen), which became a base, according to Dutch complaints, for private English traders to infringe Dutch monopolies throughout the western archipelago.

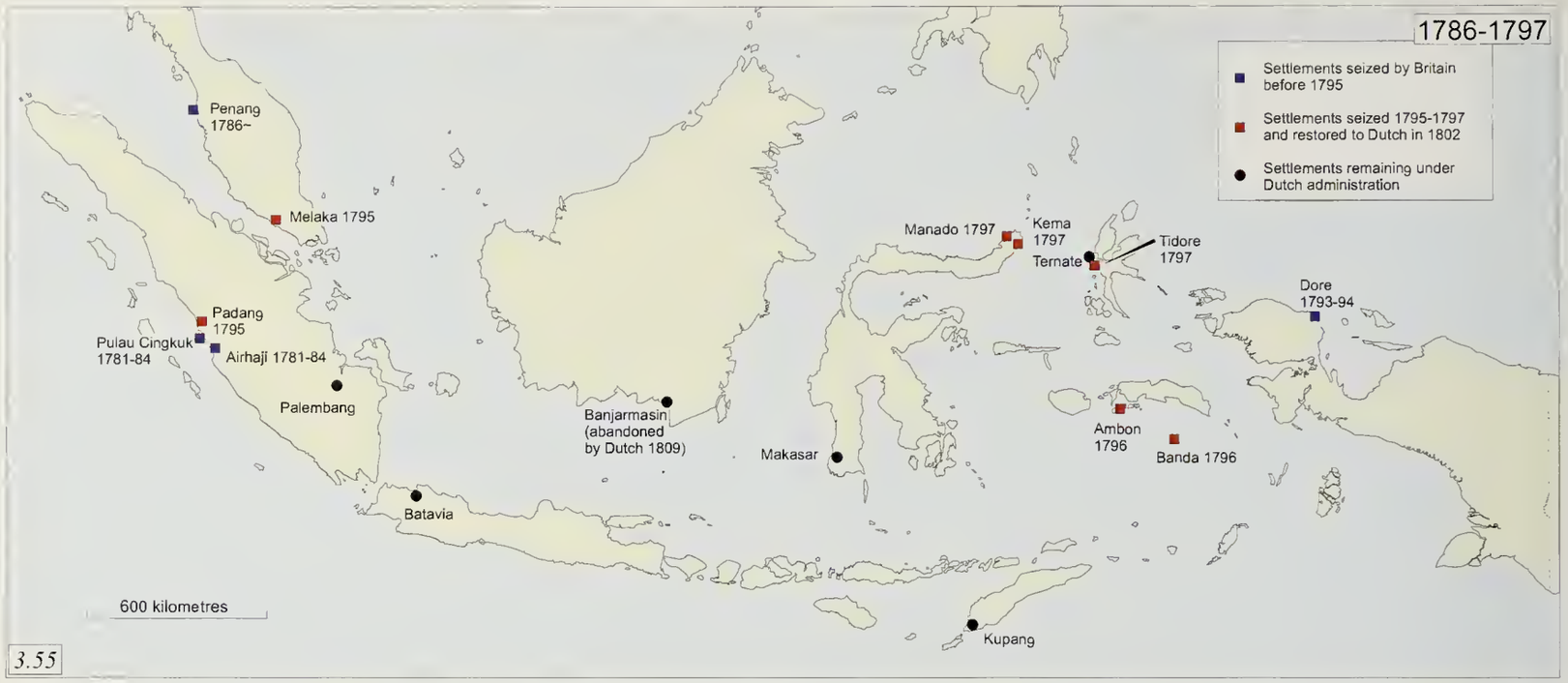
Other European powers showed only marginal interest in the archipelago in this period. The French formed an East Indies company in 1604 and a number of French trading expeditions reached Indonesia in the early 17th century. The Danes held a post in Makasar until it was conquered by the Dutch, and Americans traded in Sumatra, but none of these attempted to establish a political presence.

In the late 18th century, politics in Western Europe was dominated by rivalry between Britain and France. Increasingly, the weak Dutch Republic fell under French influence, and its possessions in the Indies became vulnerable to British attack. The Fourth Anglo–Dutch War (1780–1784) briefly cost the Netherlands its possessions in Bengal and Coromandel, as well as two small posts on the Sumatra coast, though most of these losses were restored in 1784.

In 1795, a French-backed revolution in Holland expelled the Stadthouder, William of Orange, who fled to Britain, where he issued the so-called 'Kew Letter', instructing VOC officials in the Indies to surrender their posts to the British on demand. On this basis, the British occupied Melaka, Padang and Ambon without a struggle, Banda by surprise and Tidore by assault, but were unable to capture Kupang or Ternate. The 1802 Treaty of Amiens restored these territories to the Dutch.

Under French domination during the Napoleonic years in Europe, the Dutch authorities appointed Marshal H.W. Daendels as Governor-General in 1808. He sought both to reform the corrupt administrative practices that had brought down the VOC and to prepare for the defence of Java against an expected British attack. Amongst his measures was to construct a post-road the full length of the island of Java, from Anyer to Panarukan, to improve communications and the movement of troops. Constructed mainly with forced labour working to a tight timetable, the road earned Daendels a reputation for dictatorial cruelty, and in 1811 he was dismissed. Three months later, British forces occupied Java.

3.54 Major English posts and forts in the archipelago, 1600–1780.



3.55 British expansion in the archipelago, 1786–1797.

3.56 Makasar trepang expeditions to Australia. *In the 17th century, China developed a demand for trepang or sea slug (a kind of* holothurian*) for cooking. The animals live in shallow tropical and sub-tropical waters and were collected first from the South China Sea. As those fields were fished out, however, trepang collectors turned to other regions.*

3.57 Daendels' postroad on Java. *Built at great expense between 1808 and 1810, this road reduced the time needed to send a letter between Batavia and Surabaya from two weeks to 6–7 days.*

By late in the 18th century, fishermen from Makasar had begun to travel regularly to the northern coast of Australia, using compass and dead reckoning to cross the Timor Sea. The coasts of Arnhem Land (Marege') and the Kimberley (Kayu Jawa) were the most important collecting regions and the trepang was smoked and dried on the spot in preparation for the return voyage and on-shipment to China. It has been estimated that perhaps six hundred tons of trepang were collected each season. The visits continued until the early years of the twentieth century and had a significant cultural influence on Aborigines in northern Australia. Words from Makasar entered Aboriginal languages, Indonesian plant species became part of the local diet, and goods from Makasar entered Aboriginal trading networks. A few Aborigines travelled back with boats to Makasar, where they settled.

3.58 British possessions in Indonesia, 1810–1817.

British troops landed near Batavia in August 1811 and the Dutch forces surrendered to them at Salatiga six weeks later. Thomas Stamford Raffles took over as Lieutenant Governor and began a vigorous programme of reform in the hopes of convincing the British government to retain Java permanently as a colony (as it was to do with the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon). Raffles' authority was quickly challenged by the sultan of Yogyakarta, but in 1812 British forces attacked, plundered the court of Yogyakarta and sent the sultan into exile, replacing him with his pliable son. To keep the court weak, Raffles also created a new principality within it, the Pakualaman, with a lesser status similar to that of the Mangkunegaran within Surakarta.

Both Daendels and Raffles radically restructured the administration of the island, reducing the power of the *bupati*, changing the taxation system and turning the village into the basic administrative unit. Raffles in particular emphasized that 'native welfare' should be an aim of the colonial government, and he introduced a form of land tax, called land rent, in an effort to develop a money economy on the island.

Raffles' rule, however, was only brief. At the end of the Napoleanic Wars, Britain's policy was to strengthen the Netherlands as a European counterweight to France, and in 1816 restored Java to Dutch rule; the outer territories were restored in 1817.

3.59 Javanese territories ceded to the colonial governments of Daendels and Raffles, 1808–1812. *Daendels did away with the rent paid to Surakarta in exchange for Dutch occupation of the north coast, and forced both Yogyakarta and Surakarta to cede further territories to the colonial government, but the cession was completed in 1812, when the British were in power.*

Chapter 4

The Netherlands Indies

1800–1942

At the end of the 18th century, Dutch power in the Indonesian archipelago had been waning. The VOC claimed a weak hegemony over most of the Indonesian archipelago, but this claim was heavily qualified. More or less direct Dutch rule applied in parts of the west coast of Sumatra, the city of Melaka, most of Java and scattered areas of eastern Indonesia, while there was a British colonial presence in Sumatra and a Portuguese presence in Timor. For the rest, Indonesia was a patchwork of independent indigenous states. VOC administration was listless and corrupt, while new forces in the archipelago, both indigenous and external, were gathering strength to seize the initiative. The sultanates of Aceh, Siak and Palembang in Sumatra, Pontianak and Banjarmasin in Borneo, Yogyakarta in Java, and Makasar in Sulawesi were all ready to reassert their independence, while the British and French also began to show interest in the Dutch colony and for the five years from 1811 to 1816 the Dutch entirely lost control of their Indies possessions.

In the course of the 19th century and the early 20th century, however, the Dutch transformed this picture. The Dutch state took colonial administration in hand and mounted a systematic campaign of conquest and annexation of their indigenous rivals, turning their scattered archipelagic possessions into an integrated empire. Internal administrative structures were strengthened and made more uniform. The Netherlands Indies took shape, externally and internally, during the 19th century. The borders with British, Spanish, Portuguese and German colonies in the region were gradually settled, and the formerly independent indigenous states of the archipelago were brought under Dutch hegemony by military and diplomatic means. A complex administrative structure bound the Dutch possessions together in a hierarchy leading to the offices of the Governor-General in Batavia and Buitenzorg on Java. The Netherlands Indies emerged on the world stage as a distinct political entity.

Within this colonial framework, indigenous society was increasingly transformed, both by new economic forms and by changing forms of consciousness. Dutch rule reinforced – even created – the village as the basic unit of administration in the Javanese countryside and tied the peasantry far more closely to the land than had even been the case in pre-colonial or early colonial times. At the same time, however, colonial policies had a clear and sharp impact on the daily lives of the people, while education began to develop new skills and to expose people to new ideas. In the 20th century, these changes led to the growth of a nationalist movement aiming at the creation of an independent Indonesia. Dutch repression and internal differences, however, prevented the movement from making significant progress towards independence until the Japanese occupation from 1942 brought Dutch rule to an end.

4.1 The Java War, 1825–1830.

Conquest and Annexation

When the Dutch returned to Java in 1816, they found the island seething with turmoil and their own policies exacerbated the problems. Colonial interference in court affairs, especially in Yogyakarta, left the royal family and aristocracy in a state of constant uncertainty and instability. The territorial losses of 1812, moreover, had deprived the Javanese rulers of appanages to allocate to their followers, so that internal competition over fewer respurces became more intense. In order to preserve their incomes, many Javanese aristocrats leased their lands to European and Chinese entrepreneurs who established new sugar, indigo, cotton and pepper plantations. On these plantations, Javanese peasants were now forced to labour for little return instead of growing rice for themselves. Hardship in the countryside was exacerbated by an extortionate system of taxation, especially toll gates, which added dramatically to the cost of moving people and goods from place to place.

Simmering discontent boiled into rebellion when the Dutch authorities abruptly abolished the lease system in 1823, requiring the aristocracy not only to reimburse foreign entrepreneurs for leases paid in advance but to pay also for plantation infrastructure which they had no intention of using. In July 1825, a major uprising broke out under a Yogyakarta prince, Diponegoro, who believed that he had been chosen as king of Java by the Goddess of the South Seas. The Java War which followed was partly a civil war, pitting the followers of Diponegoro against supporters of the royal courts, who saw Diponegoro as a straightforward dynastic rebel. The war was a ferocious affair in which perhaps a quarter of a million Javanese died. Superior Dutch weaponry and military techniques turned the tide and Diponegoro himself was captured by a ruse in 1830. Victory gave the Dutch the opportunity for a wholesale revision of the status of the Javanese states. Both Yogyakarta and Surakarta were shorn of most of their outlying territories, and a relatively neat border was drawn between them, in contrast to the patchwork of different territorial jurisdictions which had followed the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755.

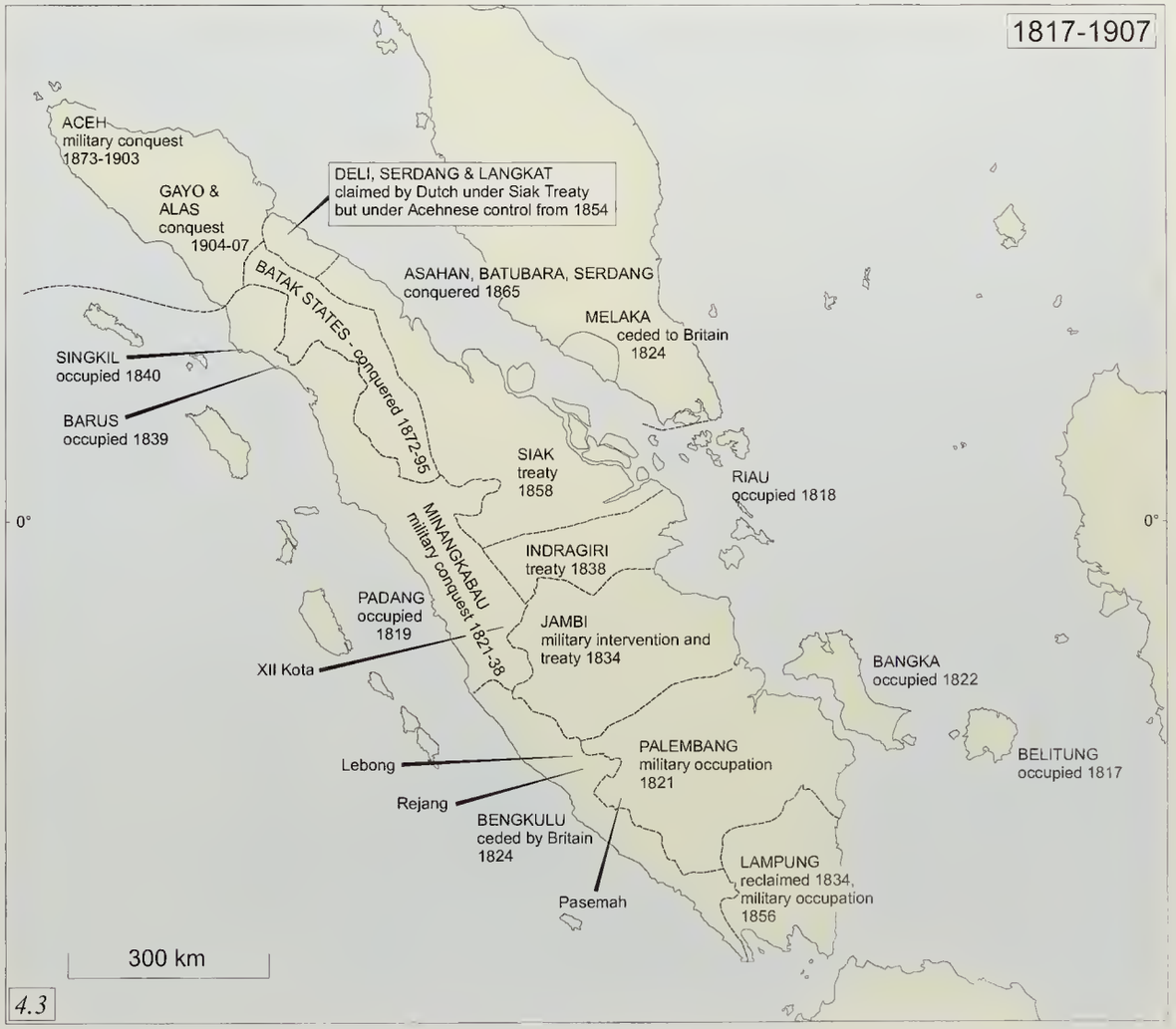
4.2 The princely states (*Vorstenlanden*) of central Java after 1830. *Although the territorial revisions of 1830 greatly simplified the boundaries between Surakarta, Yogyakarta and the Dutch, Surakarta retained a large number of enclaves within Dutch territory. These were all transferred to Dutch administration in the course of the 19th century.*

In the late 18th century, the Dutch presence in Sumatra was limited to a narrow coastal strip on the west coast, a few small posts on the east coast and vague territorial claims in the south based mainly on treaties with Banten in the 17th century. The 19th century, however, saw a steady Dutch conquest and annexation of the island, moving roughly from south to north, though facing very different conditions from region to region.

Dutch expansion began with occupation of the tin-producing island of Belitung in 1817, but they soon turned to neighbouring Palembang whose sultan had taken advantage of the British occupation of Java to slaughter the small local Dutch garrison. In a series of campaigns from 1818 to 1821, the sultanate was defeated and, in 1823, abolished. This success also allowed the Dutch to reoccupy the other major tin-producing island, Bangka, in 1822, but they did not reoccupy the Lampung region immediately to the south until 1856.

West of Palembang in 1823 was the British possession of Bencoolen (Bengkulu), but this was handed peacefully over to Dutch control in exchange for Dutch Melaka under the 1824 Treaty of London, which also formalized a division between British and Dutch spheres of influence. Although the specifics of the treaty were later questioned, it clearly provided in general for a demarcation line along the Equator, thus leaving the whole of the Malay peninsula in the British sphere. Immediately to the north of Palembang, Jambi recognized Dutch sovereignty after a brief military intervention in 1834, and Indragiri followed in 1838, but under the London treaty Britain objected to Dutch expansion north of the Equator and the Dutch had no formal presence in Indragiri. North of Indragiri, however, the sultanate of Siak experienced internal political struggles in the 1850s and the British reluctantly permitted the Dutch to establish their hegemony in 1858 in order to preserve regional stability. Dutch sovereignty now extended north to the borders of Aceh.

On the west coast, the Dutch had greater difficulty, although Padang had once been their main headquarters on the island. The Dutch had only been restored to Padang by the British in 1819 and they found the Minangkabau hinterland in the final throes of a civil war between radical Muslim reformers generally called Padri and the royal family with its supporters amongst the more traditionalist, less orthodox Muslims, though the issues involved were complex. Largely defeated by the Padri, the royalists turned to the Dutch for support, signing the Minangkabau region over to Dutch sovereignty in 1821 in exchange for military assistance. The Dutch expected a relatively quick victory, but instead became bogged down in seventeen years of bitter guerrilla warfare before a final victory in 1838. Annexation of Barus and Singkil in 1839 and 1840 then took Dutch territory up to the Acehnese border on the west coast.

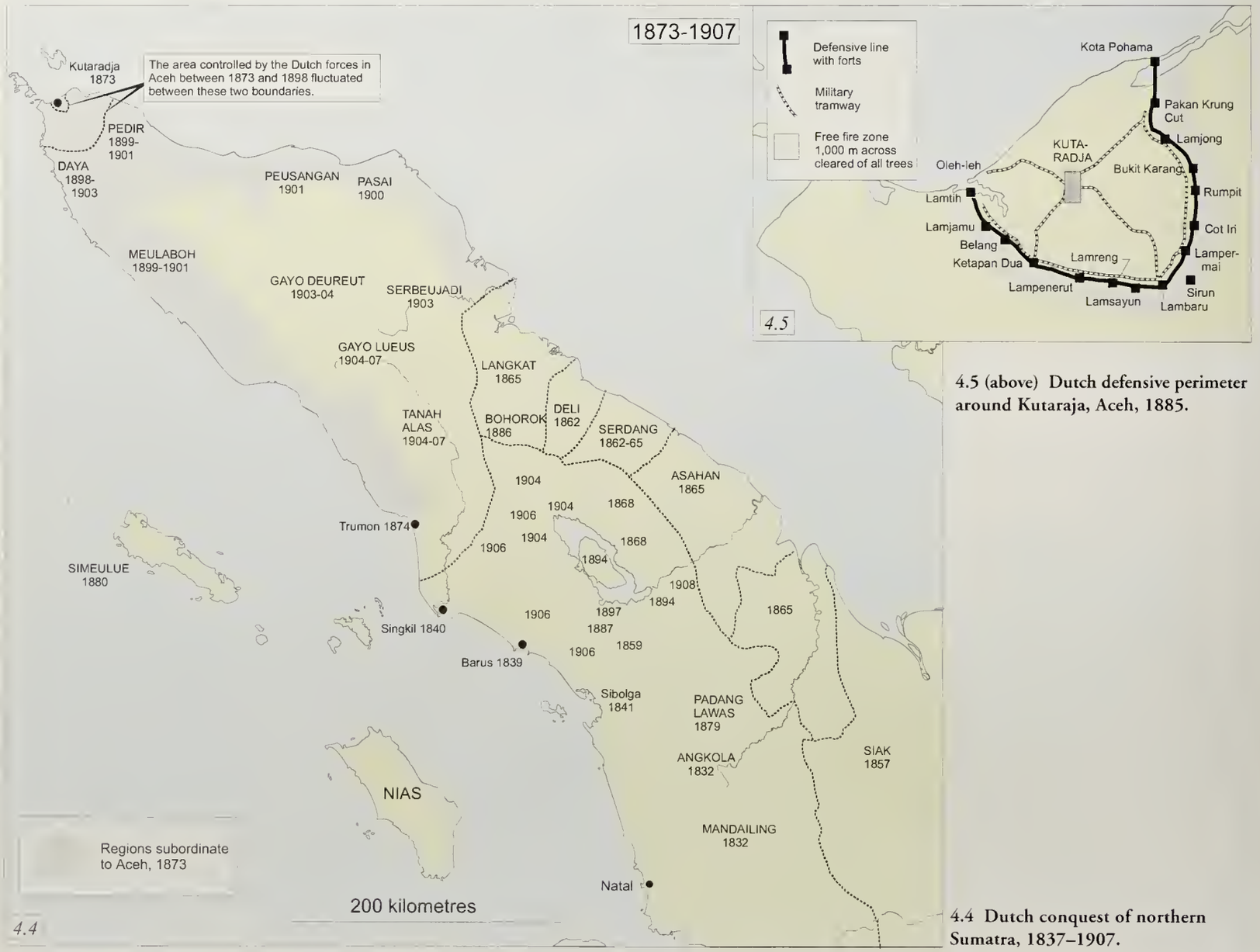


4.3 Dutch territorial expansion in Sumatra, 1817–1907. *Along the mountain range which runs the length of Sumatra were many communities who were only distantly subject, if at all, to the coastal powers which the Dutch conquered. In the hinterland of Palembang, several mountain districts were regarded by the Dutch as independent statelets for some time after the annexation of the lowlands. The Rejang district, thus, was included in Dutch territory only in 1858, Lebong in 1861 and Pasemah in 1866. The tiny district of XII Kota in West Sumatra was not formally annexed until 1899.*

By 1860, only Aceh, the Batak regions in the interior of northern Sumatra and one or two relatively insignificant independent pockets along the island's mountainous spine remained independent. Part of the Batak region was conquered in 1872, and the remainder fell in piecemeal fashion during the following decades.

Aceh's position was different, both because it was still a relatively powerful, centralized state, and because the Treaty of London had specifically protected its independence. The late 19th-century European scramble for colonies, however, and the ill-concealed interest of some French and Americans in getting a foothold in Sumatra led the Dutch and British to agree in 1871 that the Dutch should have a free hand in Aceh in exchange for transferring their small colonial possessions in West Africa to the British. In 1873, hoping to forestall an Acehnese treaty with the United States, the Dutch invaded. With some difficulty, they captured Aceh's capital, Kutaradja (now Banda Aceh) and in 1874 abolished the sultanate and annexed the kingdom.

The Acehnese, however, refused to submit and the Dutch spent the next thirty years – and vast amounts of money – in a bloody colonial war. For extended periods, the Dutch were confined to a small fortified perimeter around Kutaraja and their forays into the countryside were marked by brutality on both sides. The strongly Muslim Acehnese saw their struggle as a holy war, as well as a struggle for freedom. Only towards the end of the century did a carefully devised political strategy of seeking alliance with the regional lords, or *uleëbalang*, and offering support to religious leaders who abstained from politics, bring a form of victory to the Dutch. Even so, the region remained under Dutch military government and the 'peace' was peppered with military engagements until the end of colonial rule.



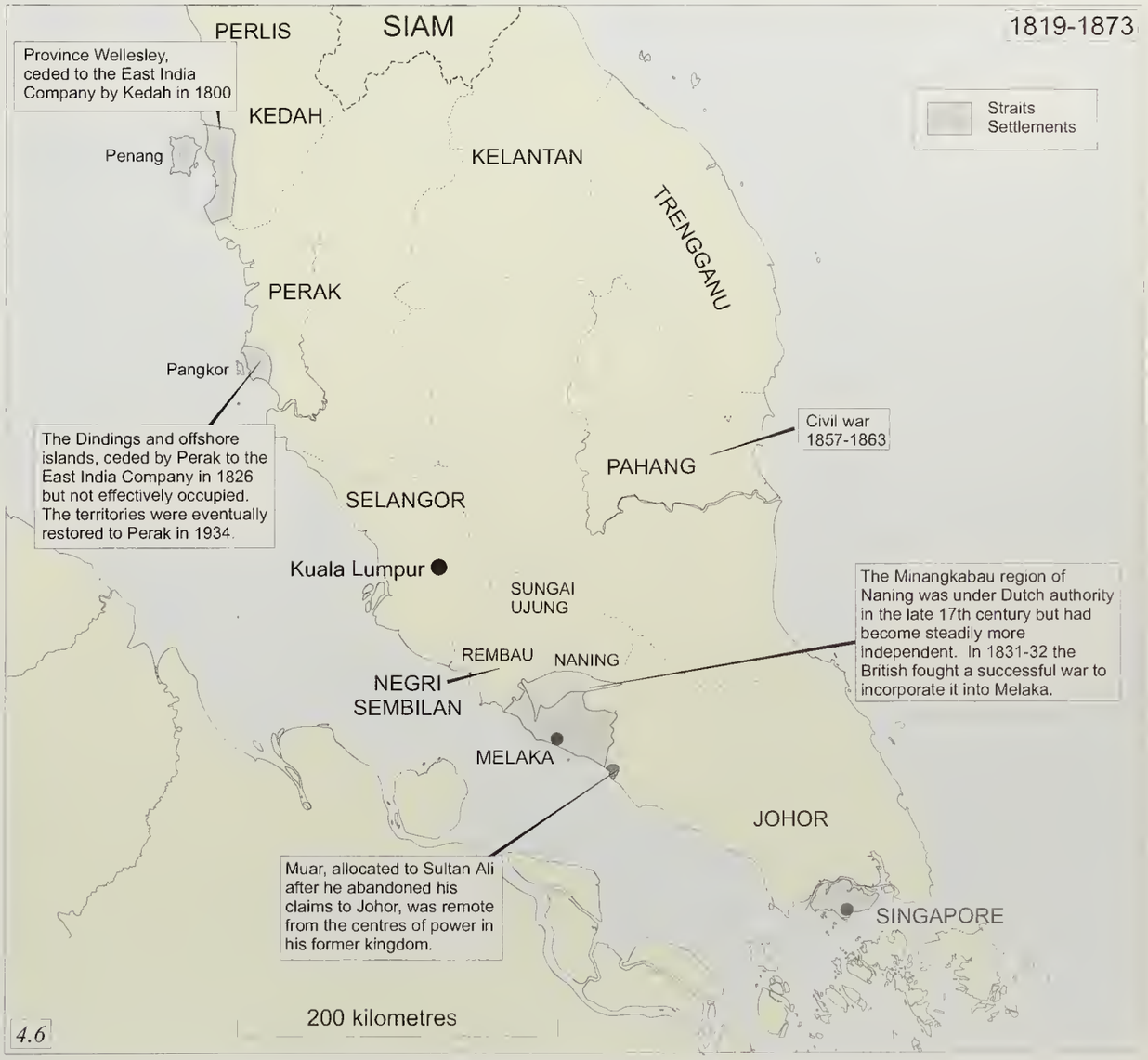
4.5 (above) Dutch defensive perimeter around Kutaraja, Aceh, 1885.

4.4 Dutch conquest of northern Sumatra, 1837–1907.

In the time of Srivijaya and Melaka, the western coast of the Malay peninsula formed a single cultural and political zone with the eastern coast of Sumatra. After Melaka fell to the Portuguese in 1511, this unity steadily diminished as the Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya established hegemony over much of the peninsula and extensive Buginese settlement changed the political and social character of Johor and Selangor. In the mid-18th century, the Dutch still regarded the peninsula as part of their archipelagic sphere of influence and they continued to hold Melaka. British settlement in Penang in 1786, however, began a process which culminated in British colonial domination of the peninsula.

The British had seized Melaka, along with other Dutch colonies, in order to keep them out of the hands of the French during the Napoleonic Wars. They returned the city to Dutch rule in 1818, but in 1819 the former British lieutenant governor of Java, Stamford Raffles, seized Singapore as a base from which to control and protect the India–China shipping route. Although the Dutch objected to his action, they were too weak to prevent it and in 1824 they signed with the British the Treaty of London, under which they handed Melaka back to the British in exchange for British possessions on the western coast of Sumatra, notably Bengkulu (Bencoolen). The treaty also established British and Dutch spheres of influence, respectively north and south of the Melaka Strait. In 1830, the British East India Company constituted Penang, Melaka, the Dindings and Singapore as the Straits Settlements, a residency within the Company's Bengal Presidency. The colony came under direct British rule with the abolition of the Company in 1858.

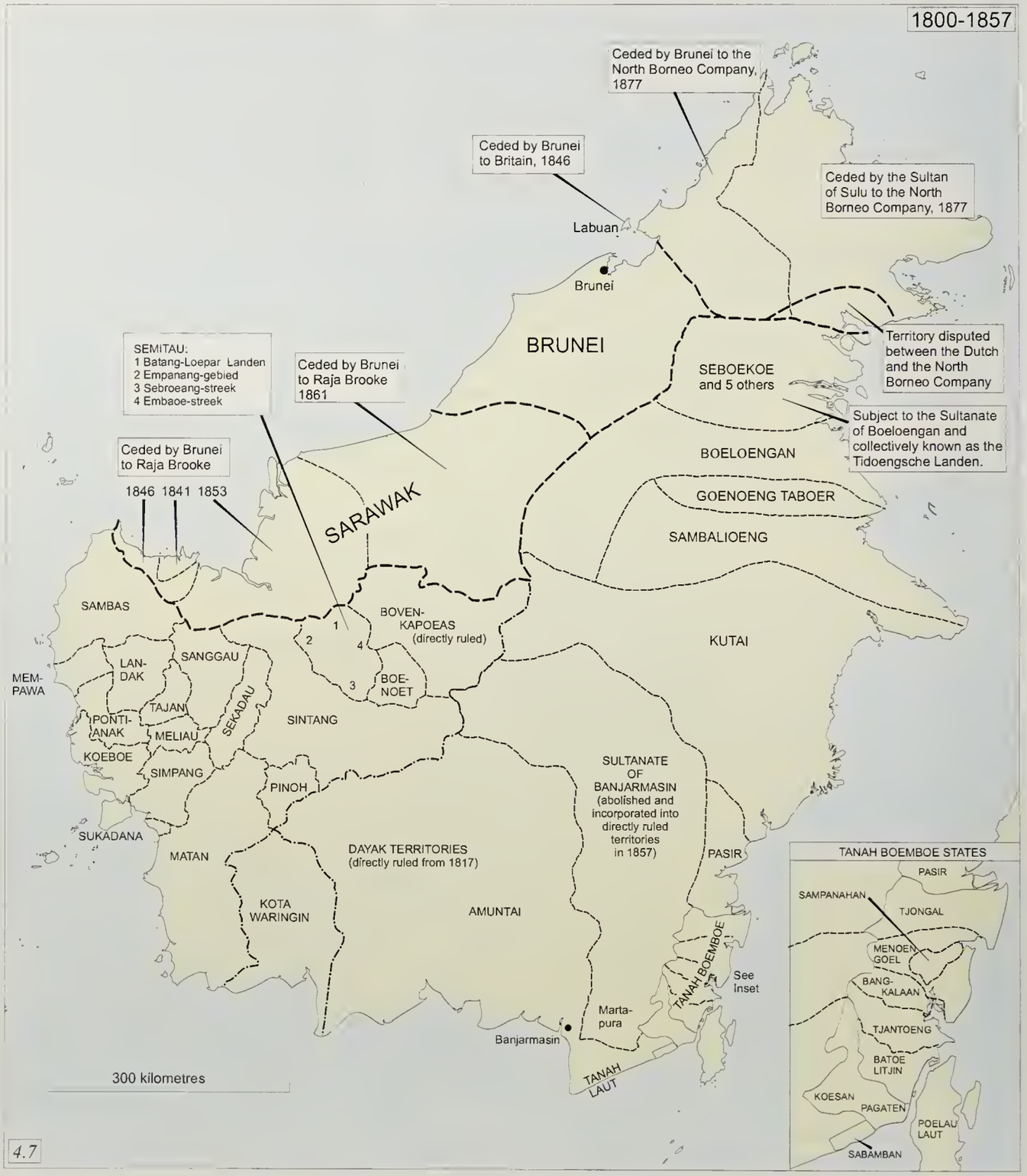
In 1826, Britain signed a treaty with Siam which set the Kedah–Perak border as the boundary between British and Siamese spheres of influence on the west coast but the two continued to compete for influence in the east coast states of Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang. From 1873, Britain expanded its control on the mainland, posting residents to 'advise' the Malay rulers of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negeri Sembilan and in 1895 designating the states as the Federated Malay States. In 1909 Siam surrendered its suzerainty over the four northern states of Trengganu, Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis and the British administered these states along with Johor as the 'Unfederated Malay States'


1819-1873
PERLIS
SIAM
Province Wellesley, ceded to the East India Company by Kedah in 1800
KEDAH
Penang
KELANTAN
TRENGGANU
Straits Settlements
PERAK
Pangkor
The Dindings and offshore islands, ceded by Perak to the East India Company in 1826 but not effectively occupied. The territories were eventually restored to Perak in 1934.
Civil war 1857-1863
PAHANG
SELANGOR
Kuala Lumpur
SUNGAI UJUNG
REMBAU
NANING
NEGRI SEMBILAN
The Minangkabau region of Naning was under Dutch authority in the late 17th century but had become steadily more independent. In 1831-32 the British fought a successful war to incorporate it into Melaka.
MELAKA
JOHOR
Muar, allocated to Sultan Ali after he abandoned his claims to Johor, was remote from the centres of power in his former kingdom.
SINGAPORE
200 kilometres
4.6

4.6 The Malay peninsula, 19th century. *In 1819, the island of Singapore was part of the domain of the Sultan of Johor, who was subordinate to the Dutch and whose capital was on the southerly island of Lingga. In order to establish a legal basis for annexing the island, Raffles gave British recognition to the sultan's elder brother, Tengku Hussein, who had been kept out of power by Bugis influence in 1812. With the 1824 Anglo–Dutch treaty, the Sultanate of Johor thus became divided into separate Dutch- and British-sponsored states. Tengku Hussein, however, had no territory to rule, because Johor and Pahang were governed by nominal vassals called the Temenggong and Bendahara respectively. In 1852, the British persuaded Hussein's son, Ali, to renounce his claim to the throne in exchange for a small territory in northwest Johor.*

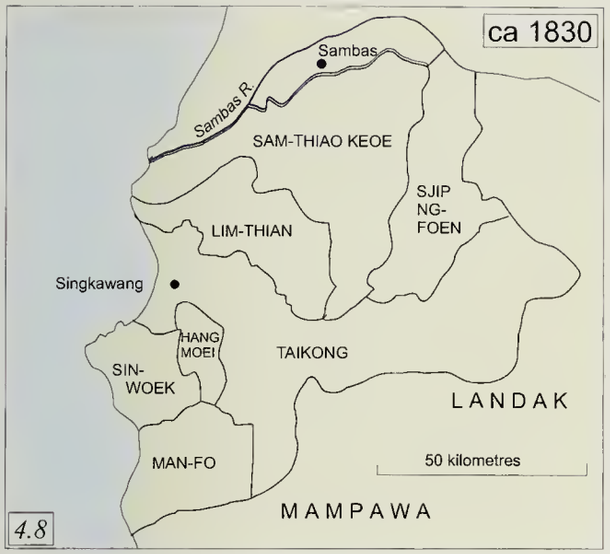
In 1800, the island of Borneo was almost entirely free of Western influence. During the 19th century, however, the entire island came under varying degrees of colonial domination and it was partitioned between a Dutch sphere of influence in the south and a British sphere in the north.

After the restoration of Dutch authority to Java in 1816, the Dutch began a concerted campaign to reassert their authority in Borneo. Between 1819 and 1823, a series of expeditions to the existing independent states of western Borneo led all of them to sign treaties accepting Dutch sovereignty. Small areas of land were ceded to the Netherlands Indies in Pontianak and Sintang for military and administrative purposes, and the Dutch also annexed the uppermost headwaters of the Kapuas.

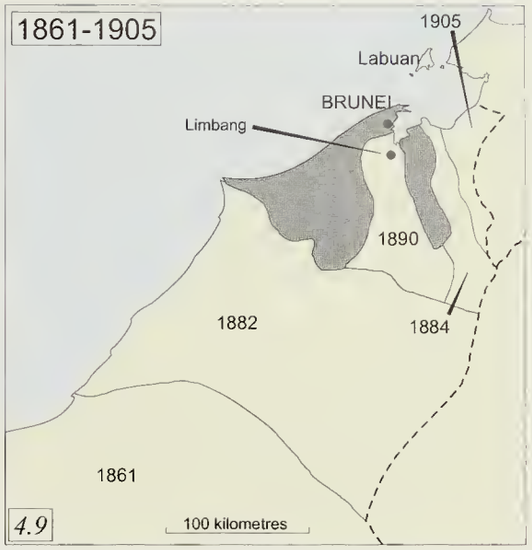


4.7 Borneo, 1800–1857. *The Tanah Boemboe states in southeast Borneo had been ceded by Banjarmasin to the Dutch as directly ruled territories in 1817 but were then restored to their original rulers who ruled as agents of the colonial government. They were small states, with populations ranging from six hundred to two thousand.*

Meliau and Boenoet in western Borneo were annexed as directly ruled states in 1909, the eight small states of Pinoh in 1913, and much of Semitau in 1916.



4.8 (left) The seven *kongsi*, or Chinese gold-mining republics of north-western Borneo. *Each kongsi was autonomous, with its own systems of justice, education and administration. Rivalry between the* kongsi *was strong, especially as the gold deposits began to give out in the middle of the 19th century.*



4.9 (right) The shrinking of Brunei, 1861–1905. *In the late 19th century, expansion by Sarawak and, to a lesser extent, the British North Borneo Company reduced Brunei to two small enclaves facing Brunei Bay.*

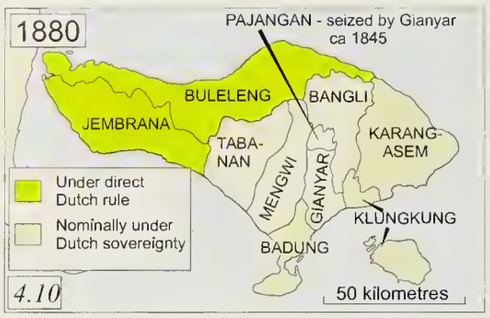
In 1817, the Dutch signed a new treaty with the Sultan of Banjarmasin, bringing the sultanate under Dutch suzerainty and ceding to the Dutch his claims as overlord of the states of the south and west coast, including Kutai, Kota Waringin, Pasir and Berau; all that remained to the sultan was the hinterland of Banjarmasin, a long strip of territory stretching from the low hills of Martapura and Tanah Laut through uplands of Amuntai to the middle reaches of the Barito river, where Malay cultural influences began to give way to the Dayak communities. As in the west of the island, the Dutch sent expeditions to sign further treaties with the local rulers (Kutai in 1825, Sambalioeng and Goenoeng Taboer in 1834) to establish their hegemony beyond doubt. Later in the 1830s they claimed the more northerly Tidung region, which had previously been regarded as vassal to the sultan of Sulu.

This incorporation of Borneo into the Dutch sphere of influence had little immediate effect, because the Dutch were primarily interested in forestalling potential rivals rather than in directly exploiting the island. In the 1840s, the Dutch presence in the middle reaches of the Kapuas was slightly increased to forestall what they saw as the ambitions of the Englishman James Brooke in Sarawak. In 1841, the sultan of Brunei had appointed Brooke as governor of the Sarawak region, whose border with Sambas had often been contested; Brooke turned this fiefdom into the basis for an independent state which steadily expanded along the north coast at the expense of Brunei. One of Brooke's political strengths was his strong relationship with the Iban of the interior, and the Dutch had some fears that he might use that relationship to expand over the watershed into the Kapuas basin. Brooke's relations with the British themselves were always ambiguous. On the one hand they saw him as a reliable friend of Britain who would keep his domain within their sphere of influence; on the other hand they distrusted him as an adventurer. In the event, they remained confident enough in him to allow Sarawak to reduce Brunei to a pair of small enclaves by the end of the century; the only direct British acquisition in the region was the island of Labuan, at the mouth of Brunei Bay, which they took in 1846. Other British adventurers attempted to emulate Brooke on the east coast of Borneo, but none were successful in breaking Dutch hegemony.

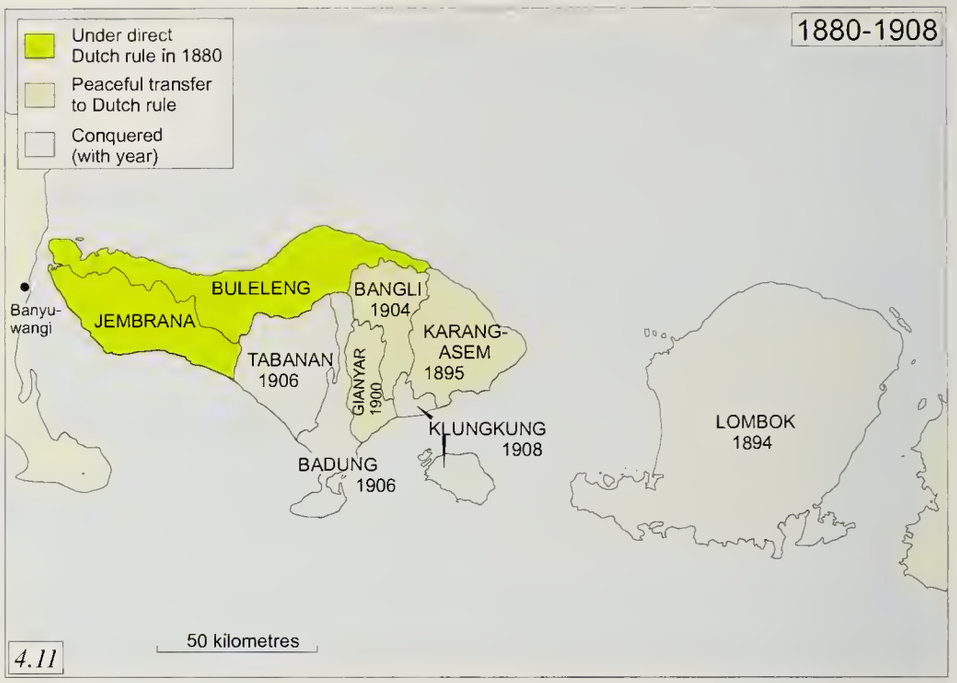
Significant resistance to Dutch rule came in only two areas. Since the 1820s, the *kongsi*, or Chinese gold-mining republics, of the northwest had resisted Dutch efforts to control trade in opium and firearms and to levy taxes. By 1850, however, rivalry between the *kongsi* over diminishing gold reserves gave the Dutch the opportunity to intervene militarily; even then, the region was not pacified until 1854.

Much more persistent resistance faced the Dutch in Banjarmasin. In 1857, the colonial government selected the unpopular Tamjidillah to succeed to the throne, prompting a revolt which quickly attracted the support of peasants, aristocrats and Muslim religious leaders. The Dutch had largely defeated the rebels by 1863, but sporadic resistance continued until 1906. The depth of resistance from the Banjarmasin elite led the Dutch to abolish the sultanate in 1859 and to introduce direct rule in those regions where the elite could not be detached from its old loyalties. The old heartland of the Banjarmasin empire, therefore, became the only extensive area of direct rule in Borneo.

The northernmost peninsula of Borneo remained independent of European power until late in the century. The coastal regions there were subject to the sultan of Sulu, while the interior was dominated by largely independent Kadazan tribes. In the 1870s, however, an Austrian entrepreneur, Baron von Overbeck, obtained various concessions from the sultans of Sulu and Brunei which enabled him to claim what came to be called North Borneo as a largely independent fiefdom. Von Overbeck soon lost prominence in the venture to British interests, and in 1881 the North Borneo Company was chartered in London. The Company had full administrative responsibility for North Borneo, but operated under formal British protection. In 1885, the Company's position was confirmed by a treaty among Britain, Germany and Spain, which affirmed Spanish suzerainty over Sulu but renounced Spanish claims to Borneo. The island was now fully partitioned.



4.10 Bali in 1880. *The Dutch had claimed formal sovereignty over the rulers of Klungkung, Karangasem, Badung and Buleleng in 1841, after guaranteeing them full internal autonomy. When the raja of Buleleng objected to Dutch intervention in internal affairs despite this guarantee, the colonial authorities went to war, conquering Buleleng in 1846 and Jembrana in 1853. Until 1882, the Dutch* assistent-resident *in neighbouring Banjuwangi on Java monitored Dutch interests on the island.*



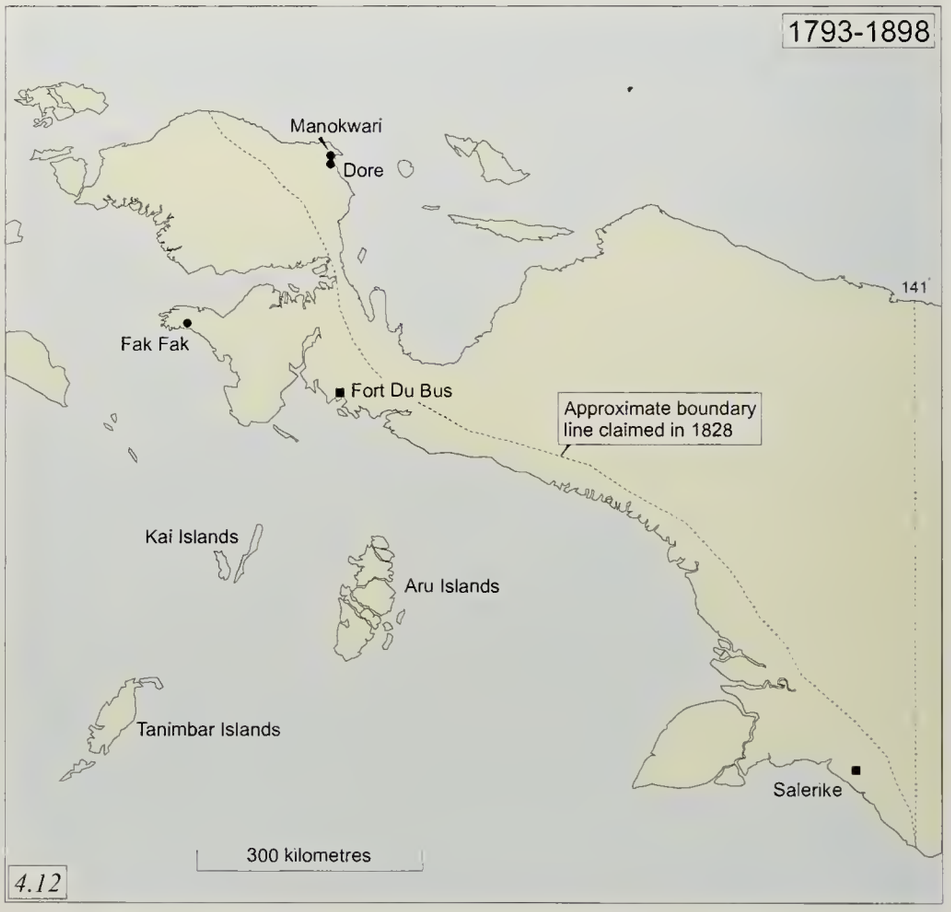
4.11 Bali and Lombok, 1880–1908. *Widespread warfare in southern Bali in 1883 led to the defeat and dismemberment of Mengwi, and the disorder encouraged the Dutch to prepare for annexation of the whole island. Karangasem came under Dutch rule in 1895 as a result of the conquest of Lombok in 1894, while Gianyar invited Dutch annexation to avoid destruction at the hands of its enemies.*

The territorial expansion of the Netherlands Indies in the west and north was limited by the colonial interests of Britain and, to a lesser extent, Spain. Uncertainty hovered, however, over how much of the island of New Guinea was to fall into the Dutch sphere. The coastal districts on and close to the Bird's Head peninsula could be claimed by virtue of Dutch suzerainty over Tidore, but on more distant coasts and in the interior there were no states with which the Dutch could sign treaties.

In the early 19th century, there was no apparent economic value in New Guinea, but the Dutch were keen to avert the possibility of colonization by another Western power; the British had briefly placed a post at Dore on the north coast in 1793–1794. In 1828, the Dutch formally claimed the south coast as far as 141°E, and 1848 they claimed all districts west of that meridian. To back their 1828 claim, they established a settlement called Fort Du Bus, but conditions there were so difficult that the post was abandoned after eight years. Dore became the quarters of German Christian missionaries in 1853, and several coastal regions of the island were regularly visited by the semi-official packetboat service in the last decade of the 19th century, but the Dutch did not re-establish a government post on the island until late 1892, when they briefly placed a post at Salerike in the south. Only in 1898, when officials were stationed in Manokwari and Fak Fak did the formal Dutch presence become permanent.

A permanent Dutch presence was placed on the Aru and Tanimbar Islands in 1882, and in the Kai Islands in 1890.

4.12 Western New Guinea, 19th century.

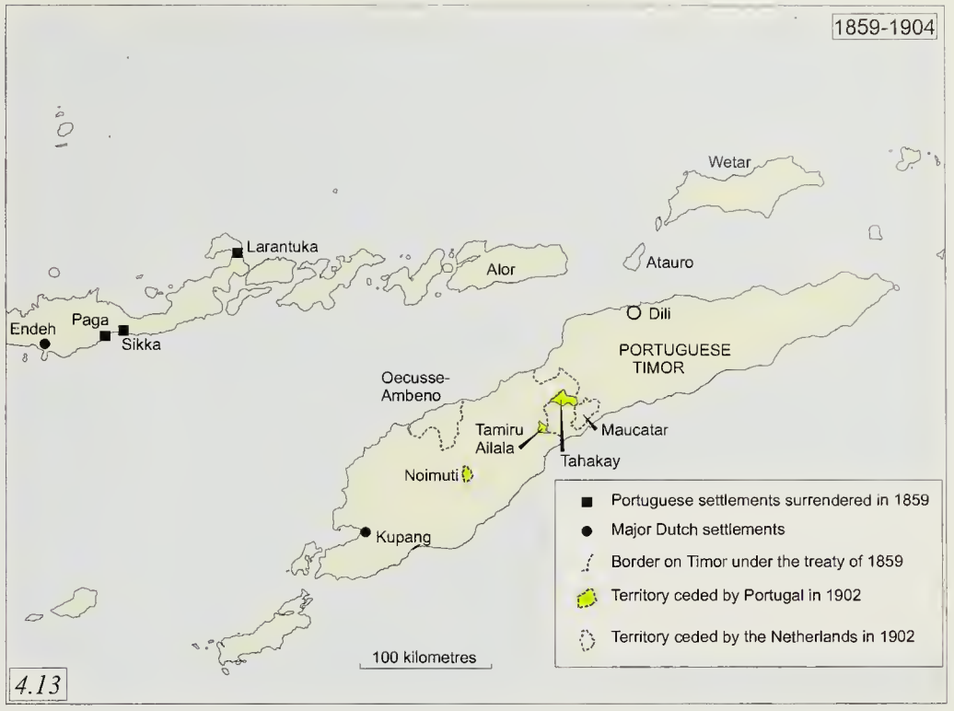


Although the Netherlands Indies was primarily an archipelagic empire, it faced other European powers across land borders on three islands, Borneo, Timor and New Guinea. In all three cases, determining borders depended first on establishing approximate spheres of influence and only then on demarcating precise boundaries according to local conditions.

In western Borneo, the Dutch had accepted in the early 19th century that the northern coast lay in a British sphere of influence and their main interest was in keeping Raja Brooke and other pro-British interests north of the island's main watershed. The border was formally determined by treaty in 1891, though several minor revisions in the interior were made once the topography was better known.

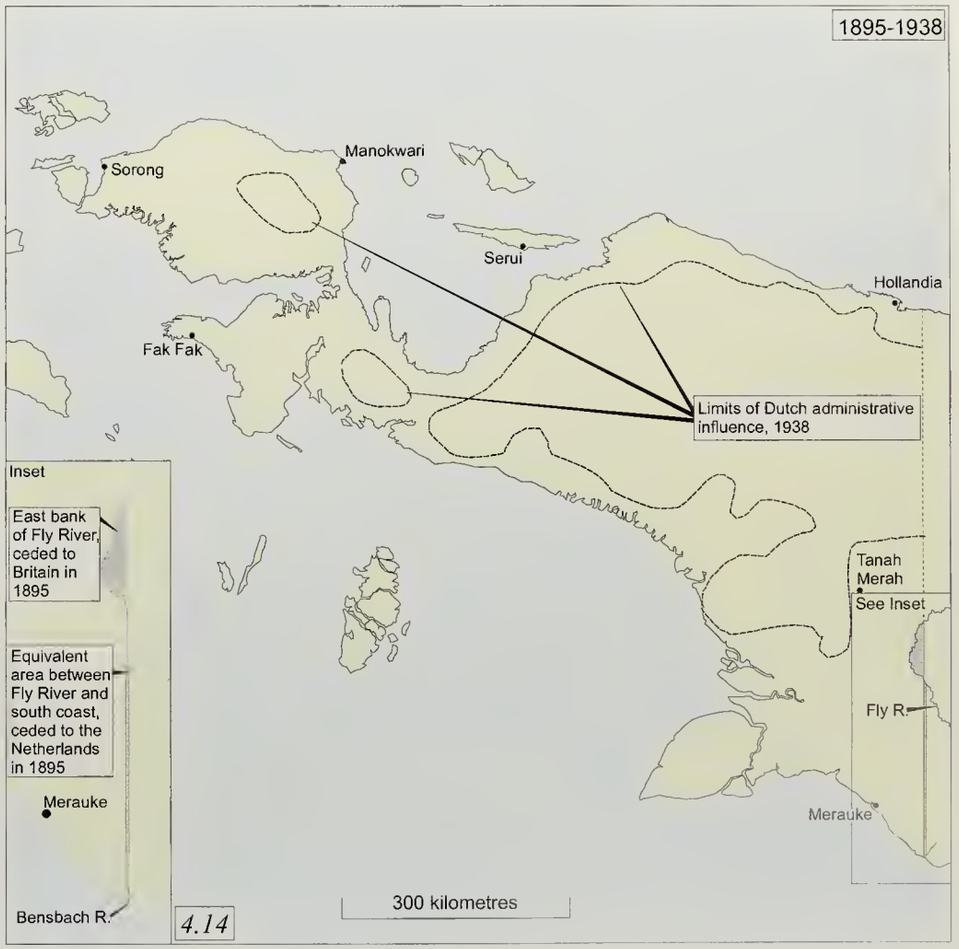
In the Timor region, the problem was more complicated, because Portugal had settlements on Flores as well as Timor, and maintained treaty relations with indigenous states on both those islands as well as Solor and Adonara. After turning down a Dutch offer to purchase their interests there, the Portuguese agreed in 1859 to a consolidation of territory. In exchange for abandoning the settlements on Flores and giving up treaty ties outside Timor, Portugal was confirmed in its possession of eastern Timor, Atauro and two enclaves in western Timor. A further consolidation took place in 1904.

The Dutch blanket claim of all territory in New Guinea west of 141°E reflected the fact that they knew virtually nothing of the topography or social conditions of the interior of the island, but neither other European powers nor indigenous Papuans had any immediate cause to challenge the claim. Only in 1884, when Germany and Britain claimed the northeast and southeast parts of the island respectively did the need for demarcation begin to arise. Negotiations with Britain in 1893–1895 produced an agreement that the border should intersect the coast at the mouth of the Bensbach river, a little to the east of 141°E and that, in exchange for the narrow strip of additional territory the Dutch thereby received, Britain should take the arc of territory enclosed by the Fly river where it crossed the meridian. North of the Fly, as far as the German border, the demarcation line returned to 141°E. Agreement over the northern part of the border was not reached until after Australia had taken over the former German colony after the First World War. Due to survey difficulties, Australian–Dutch agreements in 1933, 1936 and 1960 slightly deviated from 141°E, but the meridian was restored in 1964 in agreement between Indonesia, which had just recovered West New Guinea from the Dutch and Australia, which had taken over as colonial power in southeastern New Guinea (Papua) in 1901.



4.13 The Dutch–Portuguese borders in Timor, 1859–1904.

4.14 Dutch New Guinea, 1895–1938.



After the end of the Java War, Dutch rule in Java was not significantly challenged until the emergence of the nationalist movement in the early 20th century, though a few local movements caused the Dutch occasional brief alarm. In many parts of the archipelago, however, the most serious resistance to colonial rule was offered after the Dutch had formally incorporated a region into their empire. This was largely because the Dutch often claimed sovereignty in a region before they had either the capacity or the intention to take a significant role in its administration. In fact there were few regions outside Sumatra where the Dutch could not claim some degree of hegemony on the basis of treaties inherited from the VOC and in two to three decades immediately after their return to the archipelago they made strenuous efforts to include all of the independent rulers of the archipelago in some kind of treaty relationship with them, a process which was not always achieved without intimidation or deception. Large areas in the outer islands, therefore, came within the Netherlands Indies, in Dutch eyes, without their inhabitants being aware of the fact. What the Dutch called 'uprisings', therefore, were often the resistance movements of largely independent peoples to colonial encroachment, rather than rebellions by colonial subjects, though a true anti-colonial rebellion in Ambon under Pattimura in 1817 was the earliest instance of resistance to the Dutch after the Napoleonic interlude.

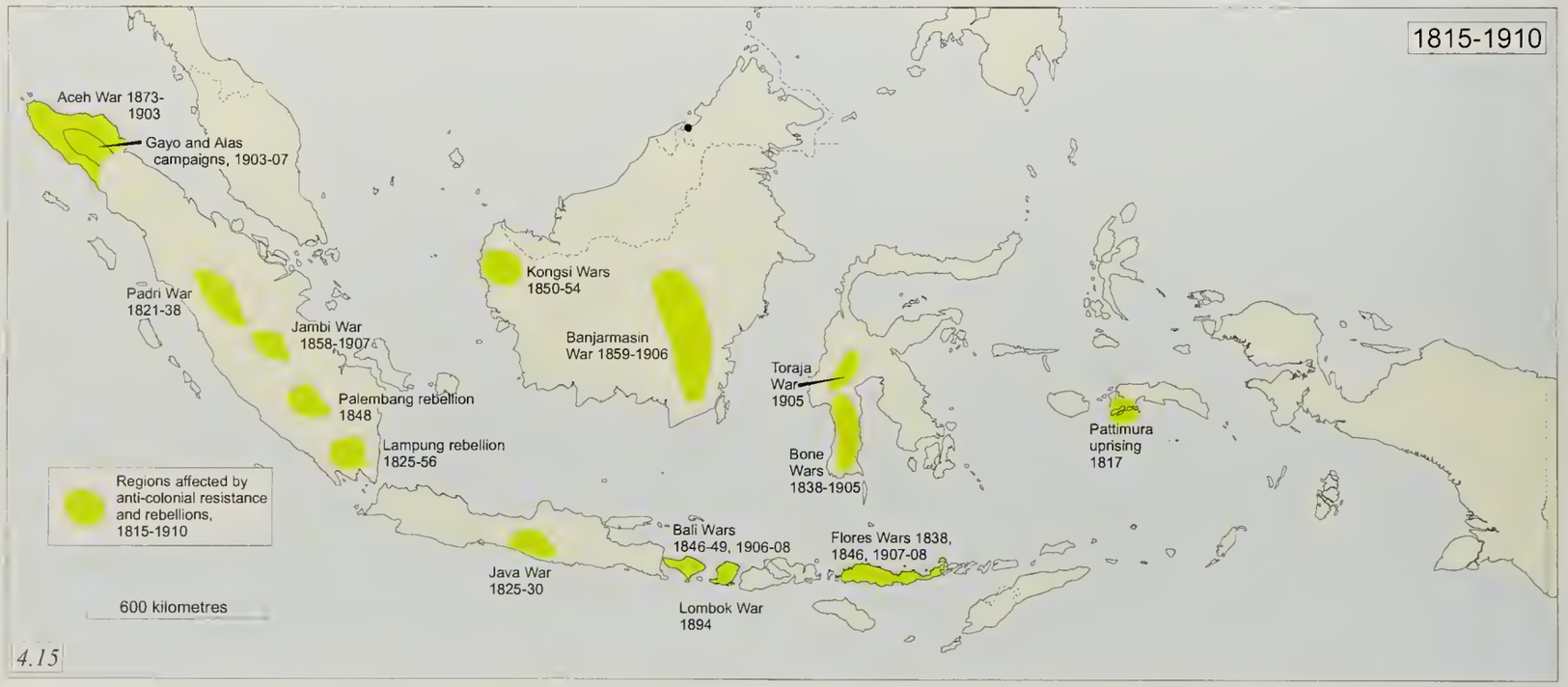
In Sumatra, resistance to the Dutch emerged in Palembang in 1849 and 1881, led by members of the deposed royal family. Lampung was persistently unruly, and a major uprising in 1850 was not crushed until 1856. Sultan Taha of Jambi led widespread resistance upriver from the capital from 1858 to 1904.

Elsewhere in the archipelago, the story was often similar. Shortly after their return to the Indies, the Dutch assiduously obtained treaties from all the significant rulers on the west, south and east coasts of Borneo, but after they attempted to impose tighter rule, they faced major wars in Banjarmasin and west Borneo. The Banjarmasin War, which began in 1859, was led by Prince Antasari and it drew together aristocrats, Muslim religious leaders and peasants in opposition to the Dutch. Antasari died in 1862, but the resistance continued until 1906. The resistance in west Borneo came from the Chinese mining *kongsi*, which had a deep suspicion of outside authority and which jealously guarded their gold mines.

When the Dutch returned to southern Sulawesi early in the 18th century, most states there were willing to reaffirm the Treaty of Bungaya, which had been the cornerstone of Dutch dominance. The VOC's former ally Bone, however, refused to sign and instead assembled an anti-Dutch coalition. As so often, the colonial forces were able to achieve a fairly swift formal victory, but could not achieve a docile peace. Bone did not renew the Bungaya Treaty until 1838, and the region remained restive until a full-scale campaign in 1905–1906, which also brought the inland Toraja peoples under colonial rule.

In Bali and Nusatenggara the Dutch also had to fight. They took the Balinese kingdoms piecemeal in a series of campaigns from 1846 to 1908; Lombok was conquered in 1894. Of the islands further east, the most difficult was Flores. Expeditions in 1838 and 1846 failed to subdue the local kingdoms, and a violent military campaign in 1907–1908 was necessary before the island became relatively docile.

4.15 Colonial warfare and indigenous resistance, 1815–1910.



Administration

The transfer of the Indies from the VOC to the Dutch crown at the end of the 18th century brought an almost immediate change in the administrative structure of the colony. In part the change was a consequence of the loss of most of the VOC empire around the turn of the century. With Batavia now the capital of a more compact Indies empire, the old system of large, relatively autonomous *gouvernementen* was replaced with a system of smaller territorial units, generally called *gewesten* (regions), whose heads were more closely under the authority of the Governor-General. This change took place first under the Napoleonic Governor-General H.W. Daendels (1808–1811). He summarily abolished the old *Gouvernement* of the North Coast of Java and divided Java into prefectures or *landrostambten*. The number and boundaries of these divisions changed many times under Daendels and his successors, but the division of Java into somewhere between twelve and twenty executive regions, generally called residencies, remained the central feature of Dutch administration on Java until the 20th century. *Gewesten* also became the key elements of the Dutch administration outside Java, though more important regions were often still called *gouvernementen*.

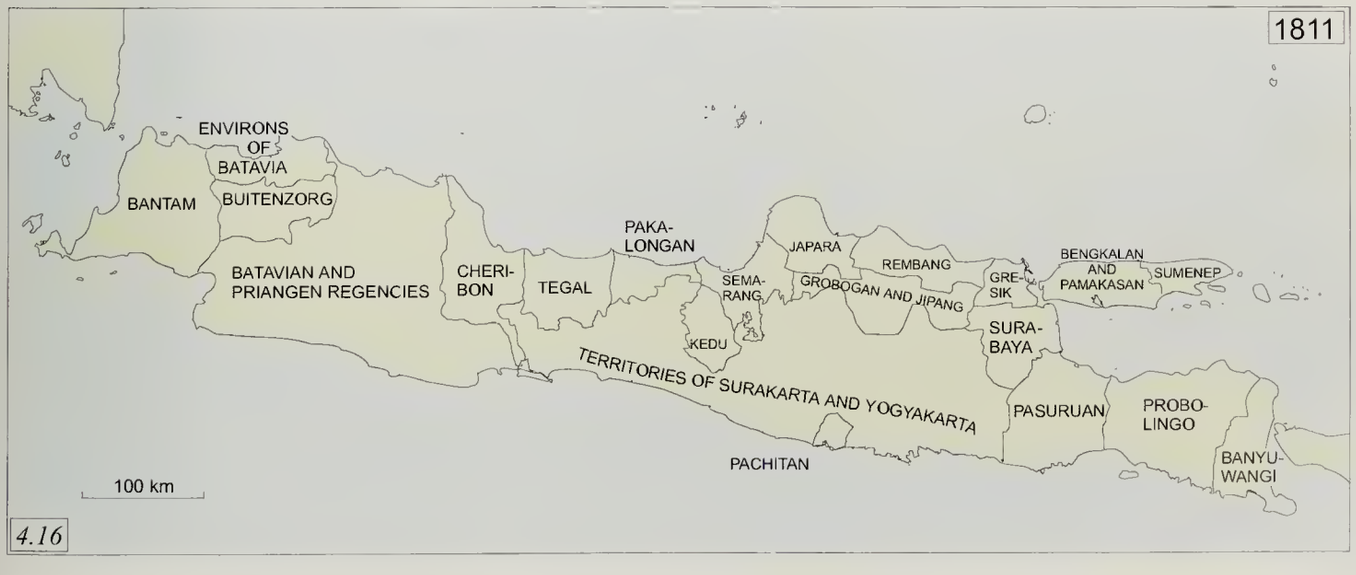
Within the *gewesten*, however, administrative arrangements were often bewilderingly complex. As far as possible, the colonial government preferred to administer its Indies subjects through their own traditional rulers, but the extent to which they did so in each region depended both on the extent to which those indigenous rulers had survived the transition to colonial domination and on the complexity of Dutch demands on them. Where local rulers had submitted to colonialism without significant resistance and where European economic interests were few – in much of Borneo during the 19th century, for instance – the Dutch generally maintained a system of indirect rule, in which traditional rulers were preserved in their titles and positions and retained a considerable degree of autonomy. Where local rulers had resisted and European economic interests were strong, colonial rule tended to be more direct.

The difficulty of maintaining traditional indigenous authorities while requiring them to serve colonial interests was most strongly felt on Java. By 1830, the once great empire of Mataram had been reduced to an enclave and divided between four separate royal families. Throughout most of Mataram's former domains, however, the Dutch continued to use the *bupati* who had been regional lords under Mataram. At times when the Dutch valued their authority over the mass of the people, the *bupati* enjoyed enormous power and prestige within their regions, with a status close to that of royalty. At times when the Dutch placed greater emphasis on what they saw as capable and efficient administration, on the other hand, the *bupati* were treated, and disciplined, more as officials within a colonial hierarchy.

The resulting administrative structure, called the Binnenlandsch Bestuur (Interior Administration) is generally described as dualistic. A 'native' administrative hierarchy, the Inlandsch Bestuur, was partly parallel, partly subordinate to an exclusively European administrative hierarchy (the Europeesch Bestuur). In much of Java, a *controleur* and *assistent-resident* had responsibility for the same territory as a *bupati* and the relationship between them was compared to that between an elder and a younger brother.

The four surviving royal families of Central Java fell into a different category. Their territories, known to the Dutch as the Vorstenlanden, or Princely States, were considered to be indirectly ruled. Colonial authority was expected to be at arm's length, with the indigenous rulers enjoying greater freedom and greater prestige than *bupati*. In some respects this separate status made a difference: regulations on the leasing of land, for instance, were different in the Vorstenlanden from those in the rest of Java, but the autonomy of the Javanese rulers remained within the boundaries of what was tolerated by the Dutch.

In the islands outside Java and Madura, known to the Dutch as the Buitengewesten, or outer territories, somewhat different complexities applied. Whereas in Java the indirectly-ruled native states were reduced to a small remnant, in the outer islands they constituted well over half the



4.16 Java's administrative divisions at the conclusion of Daendels' rule. *Raffles retained these divisions, but replaced Daendels' name for them* – landrostambt – *with the term residency. This map uses the spellings current in Raffles' time.*

land area under Dutch suzerainty. The 280-odd states, moreover, ranged in size from substantial, well-populated kingdoms to minor settlements of only a few hundred people. The precise legal status of the states varied too.

Until 1909, there were still a few regions acknowledged by the Dutch as independent in international law, though the colonial government regarded them as falling within a Dutch sphere of influence; the independent Batak states of northern Sumatra were in this category. Then there were states which were formally allied with the Dutch, states which were under Dutch protection, and states which were vassal to the Dutch, as well as territories formally annexed to the Dutch crown but administered by their former rulers as agents of the Dutch crown (rather than as officials of the Netherlands Indies government like the *bupati* on Java). Even within these categories, the precise terms of the treaty relationship with the Dutch often varied, though from the end of the 19th century the Dutch sought to bring greater uniformity into their relations with these states by having most of them sign the so-called Korte Verklaring (short declaration), which briefly and consistently set out the states' obligations to the colonial authorities.

In the directly-ruled territories of the outer islands, the Dutch maintained a dualistic administrative system comparable to that on Java. Europeans held the more senior positions and indigenous officials, who bore a wide variety of titles from region to region, reported to them. In general, however, European administration in the outer islands was less intrusive than that on Java: the administrative overlap between the *bupati* on the one hand and the *assistent-resident* and *controleur* on the other did not exist.

For the most part, the Dutch made a sharp distinction between the Inlandsch Bestuur of salaried indigenous colonial officials, who reported to Dutch superiors and who were subject to administrative discipline, and the Inlandsch Gemeentebestuur (Native Community Administration), or Zelfbesturende Landschappen (self-governing territories), whose rulers were expected to be agents of local, rather than colonial, interests, even though their succession was generally subject to the approval of the colonial government. As a result, the administrative sub-division of the Buitengewesten into *gewesten*, *afdelingen* and *onderafdelingen* often bore little relationship to the boundaries of the native states, and the territory of a native state might be divided by the boundary of an *onderafdeling*, an *afdeling*, or even a *gewest*.

The boundaries both of native states and of the Dutch administrative framework changed repeatedly during the colonial period. From time to time, the colonial authorities annexed small areas of land for their administrative offices within native states; less commonly they abolished states altogether, sometimes because of what they saw as maladministration or insubordination by native rulers, sometimes simply because they could find no suitable successor to a throne. Dutch administrative boundaries themselves altered in response to population shifts, economic interests, lines of communication and political circumstances in their sprawling colony. The system produced a constant struggle between bureaucratic pressures for uniformity and continuity, and political and economic pressures for change and diversity. Some of the administrative flux which these pressures produced can be seen on the following pages.

4.17 The constitutional division of the Netherlands Indies, 1909. *The authority of the Inlandsch Bestuur extended only to the directly ruled territories; the title of the most senior category of Inlandsch Bestuur official in most regions is shown. The spelling used on this map is that of 1909.*

Residency boundaries on Java, ca 1832–1920. *The frequent changes in administrative boundaries which took place on Java under Daendels and Raffles and during the first years of restored Dutch rule have not been fully catalogued. By 1832, the distribution of residencies was relatively stable, though changes were made from time to time.*

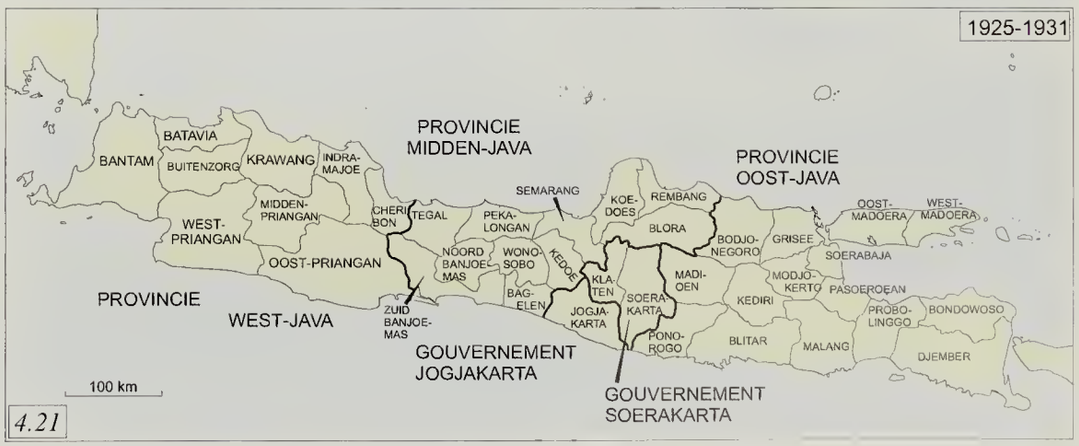
4.18 (1832–1866) *Japara was initially called Japara en Joanna [Juwana]; Buitenzorg, Krawang and Banjoewangi were designated Afdelingen; Patjitan was an Assistent-Residentie; all others were designated Residentie.*

Banjoewangi separated from Pasoeroean as a separate assistant-residency in 1849; the Assistent-Resident for Banjoewangi also headed the neighbouring Assistent-Residentie of Bali and Lombok. Probolinggo separated from Besoeki in 1855; Madoera separated from Soerabaja in 1857.

4.19 (1867–1900) *In 1867 Buitenzorg was absorbed into Batavia and Patjitan was absorbed into Madioen. When Bali and Lombok became a separate residency in 1882, Banjoewangi was re-absorbed into Besoeki. Until 1883, the island of Madoera, with the exception of a small area around Pamekasan, was indirectly ruled like Soerakarta and Jogjakarta. In that year, however, Soemenep was brought under Dutch rule; Bangkalan and Sampang followed in 1885.*

4.20 (1901–1924) *In 1901 the residencies of Tegal, Djapara, Bagelen and Probolinggo and the assistant-residency of Krawang were abolished. They were absorbed into Pekalongan, Semarang, Kedoe, Pasoeroean and Batavia respectively.*

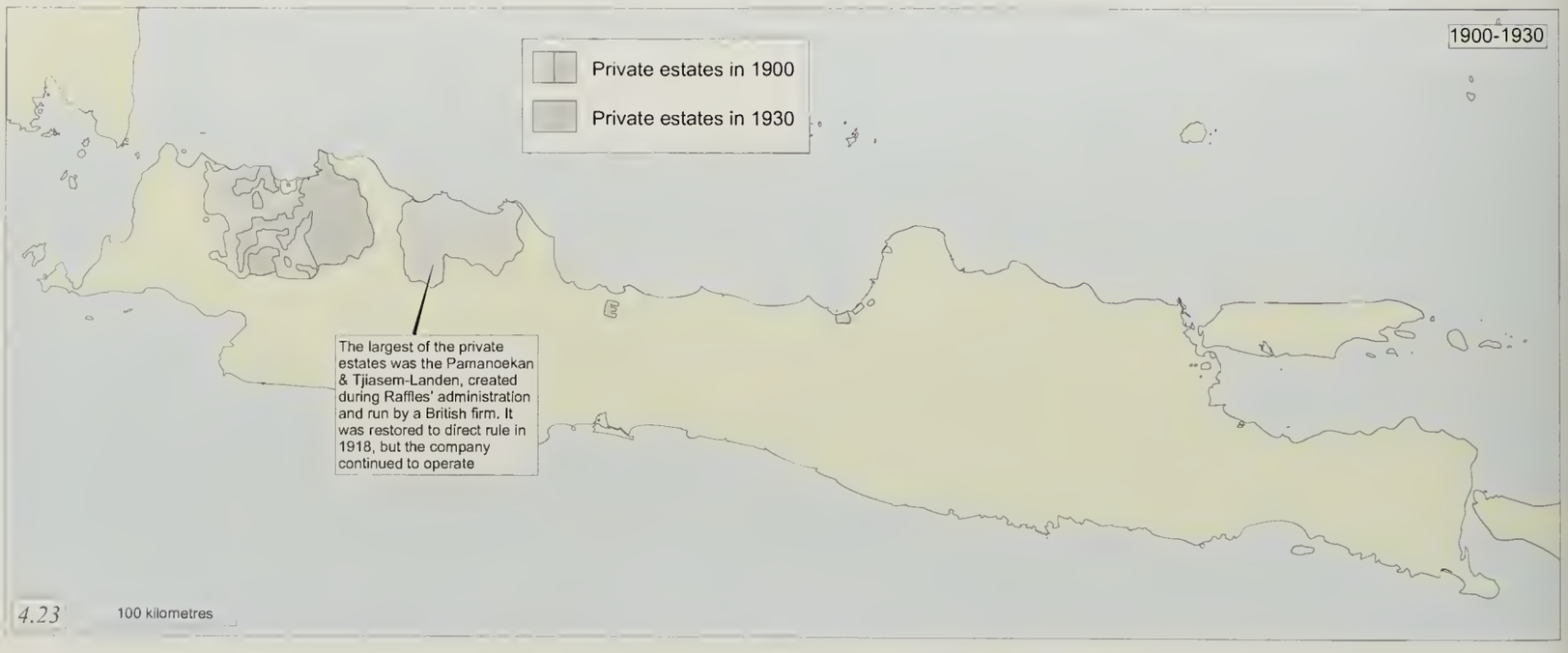
4.21 (1925–1931) *The process of amalgamation was reversed in 1925 when the former four residencies in western Java were divided into nine. A similar process followed in central and eastern Java in 1928. This reform was a consequence of the establishment of the province* (provincie) *as the highest level of regional government in the colony and the creation of provinces in west, central and east Java.*

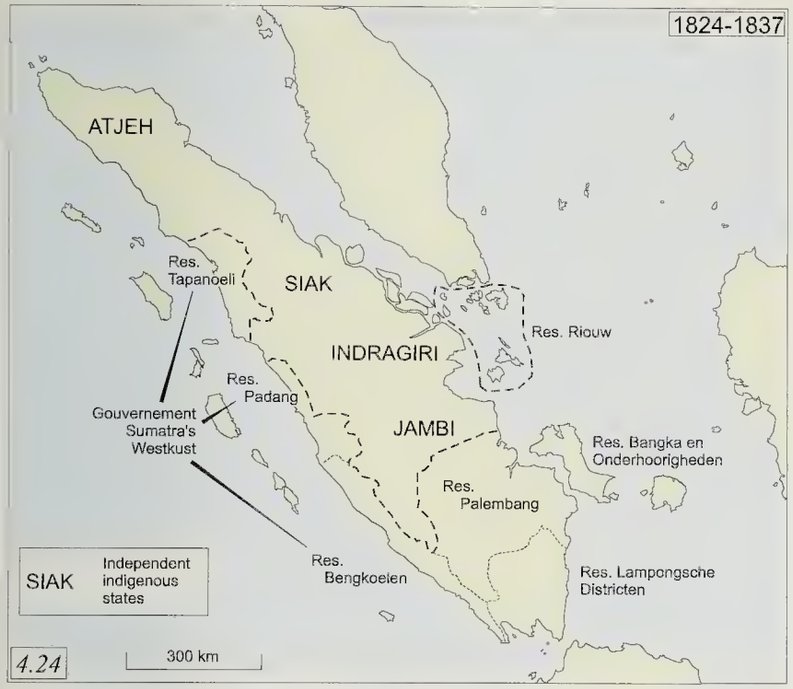


4.22 (1931–1942) *In 1931, the number of residencies was reduced once more. These new boundaries were used for the publication of statistics collected in the 1930 census (although the data had been collected under the older boundaries), and they were retained both by the Japanese military administration on Java 1942–1945 and by the government of the independent Republic of Indonesia for some time after 1945.*

A third administrative category on Java comprised the private estates (*particuliere landerijen*), which were concentrated in the countryside east of Batavia. After the Dutch crown took over the Indies, the landlords of these estates, who were predominantly Chinese and European, were permitted to retain their quasi-feudal rights over the tenants and were given responsibility for education, health and other social services within their domains. In practice, few landlords paid much attention to these responsibilities and the unfortunate inhabitants of the private estates were amongst the most disadvantaged communities of the archipelago at the end of the 19th century. From the beginning of the 20th century, this situation prompted a systematic campaign by the colonial government to purchase estates from their owners and to incorporate them into the system of administration and social welfare that applied in other directly ruled parts of Java. Some of the estates purchased in this way continued in private hands while surrendering the so-called *heerlijke rechten* ('lordly rights') of their neighbours. In other cases, management of the estates was taken over by a government corporation whose task was to prepare the physical infrastructure and village institutions needed for inclusion in the normal administrative system. Progress, however, was slow and virtually ceased with the onset of the Depression in 1930. Many private estates, therefore, remained in existence, especially in the vicinity of Batavia, at the end of the colonial era.

4.23 Private estates of Java, 1900 and 1930.


1900-1930
Private estates in 1900
Private estates in 1930
The largest of the private estates was the Pamanoekan & Tjiasem-Landen, created during Raffles' administration and run by a British firm. It was restored to direct rule in 1918, but the company continued to operate
4.23
100 kilometres

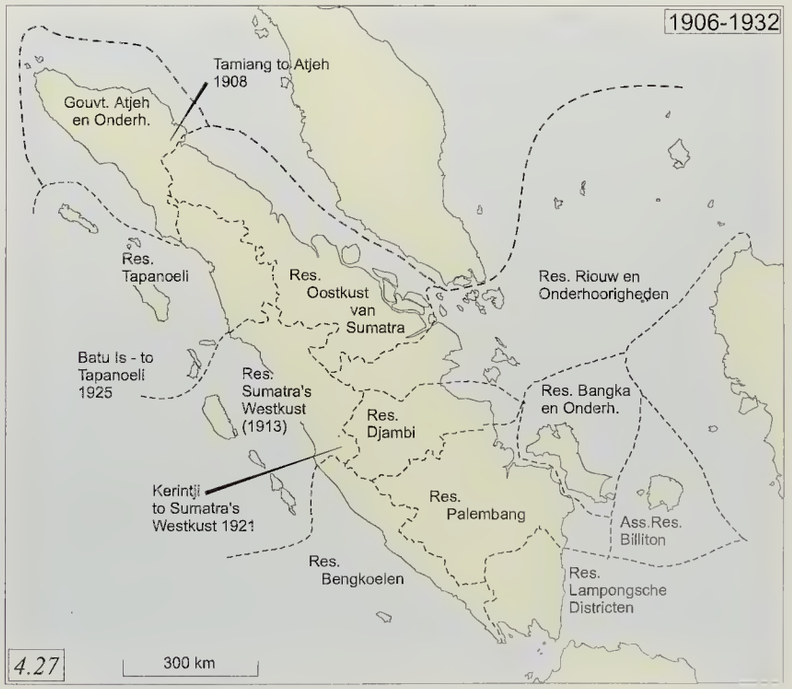


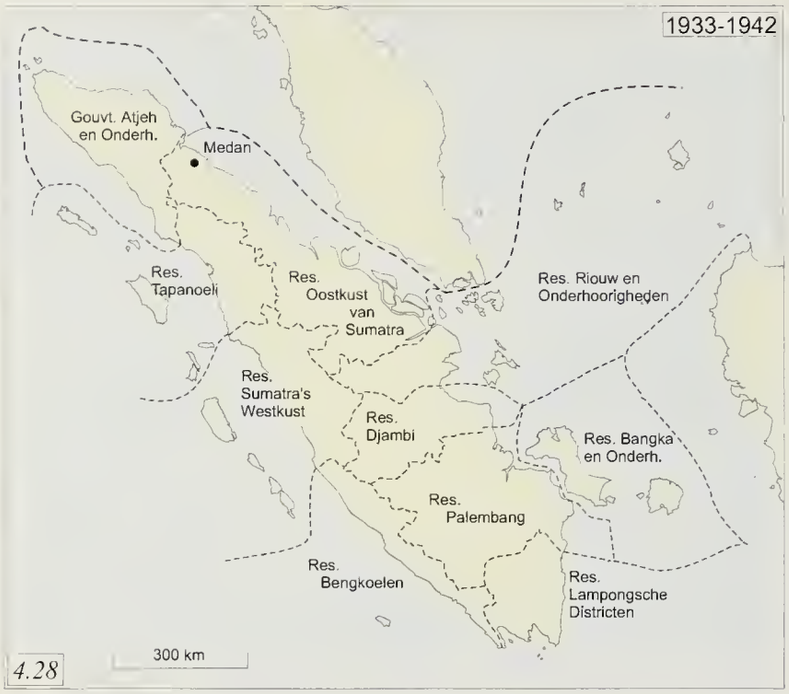
4.24 Administrative divisions in Dutch Sumatra, 1824–1837.

4.25 Administrative divisions in Dutch Sumatra, 1838–1872.

4.26 Administrative divisions in Dutch Sumatra 1873–1906.

4.27 Administrative divisions in Dutch Sumatra 1906–1932.

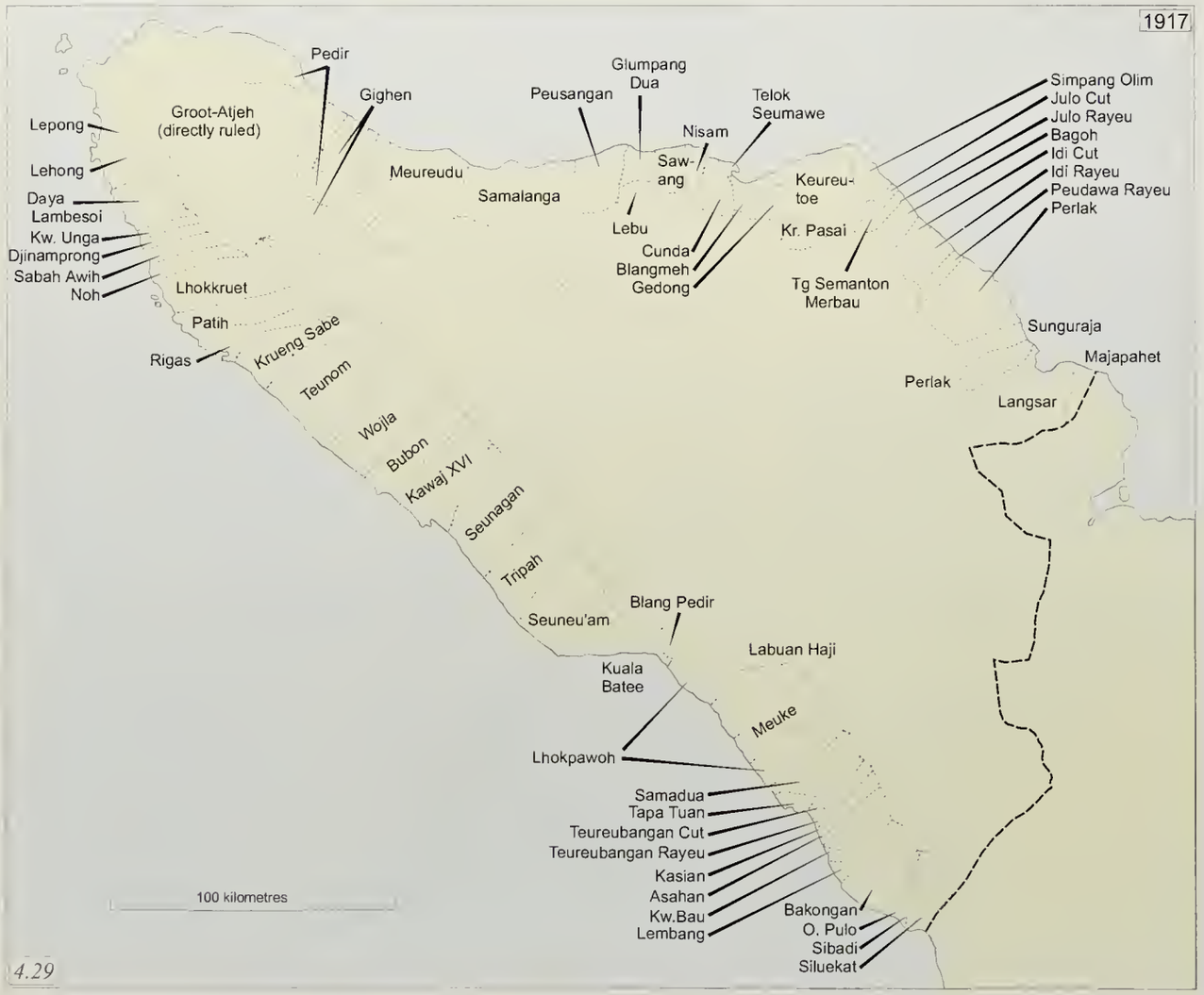




4.28 Administrative divisions in Sumatra, 1933–1942. *In 1938, all the Sumatra residencies were included within a Gouvernement Sumatra, with its capital in Medan.*

4.29 *Uleëbalang* territories in Aceh, early 20th century. *A major strategic element which helped to deliver eventual qualified victory to the Dutch in the Aceh War (1873–1903) was their recruitment of the Acehnese regional lords or* uleëbalang *as allies. These coastal rulers were used to resisting the Acehnese sultanate and they were rivals of the Islamic religious leaders for influence over the people. Many agreed to collaborate with the Dutch and occupied Aceh was thus divided into dozens of tiny states, some of them with only a few square kilometres and a few thousand subjects.*

The uleëbalang *received only limited benefit from their alliance with the Dutch. Although they were considered to be autonomous rulers, they came under close supervision by the Dutch, especially in financial matters. In the more economically developed regions of Aceh, where* uleëbalang *had the opportunity to profit from the end of the war, their incomes were regulated through* landschapskassen, *or state treasuries, and could not be spent except on purposes approved by the Dutch.*



Upon resuming contact with Borneo after 1815, the Dutch posted Residents to Banjarmasin, Pontianak and Sambas, and Assistent-Residents to Landak and Mampawa. By 1830, however, because of financial stringency during the Java War, the Dutch presence on the island was reduced to six men: a Resident and clerk at Banjarmasin, a Resident at Pontianak, an Assistent-Resident at Sambas and two customs agents at Tayan.

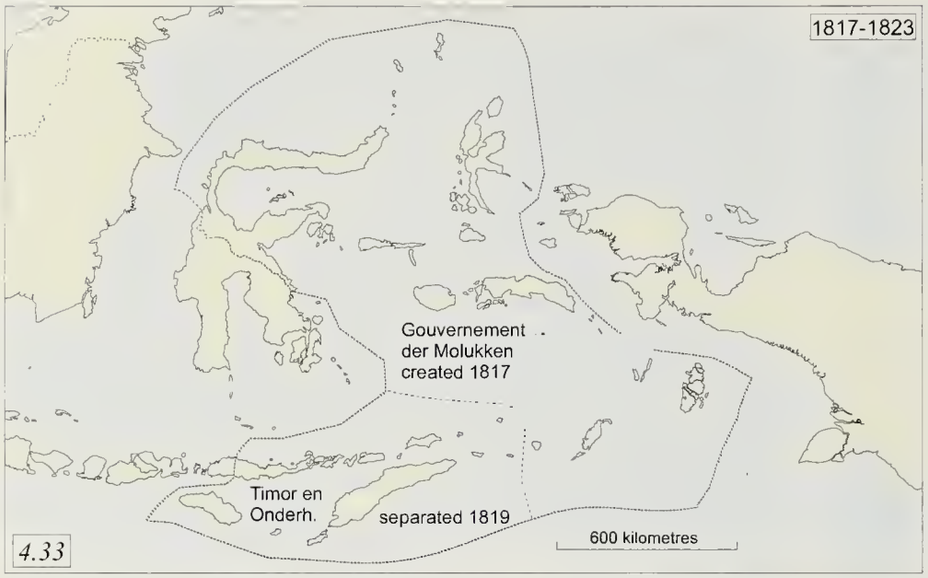
After the end of the Java War, the Resident in Pontianak was made head of the Residency of the West Coast of Borneo, while his counterpart in Banjarmasin became head of the South and East Coast. In 1846, the colonial government created a Gouvernement van Borneo en Onderhoorigheden (Government of Borneo and Dependencies) with its capital at Sintang, but it never took effect and in 1848 the two former residencies were restored as the Westerafdeeling and the Zuider- en Ooster-afdeeling.

In 1938, both residencies of Dutch Borneo were again united in a Gouvernement of Borneo with its capital at Banjarmasin.

4.30 (left) Administrative sub-divisions in Dutch Borneo, ca 1879.

4.31 (below, left) Administrative divisions in Dutch Borneo, 1902.

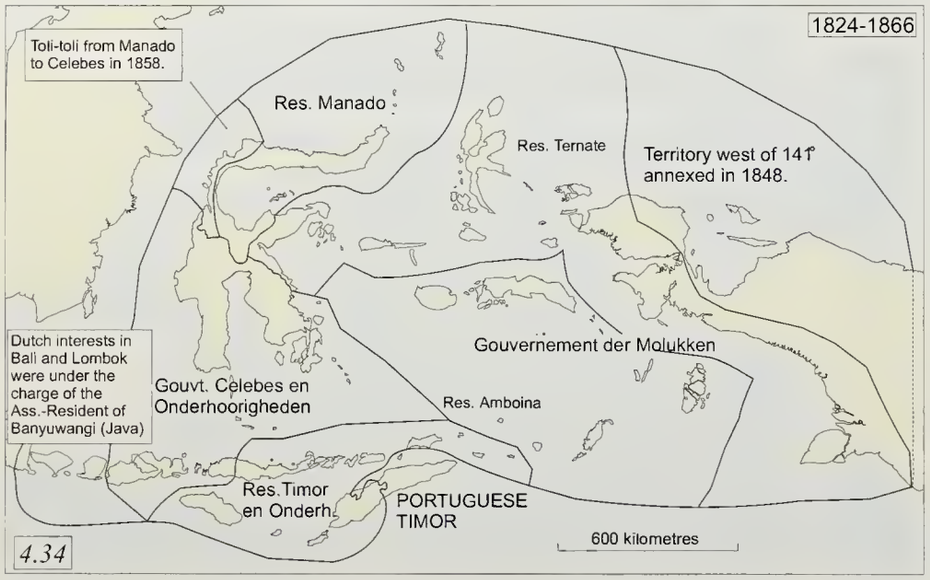
4.32 (below, right) Administrative divisions in Dutch Borneo, 1930.
Administrative divisions (I–V) in Sarawak are also shown.



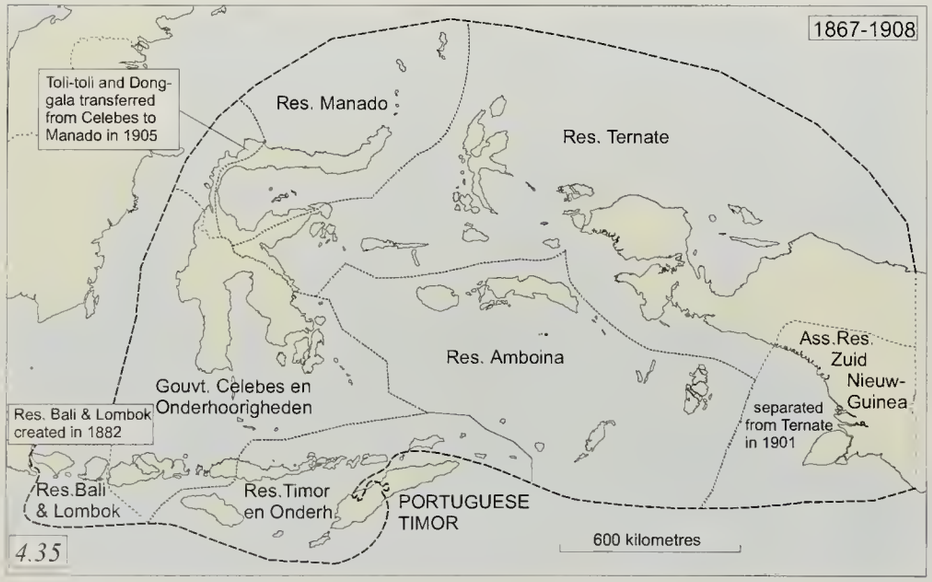
The eastern islands of Indonesia presented the Dutch with many practical administrative difficulties. By the 19th century, the spice trade had declined in importance and the region was no longer central to Dutch commercial activities. Local taxes were sometimes insufficient to support the colonial administration, but the Dutch wished to maintain a clear presence in the region to discourage other foreign powers from seeking a colonial base there. The region was ethnically and culturally diverse, presenting a patchwork of Muslim, Christian, Hindu and animist communities and with strong differences between the Austronesians of the west and the Melanesians of New Guinea. Long distances at sea and rugged terrain on land also made communication difficult.

Between 1817 and 1942, therefore, there were repeated reorganizations of the region's administrative structure.

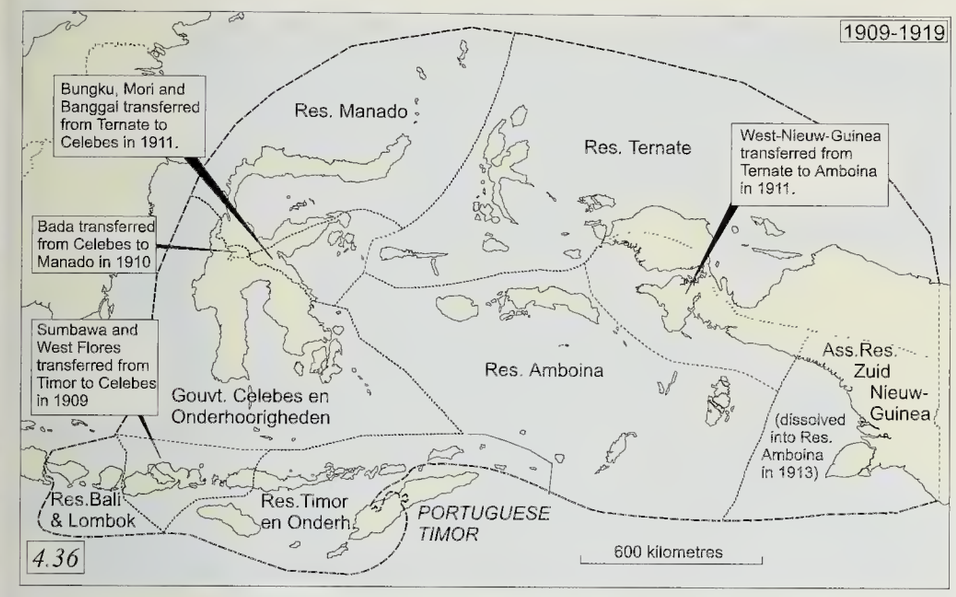
4.33 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1817–1823.


1824-1866
Toli-toli from Manado to Celebes in 1858.
Res. Manado
Res. Ternate
Territory west of 141° annexed in 1848.
Dutch interests in Bali and Lombok were under the charge of the Ass.-Resident of Banyuwangi (Java)
Gouvernement der Molukken
Gouvt. Celebes en Onderhoorigheden
Res. Amboina
Res.Timor en Onderh.
PORTUGUESE TIMOR
600 kilometres
4.34

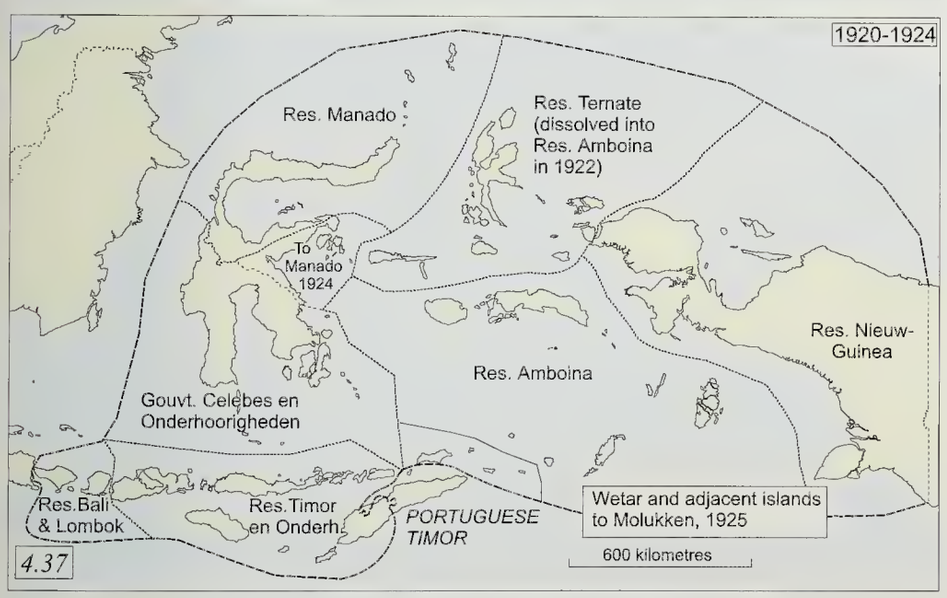
4.34 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1824–1866.



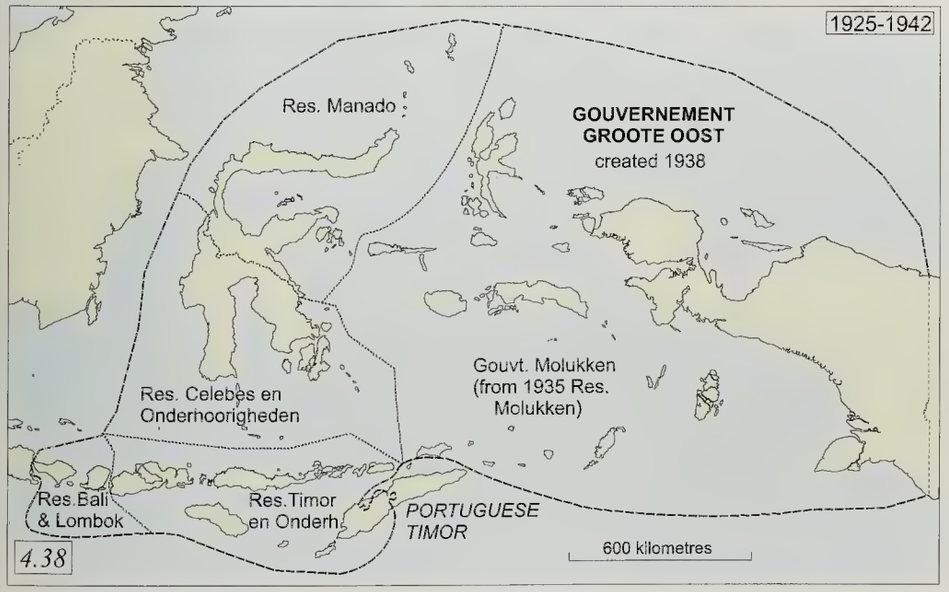
4.35 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1867–1908.


1909-1919
Bungku, Mori and Banggai transferred from Ternate to Celebes in 1911.
Bada transferred from Celebes to Manado in 1910
Sumbawa and West Flores transferred from Timor to Celebes in 1909
West-Nieuw-Guinea transferred from Ternate to Amboina in 1911.
Res. Manado
Res. Ternate
Res. Amboina
Ass.Res. Zuid Nieuw-Guinea
(dissolved into Res. Amboina in 1913)
Gouvt. Celebes en Onderhoorigheden
Res.Bali & Lombok
Res.Timor en Onderh.
PORTUGUESE TIMOR
600 kilometres
4.36

4.36 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1909–1919.



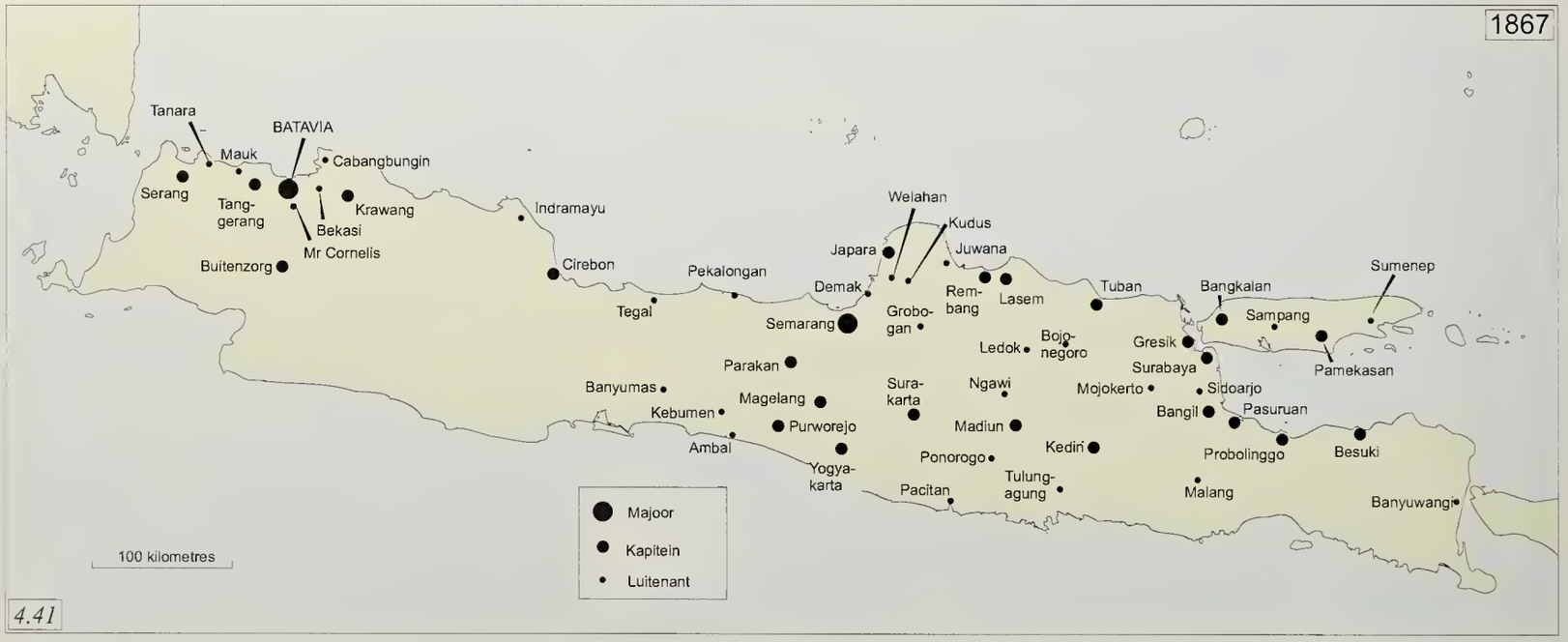
4.37 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1920–1924.



4.38 Administrative divisions in eastern Indonesia, 1925–1942.

4.39 Administrative divisions in southern Sulawesi, 1909.

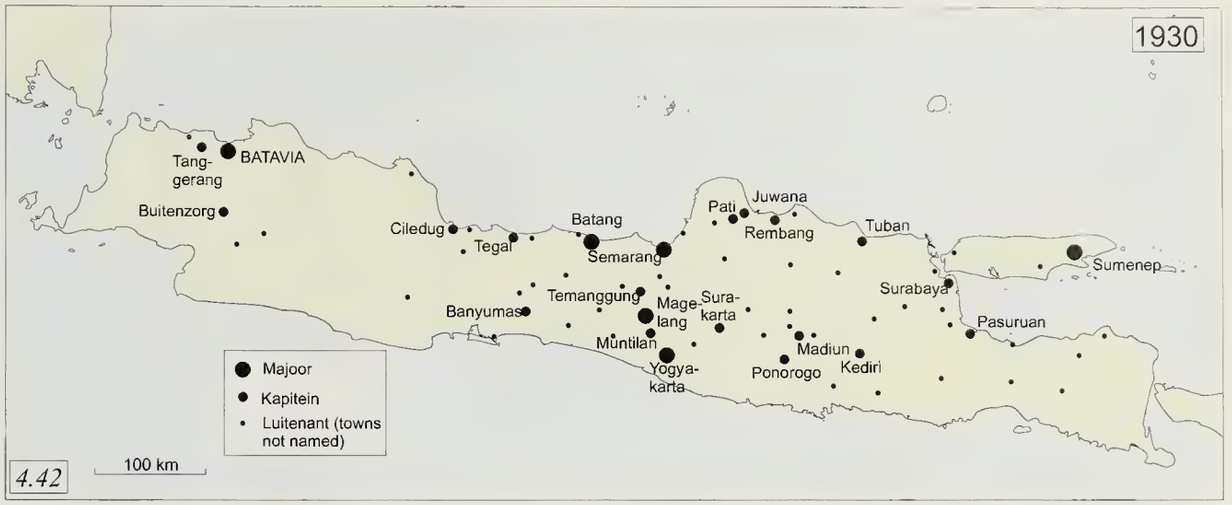
4.40 (above) Location of Chinese officers in the Netherlands Indies, 1867.



4.41 (below) Location of Chinese officers in Java, 1867.

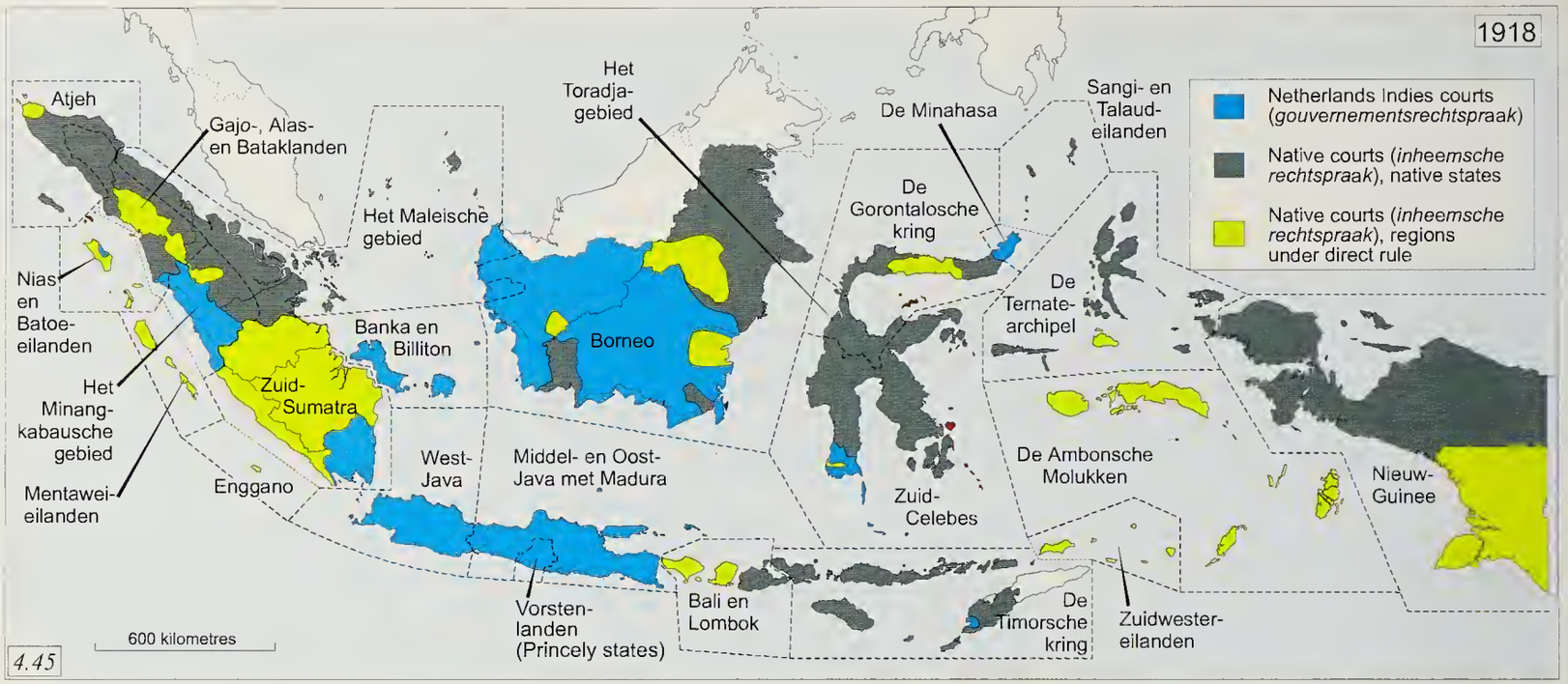
The administrative complexity of the Netherlands Indies was further complicated by the separate legal status of those inhabitants of the archipelago who were neither European nor indigenous. These minorities, predominantly Chinese but also including Arabs, Indians and others, were eventually classified legally as Vreemde Oosterlingen (Foreign Orientals), and where they lived in large enough concentrations they were administered by their own leaders, generally appointed by the Dutch with the titles of Majoor, Kapitein or Luitenant. The military titles reflected the role of the officers in keeping law and order within their communities. This separate legal status was a significant barrier to the assimilation of Chinese residents into Indonesian society. These sheer size of the Chinese communities in Java, western Borneo and Bangka was also a factor which made assimilation less likely, as did the wide cultural gap between the Islam of most Indonesians and the Buddhist–Taoist–Confucian religious blend of many Chinese.

4.42 Chinese officers in Java, 1930.



4.43 Officers from other ethnic groups in Java, 1930.

4.44 (below) Officers from other ethnic groups in the Netherlands Indies, 1930. *These included Indonesian groups settled away from their homelands. Small communities of indigenous Christians in Gorontalo and Bacan (Labuha) were also governed under this system.*



The administration of law added a further element of complexity to the government of the Netherlands Indies. Under the practice of indirect rule, the Dutch preferred to leave each population group under its own laws, as long as these could be relied upon to maintain general public order.

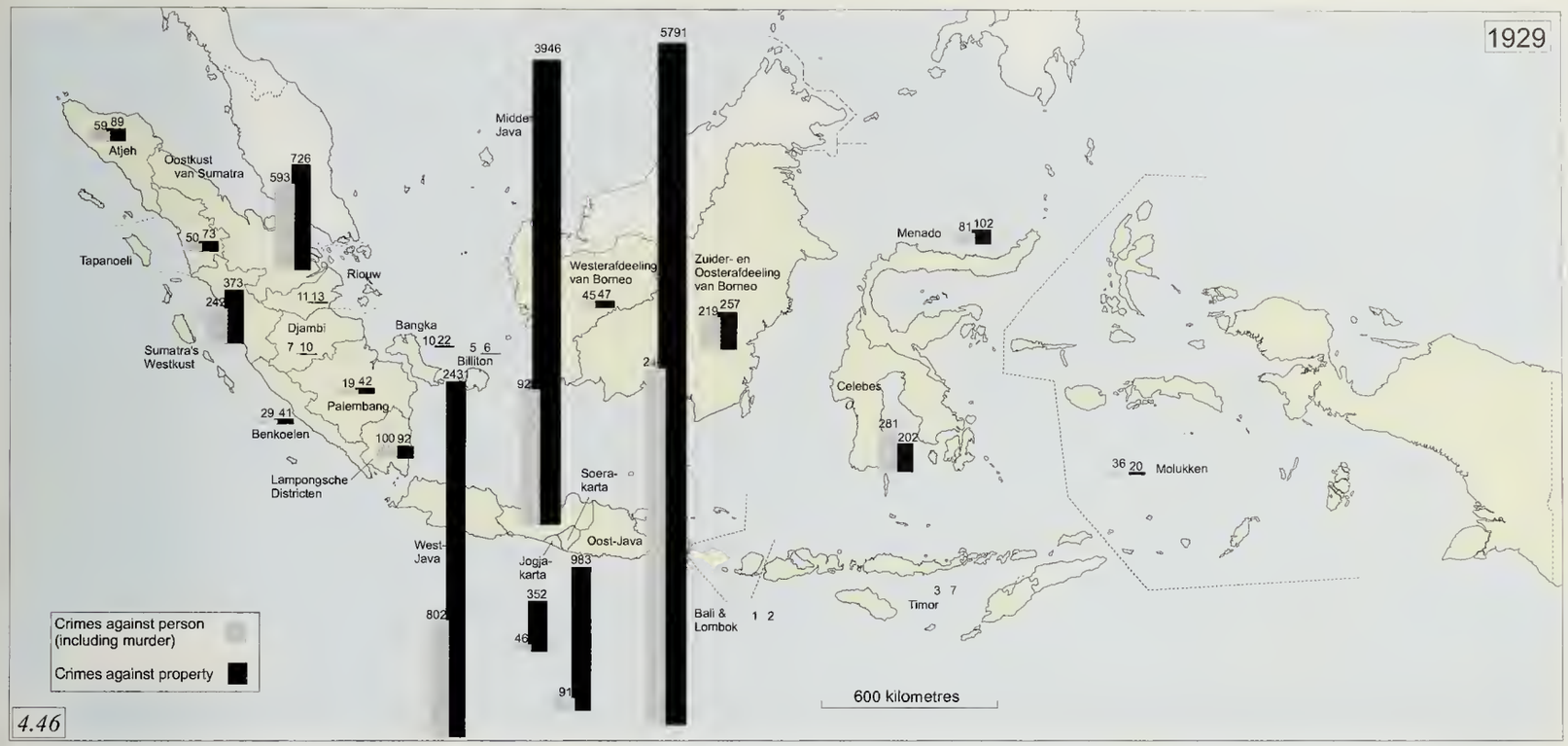
The greatest complexity was in the administration of indigenes. Because traditional law and legal practice varied widely thoughout the archipelago, the Dutch found it necessary to identify a number of so-called *adatrechtskringen*, literally 'customary law circles', within which legal practices were fairly similar. The codification of law and practice for each of these adatrechtskringen became a major scholarly project for Dutch jurists in the 20th century. Within an adatrechtskring, however, individual regions were subject to either Netherlands Indies or native law, each of which in turn could be administered by either colonial or indigenous courts. In other words, the territorial division between directly and indirectly ruled territories did not coincide with the division between regions of government and native jurisprudence.

Legal differences between ethnic groups were applied most strongly in areas of personal law (relating to marriage, inheritance and similar issues) and least strongly in matters of criminal law. In 1918, a single criminal code was introduced for the entire colony, though separate criminal code procedures remained in use for different groups of the population. Chinese were subject to a further set of legal practices which differed in turn from those applying to 'Foreign Orientals' who were not Chinese. It was also possible for Indonesians and 'Foreign Orientals' to submit wholly or partly to European law, or to subject themselves to European law for the purposes of a particular transaction. Separate courts applied Islamic family law.

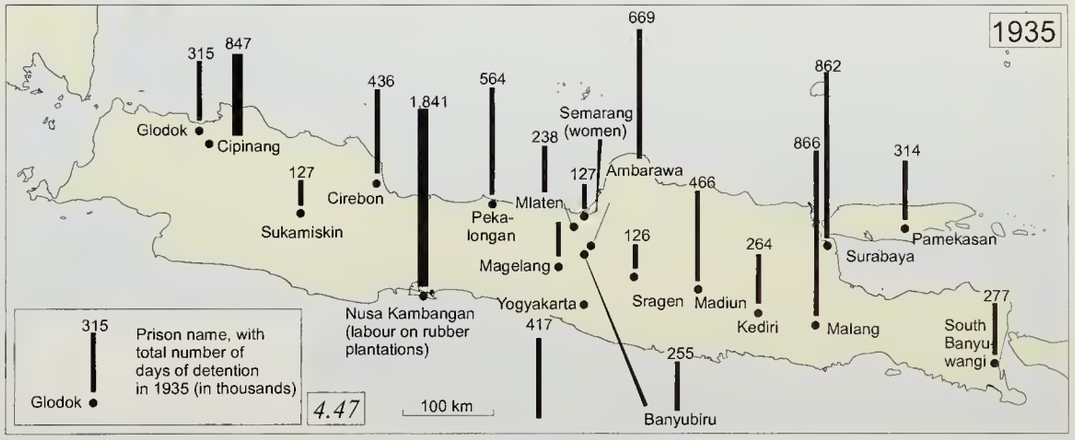
4.45 *Adatrechtskringen* (customary law circles) in the Netherlands Indies, 1918. *Although the classification of inhabitants of the Indies according to race was a constant feature of Dutch jurisprudence, the actual practice of classifcation varied dramatically from era to era. In VOC times, classification was mainly on the basis of religion, and the small number of Indonesian Christians enjoyed what amounted to European legal status until 1854.*

The Government Regulating Act (Regeeringsreglement) *of 1854, which was in effect the constitution of the Netherlands Indies, classified the population as either European or native, and equated Asian non-natives to the native population. Non-European women could obtain European status by marrying a European, and any non-European could gain European status either by showing strong cultural assimilation or by proving a professional or commercial need for European status, but the number who changed status in this way was small.*

The racial basis of this law was definitively breached, however, by Japan's insistence that its citizens be given European status in law. This change, promised in 1899 and implemented in 1920, forced the Dutch to revise their system of discrimination. In the revised constitution of 1925, European status was promised in principle to all nationalities whose home country had adopted a Western system of private law. Under this law, Siamese and Turks gained European status, while remaining groups, mainly Chinese and Arabs, were classified as 'Foreign Orientals'. Under these circumstances, China's intention in 1930 to adopt a Western system of private law caused great alarm in official circles in the Indies, but the intention was never realized, and racial classification remained a feature of Indies law until 1942.



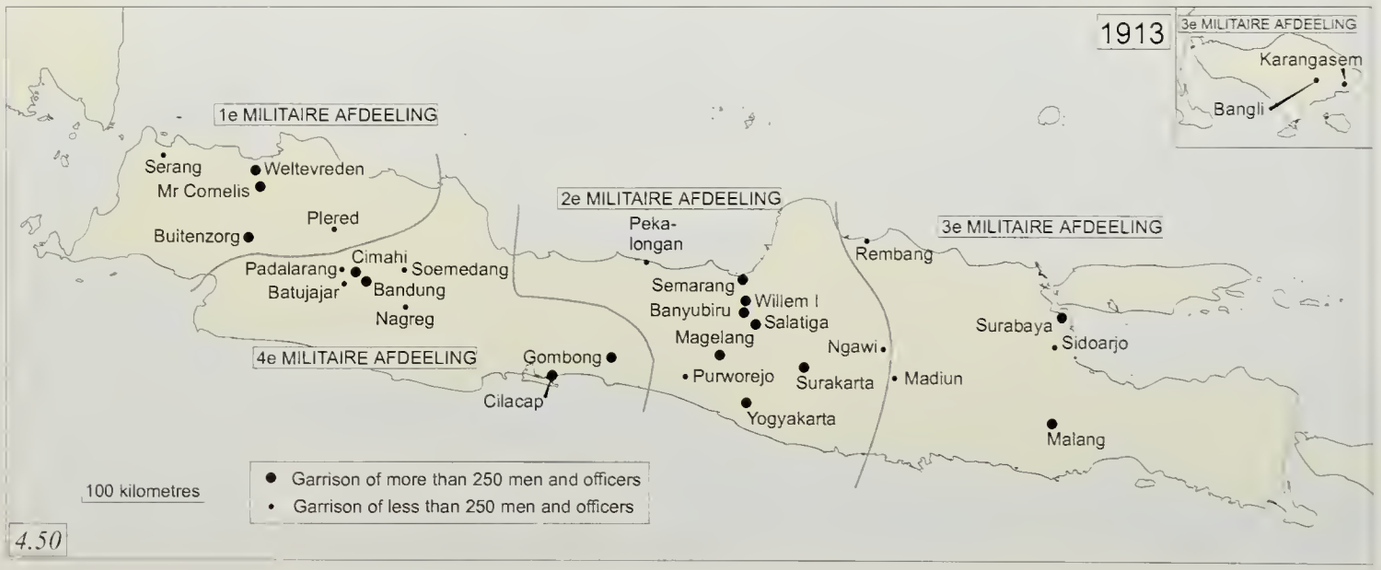
4.46 Convictions for crimes against person and property, 1929.



4.47 (right) Prisons on Java, with total number of days of detention, 1935.

4.48 Prisons in the Outer Islands, with total number of days of detention, 1938.

4.49 Military garrisons in the outer islands, 1913. *The heavy concentration of garrisons in Aceh reflects the difficult war there; the location of other posts suggests concern with preserving the outer perimeter of the Netherlands Indies against possible outside aggression.*



4.50 Military garrisons and military regions on Java, 1913.

Alongside its civilian bureaucracy, the colonial government maintained a range of forces which could be used to defend the colony from outside attack, to extend its territory, or to suppress resistance by indigenous peoples. Alongside the colonial army or KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger) were a variety of police units – the general police, the armed police and the field police – as well as a small number of armed units attached to the courts of native rulers. In the days of the VOC, the company's administrative officials often took a direct rol in military campaigns; with the establishment of the KNIL in 1830 however, the military received greater autonomy. During the era of majo colonial expansion in the Indies in the 19th and early 20th centuries military officers were often placed in charge of the local civilia administration in areas of unrest, so that the full resources of th government could be applied to defeating the rebels.

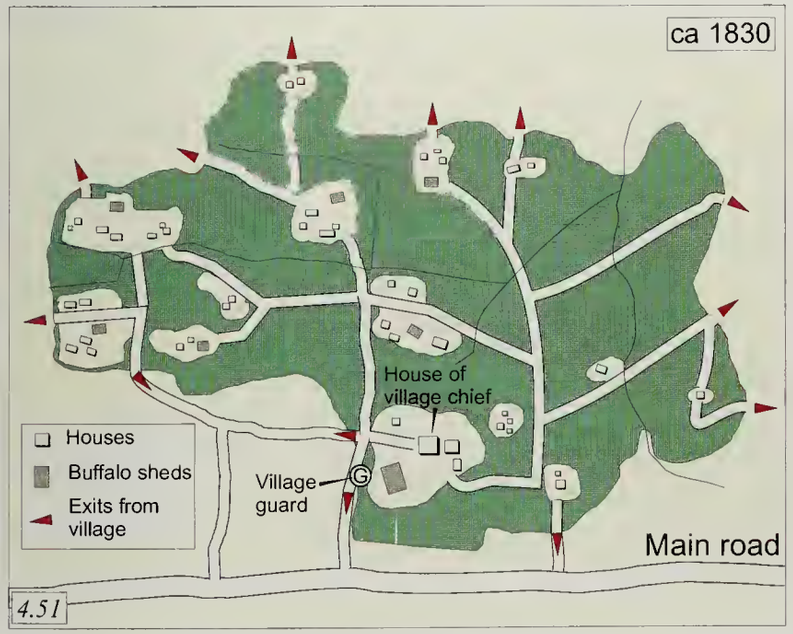
Government, Society and the Rise of a National Consciousness

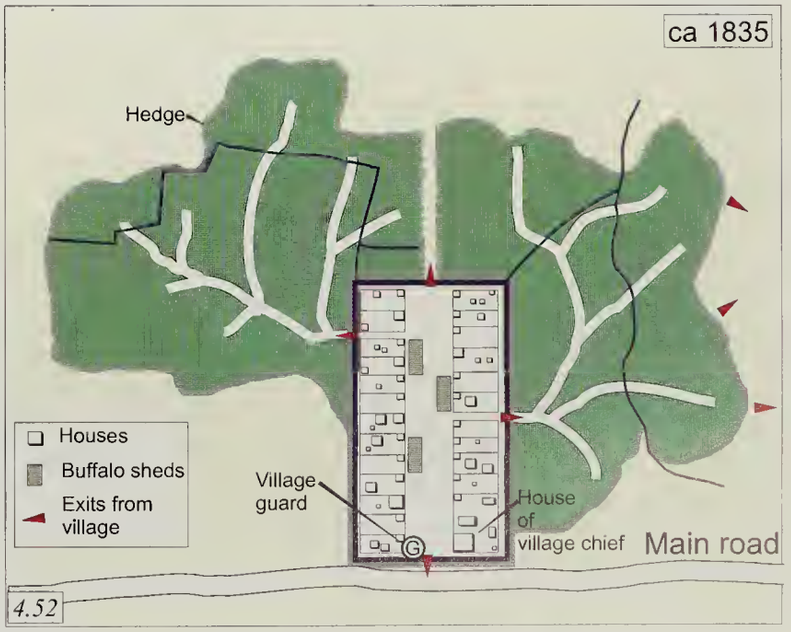
In the course of colonial rule, the indigenous subjects of the Netherlands Indies became Indonesians. There was no Indonesian state until 1945, after the Second World War, but during the last century of colonial rule the consciousness of a great many people changed so that independence as citizens of a single archipelagic state became their central political goal. This transformation is, of course, difficult to map, because it was a change in the minds of people. We can, however, identify some of the major features of the transformation in spatial terms.

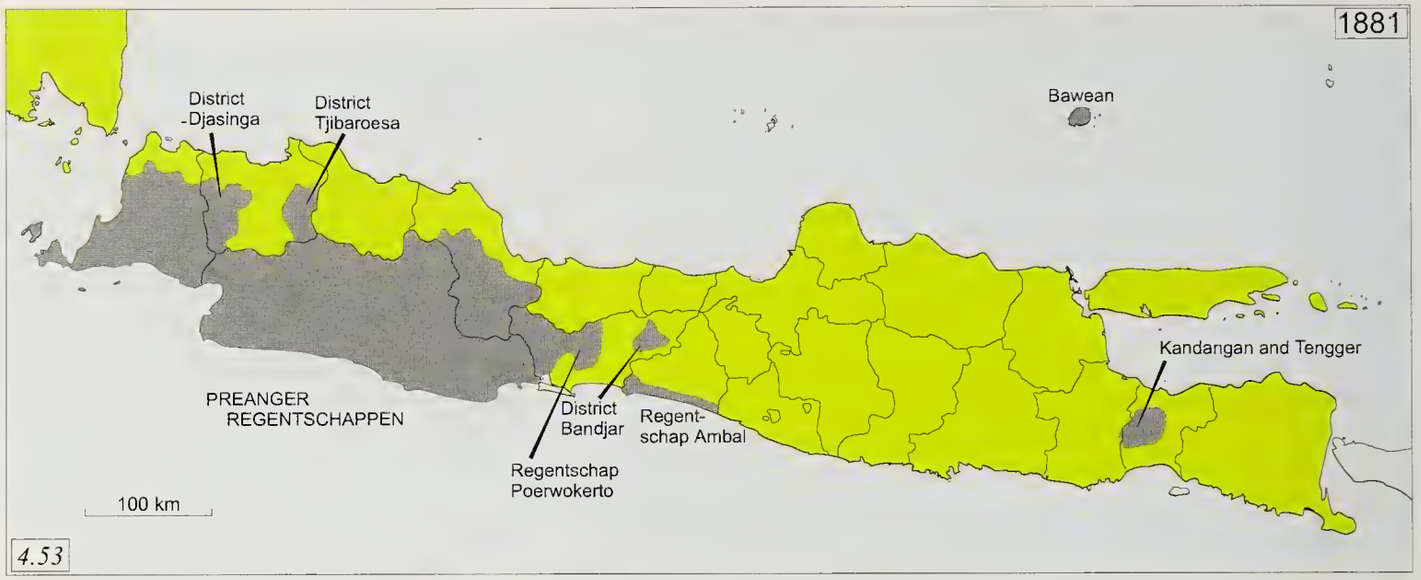
First, nationalism was a response to the intervention of colonial rule into the lives of millions of inhabitants. Although Dutch policy was to interfere as little as possible with the lives of their indigenous subjects, warfare and the colonial economic system were responsible for enormous disruption. First in Maluku and Java, and later in Sumatra and other islands, the people were forced by command or by economic necessity to work on plantations on behalf of the Dutch (or occasionally other powerful entrepreneurs) or to devote part of their own lands to cultivation for the colonial authorities. The systems of exploitation varied throughout the long colonial era and from region to region. Labourers on the plantations around Batavia in the 17th and 18th centuries had a status little different from serfs or slaves. In the hill country of West Java, local people were summoned to work on coffee plantations by their local chiefs, the *bupati*. The Cultivation System, introduced on Java in 1830, involved a complicated system in which peasants had to devote a notional fifth of their land and labour to cultivating crops designated by the colonial government which went to pay land tax. From about 1870, government regulation became less important and private entrepreneurs (who had never been completely absent from the Indies economy) assumed a higher profile. In this era, the plantations of the East Coast of Sumatra became an economic powerhouse of the Indies.

In the 20th century, concern over what appeared to be severely declining living standards on Java led the Dutch to adopt what came to be called the Ethical Policy. The colonial government aimed to initiate self-sustaining economic development in Java by programmes of improved health care, education, agricultural extension, irrigation, transmigration and veterinary services. Although these programmes were well-intended and in some cases well conceived, they encouraged a new spirit of paternalism amongst the colonial officials and were often perceived by Indonesians as another example of unwanted intrusion into Indonesian life. Freedom from Dutch regulation became an important element in the aspirations of Indonesian nationalists.

4.51 and 4.52 Village reorganization on Java during the Cultivation System. *The Cultivation System gave villages collective ownership of land and made villagers collectively responsible for the payment of the onerous land tax (called* landrente*). The system thus required villagers to be tied to their villages, and regulations were introduced prohibiting Javanese from travelling without official permission. For the sake of control, too, villages were reorganized both to emphasize the uniform obligations of all village members and to facilitate supervision.*

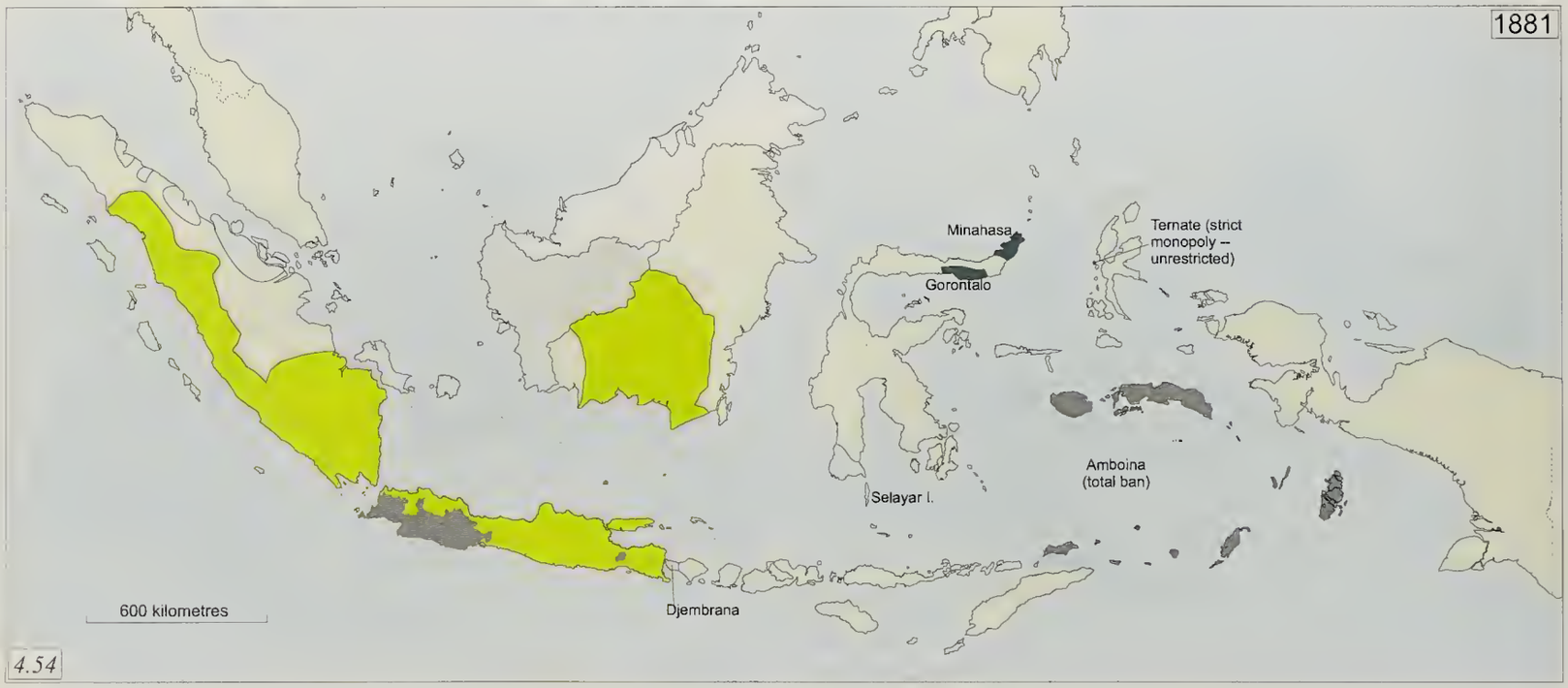


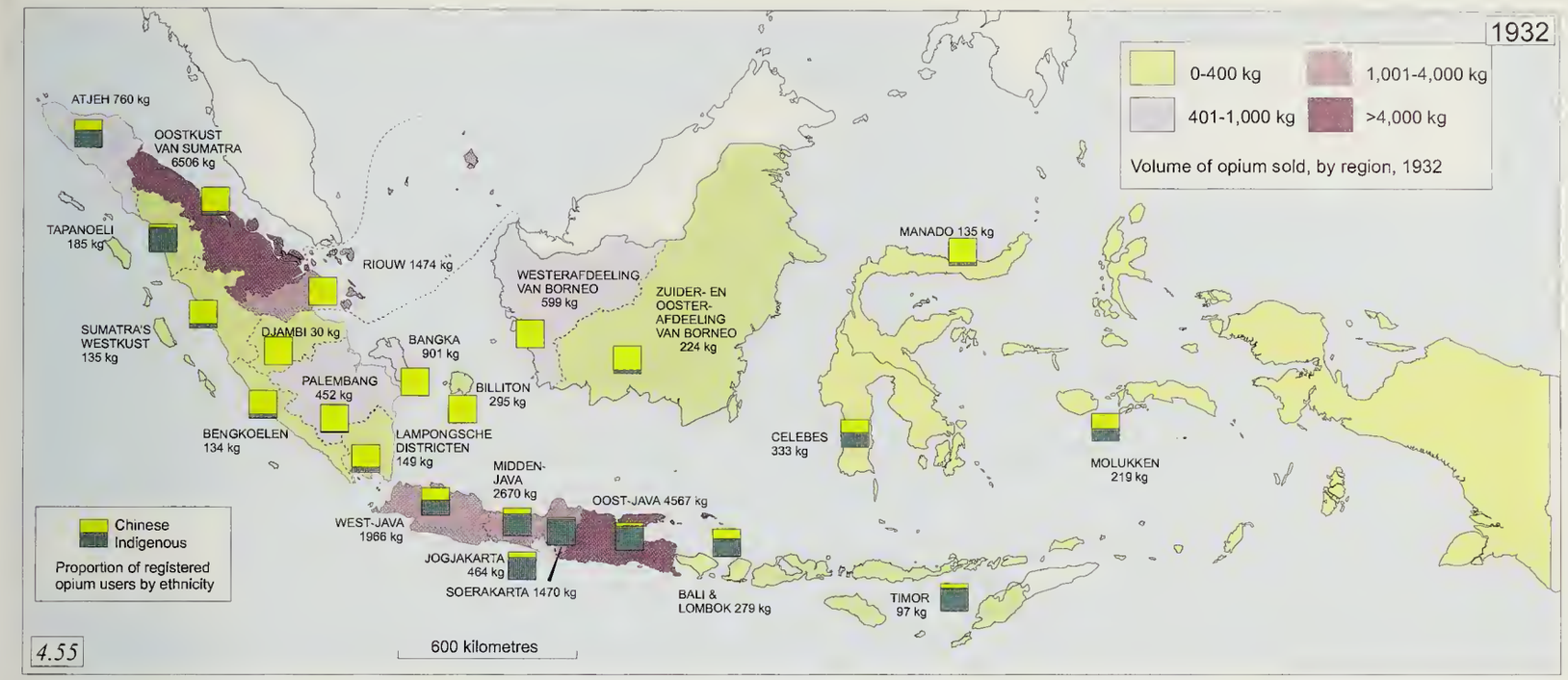




4.53, 4.54 The opium monopoly in 1881. *Salt and opium were the subject of lucrative government monopolies from VOC times. To begin with, they were 'farmed'; that is, the right to distribute opium or salt within a district was given to a farmer (*pachter*) in exchange for substantial payment. In the 18th century opium was distributed to farm (*pacht*) holders who enjoyed a monopoly of distribution within their regions. In 1815, salt sales were transferred to an official agency, the Zoutregie, though they remained a valuable source of revenue. The opium monopoly did not come under an Opiumregie until 1894, after a public campaign in the Netherlands against the trade.*

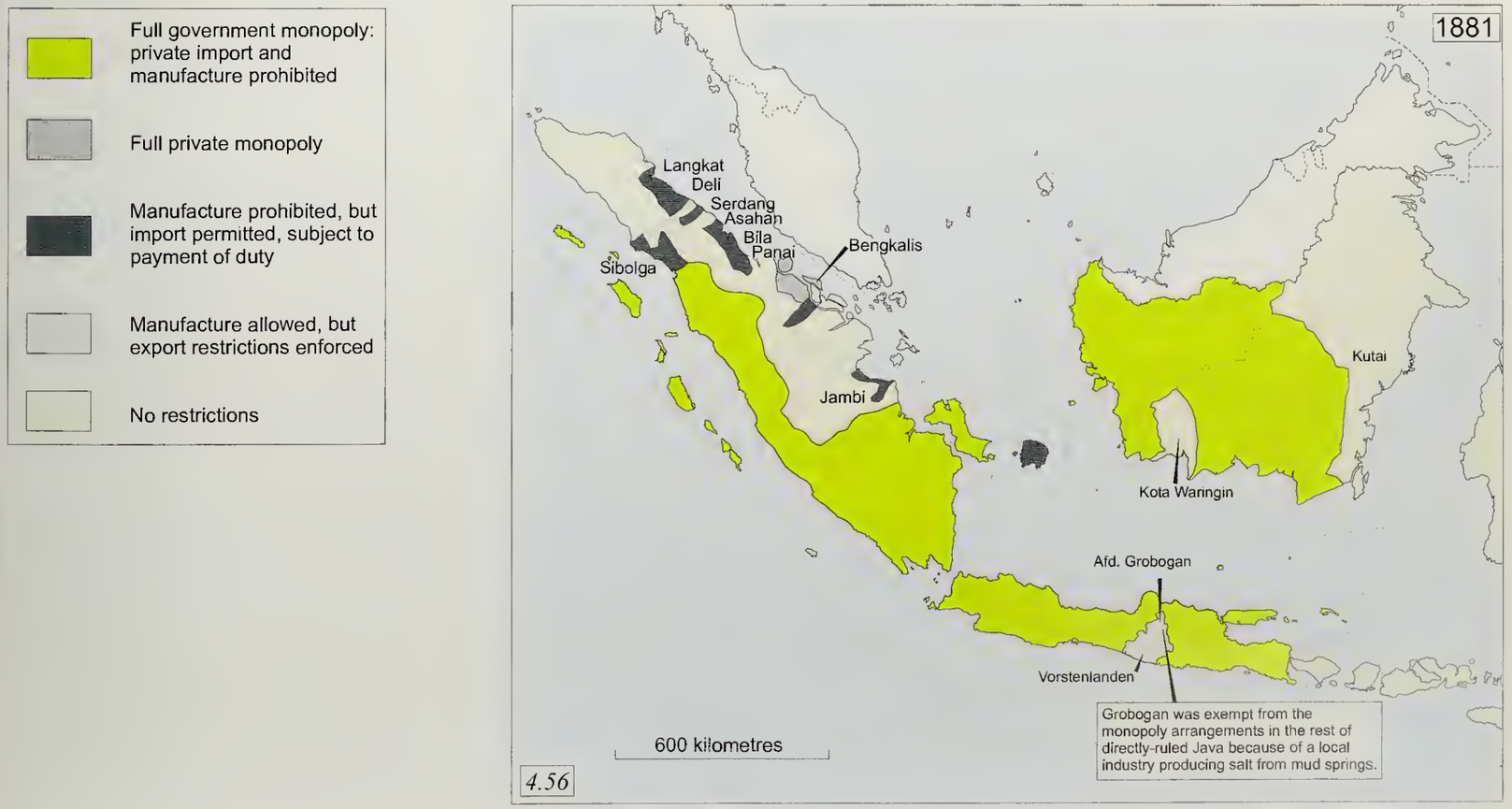
- Strict monopoly (restricted): government alone permitted to import opium; opium distributed to farmers in restricted quantities
- Strict monopoly (unrestricted): government alone permitted to import opium; opium distributed to farmers in unrestricted quantities
- Private monopoly: exclusive rights to import and distribute opium held by a private farmer
- Private monopoly (limited): rights to distribute opium held by a private farmer, but others permitted to import opium under certain circumstances
- Total ban: no opium to be imported or distributed
- Unregulated: no restriction on opium import or distribution



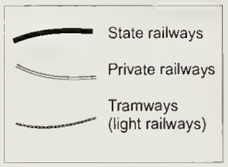


4.55 Opium consumption and registered opium users, 1932. *In 1894, the system of selling opium through private traders was replaced by a state opium monopoly, the Opiumregie, which imported and refined raw opium and sold it to registered users through government shops. Opium use was often seen as a primarily Chinese problem, but in Java a majority of consumers were indigenous.*

4.56 The salt monopoly in 1881. *Grobogan was exempt from the monopoly arrangements applying in the rest of directly-ruled Java because of a local industry producing salt from mud springs.*

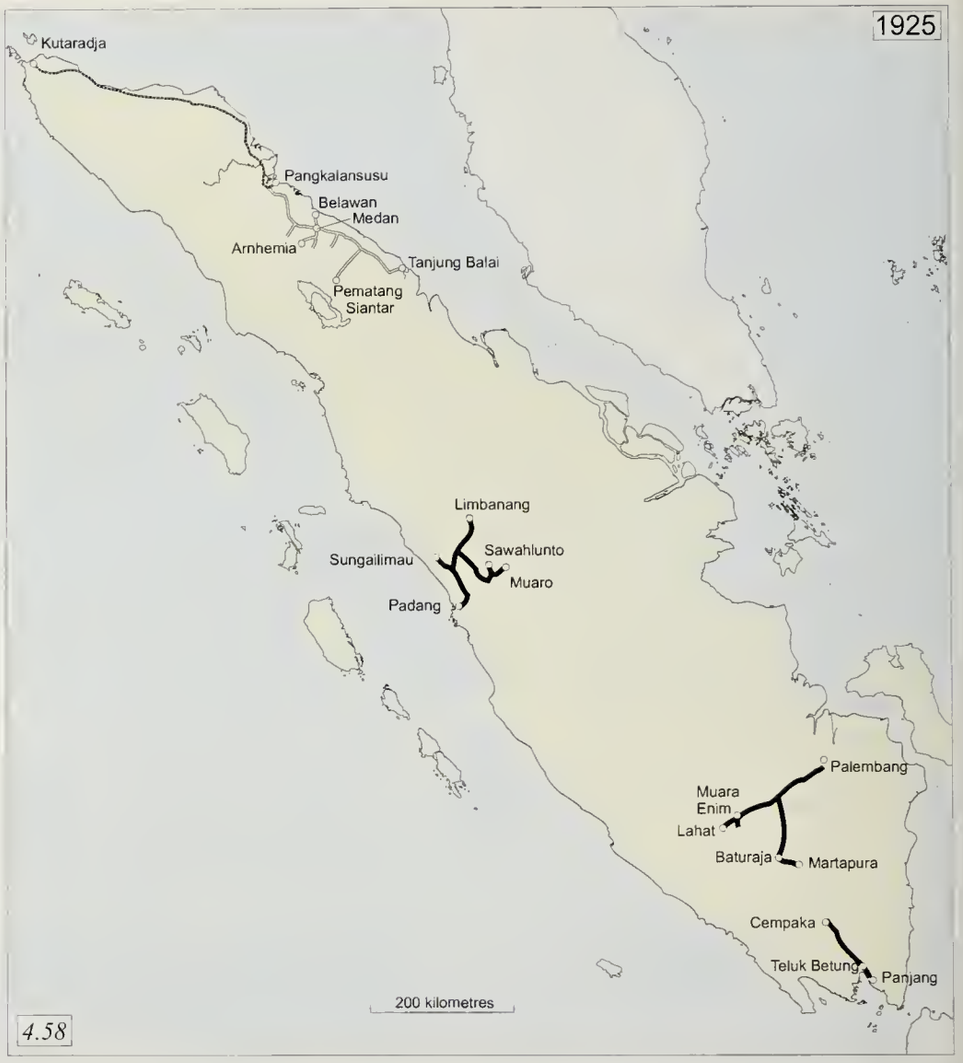


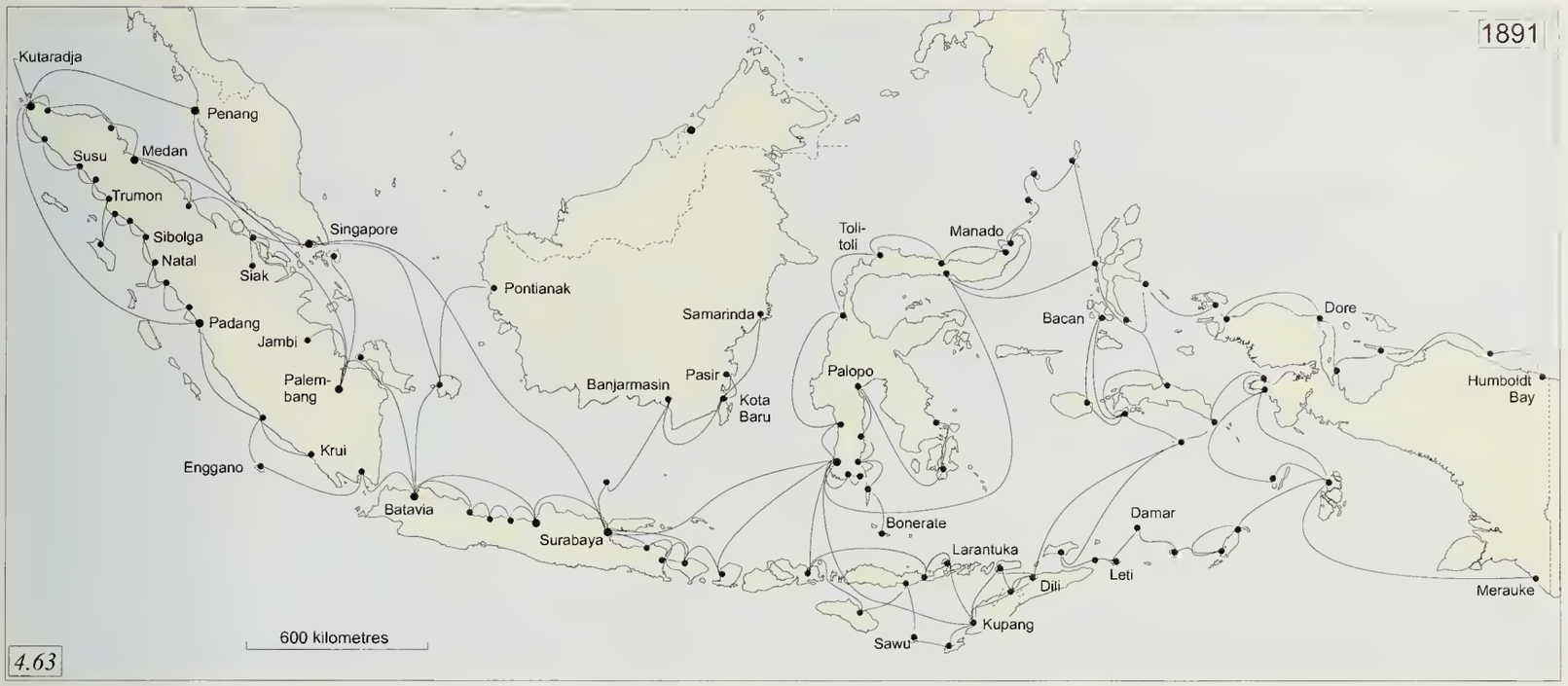
4.57 Railway lines in southern Sulawesi, 1925. *This railway was closed soon after.*



4.58 (right) Railway lines in Sumatra in 1925. *The so-called 'Atjehtram', a light railway linking Kutaradja with the East Coast of Sumatra, was built mainly for the transport of troops and materials for the garrisons in turbulent Aceh, but the other lines were built principally for economic reasons.*

4.59, 4.60, 4.61 and 4.62 (below) The spread of railways on Java, 1888–1925. *Railways played a major role in integrating Java, economically and socially, from the late 19th century. The first private railway was laid in central Java in 1873, and the government line from Surabaya to Pasuruan was built in 1879. By 1894 it was possible to travel by rail between the two largest cities of the colony, Batavia and Surabaya. A major part of the railway system in Java was run by private companies.*



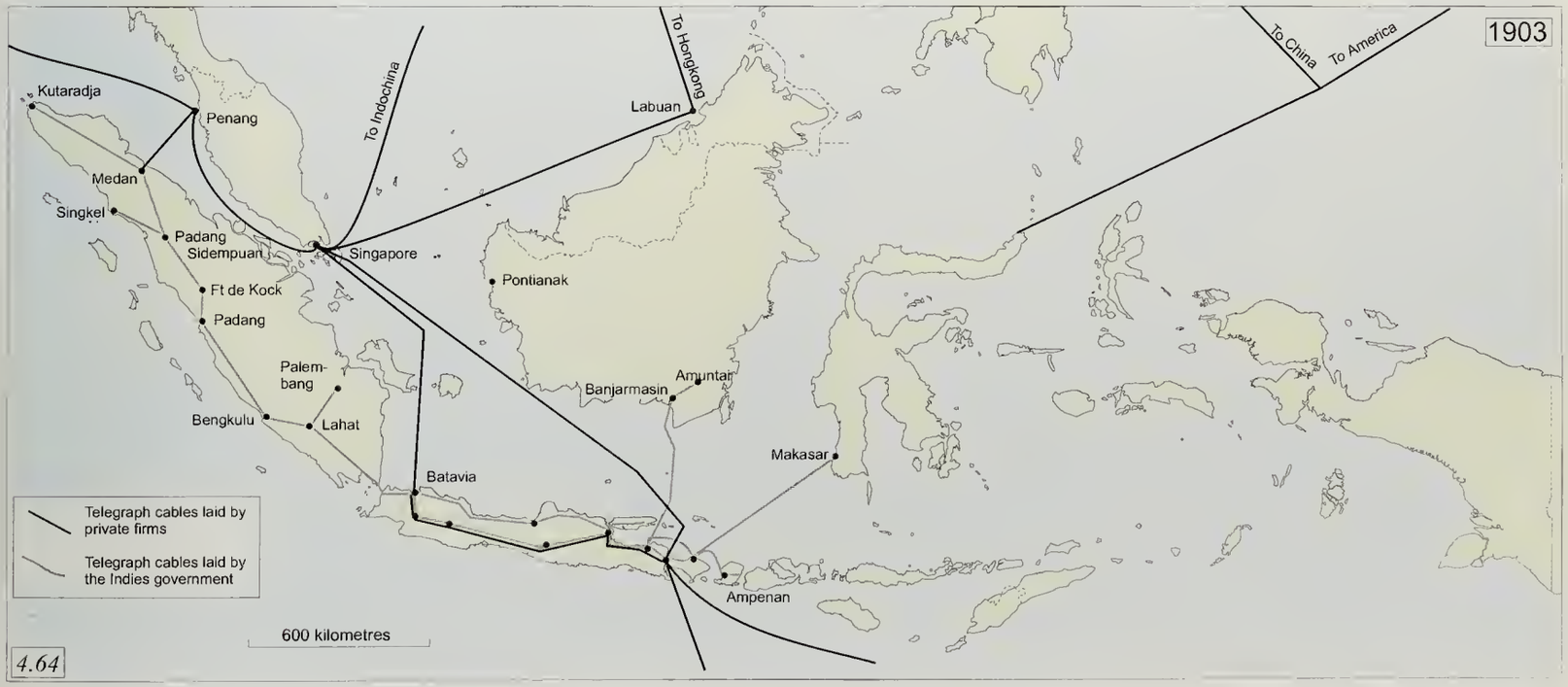


4.63 Regular services of the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM), 1891. *The KPM was a government-backed private steamer company.*

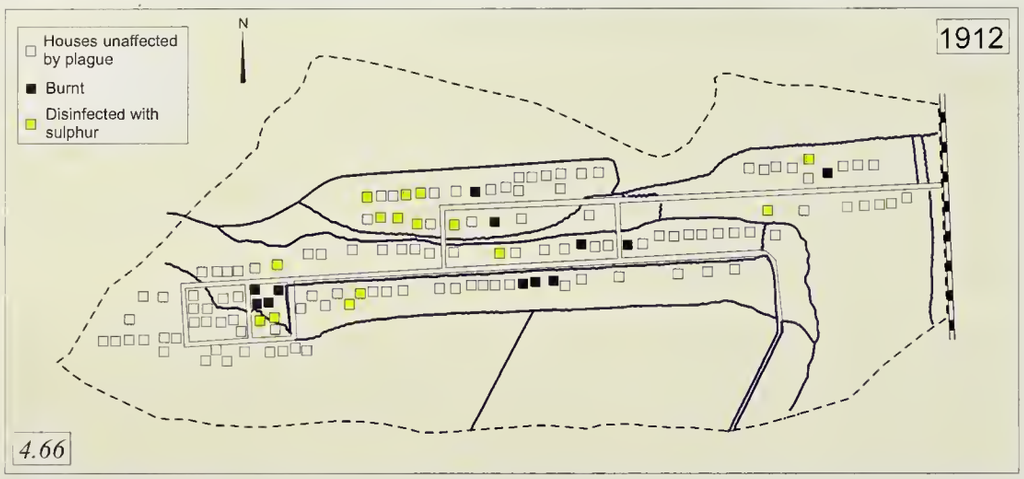
The colonial government was aware of the importance of regular shipping services in the Indies, both as an element of infrastructure for economic development and as a symbol of the Dutch claim to sovereignty in remote regions such as New Guinea where there was still no administrative presence. During the second half of the 19th century a number of attempts were made to contract for regular mail and cargo services to specified ports in the archipelago. In 1888, the government contracts were awarded to the Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij, which quickly developed a comprehensive shipping network to the exclusion of most of its rivals.

Telegraph lines also played an important integrative role.

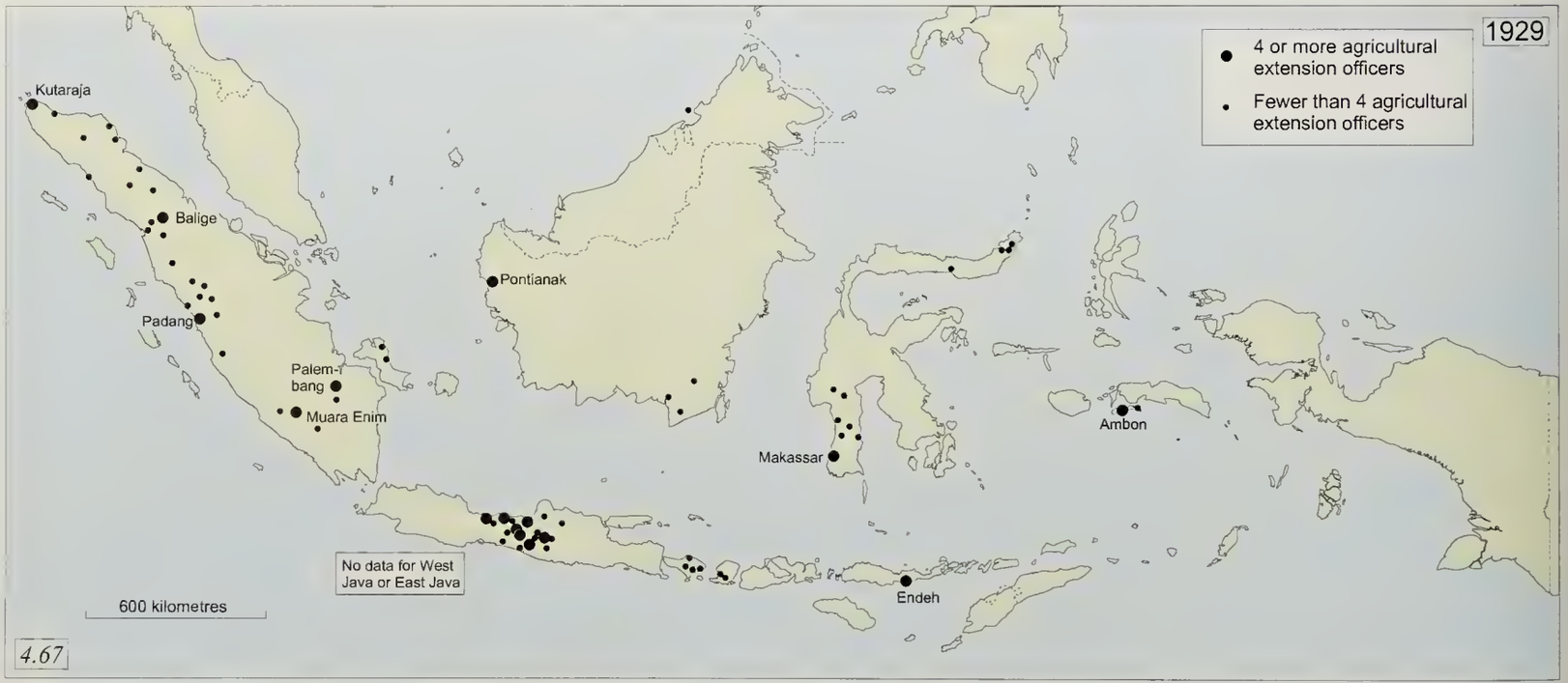
4.64 Telegraph lines in the Netherlands Indies, 1903.



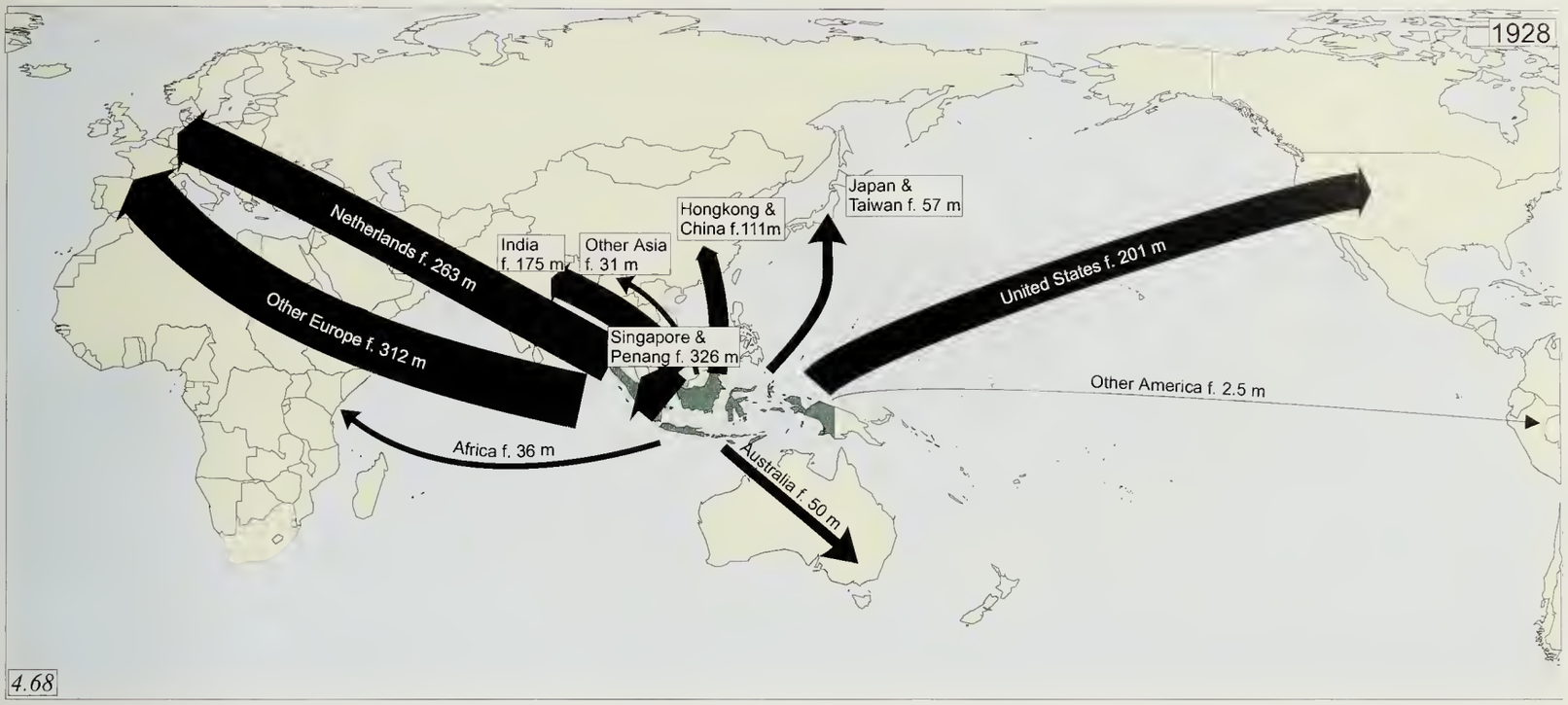
4.65 Plague-affected areas in Java, 1913–1915 and 1936. *The plague pandemic of 1911–1915 led the colonial authorities to undertake drastic measures in the interests of public health, including the destruction of houses and the assaying of corpses of suspected victims. Although these measures were taken in the interests of the people, they were widely resented as interference.*



4.66 Anti-plague measures in the village of Karangasem, East Java, 1912.



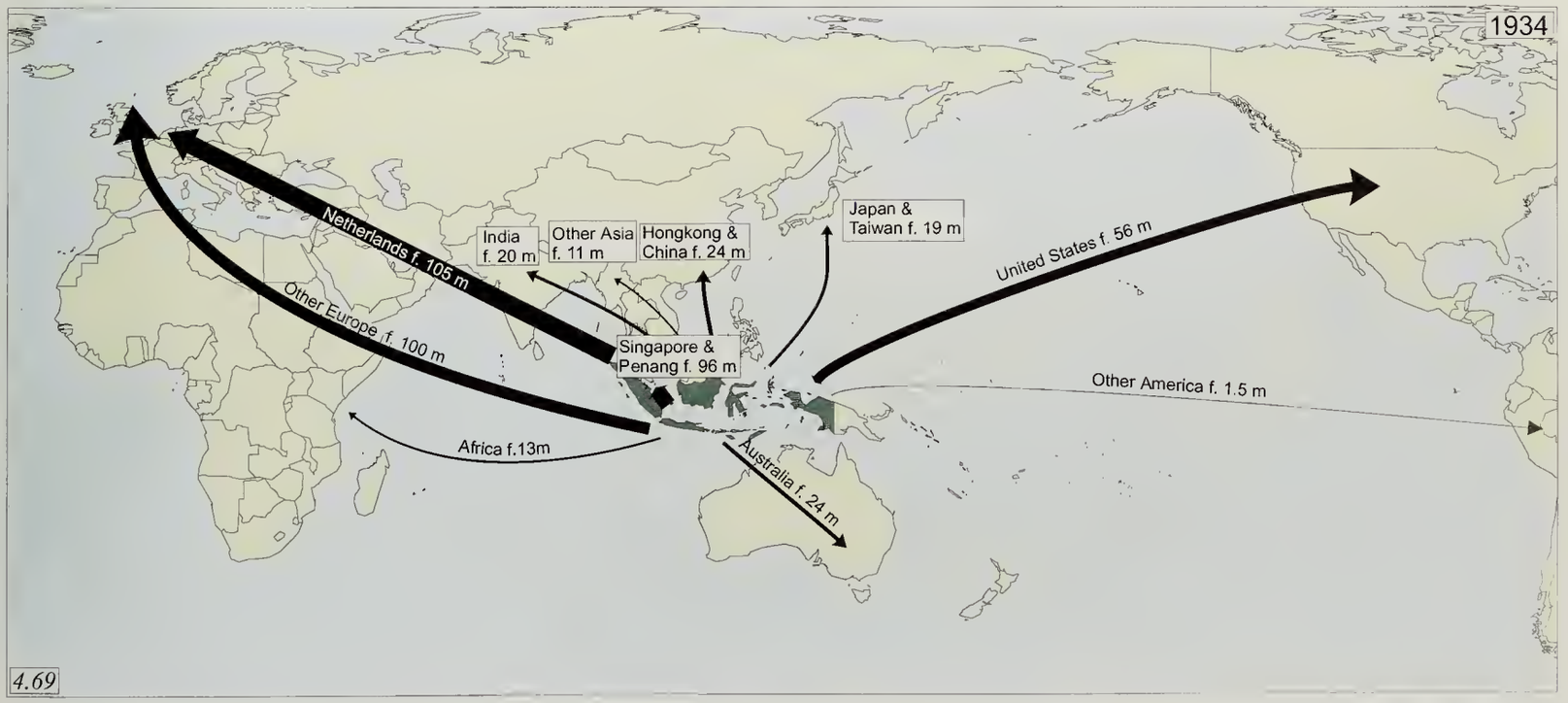
4.67 The posting of agricultural extension officers, 1929. *The development of a network of specialist colonial officials in the 20th century not only reflected the 'Ethical' Dutch concerns with Indonesian welfare but marked a major administrative change. Unlike the dualist Binnenlandsch Bestuur, the new services were multi-racial Indonesians could and increasingly did rise to administrative positions where they were in charge of European subordinates.*

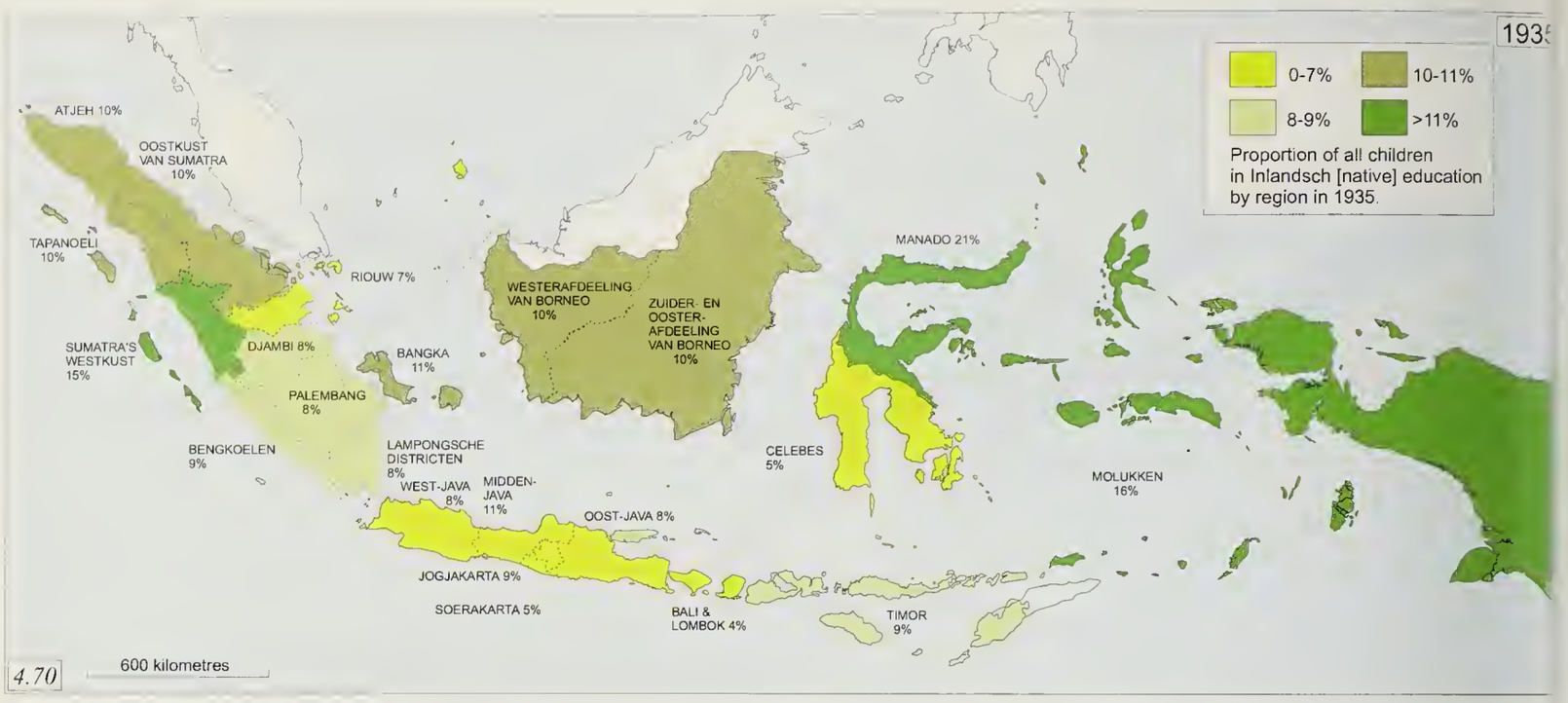

1928
Netherlands f. 263 m
Other Europe f. 312 m
India f. 175 m
Other Asia f. 31 m
Hongkong & China f.111m
Japan & Taiwan f. 57 m
United States f. 201 m
Singapore & Penang f. 326 m
Other America f. 2.5 m
Africa f. 36 m
Australia f. 50 m
4.68

4.68 Destination and value of exports from the Netherlands Indies, 1928.

During the early 20th century, the Netherlands Indies enjoyed a healthy export trade, mainly in agriculture produce, to Europe, North America and its immediate neighbours in Asia. The world depression which struck in 1930 seriously disrupted these markets. The volume of goods exported and the price they commanded both declined sharply. Not only European plantation owners and their workers suffered; so did the many Indonesian small-holder producers of rubber, coffee, tobacco, tea and coconut. Government revenues declined and the colonial state began to wind back the development programmes that it had started within the framework of the Ethical policy.

4.69 Destination and value of exports from the Netherlands Indies, 1934.

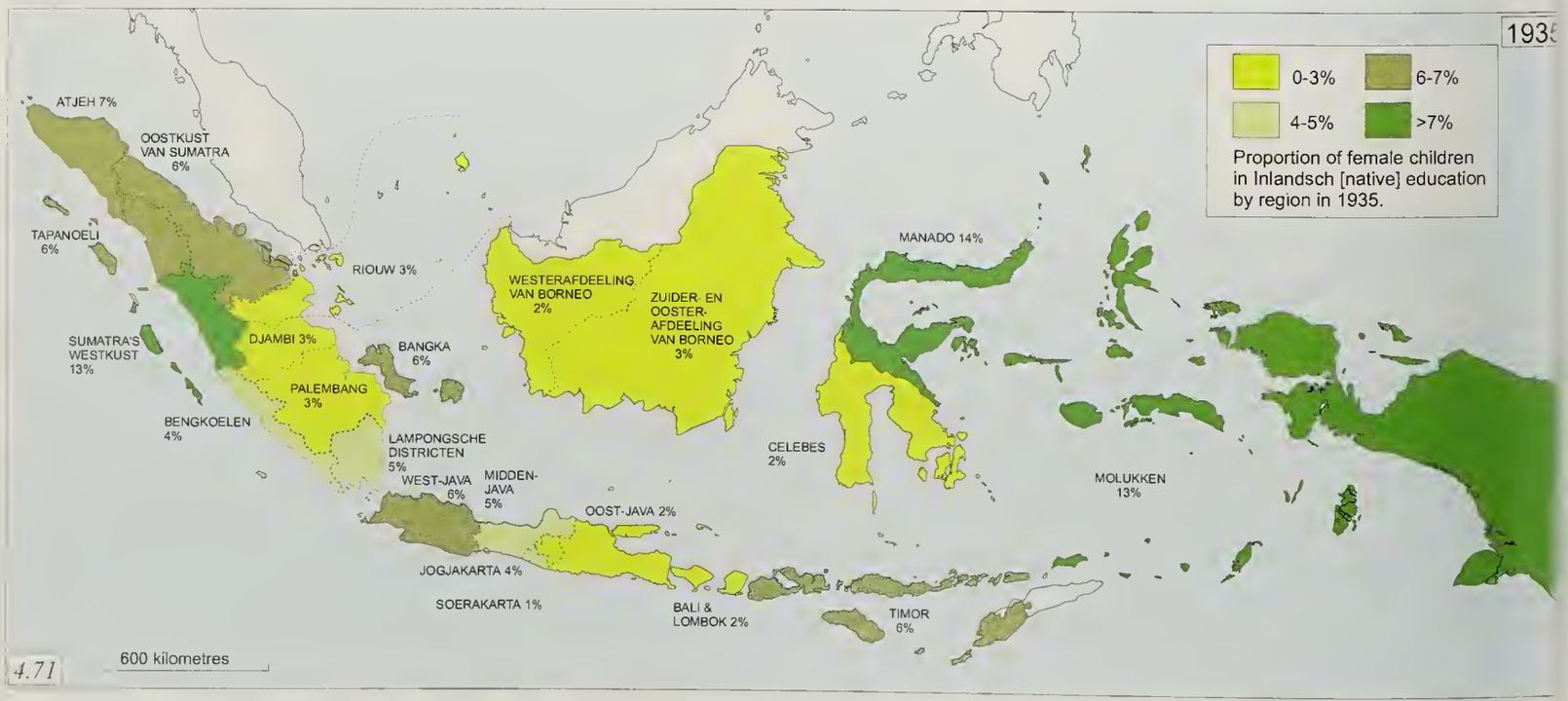

1934
Netherlands f. 105 m
Other Europe f. 100 m
India f. 20 m
Other Asia f. 11 m
Hongkong & China f. 24 m
Japan & Taiwan f. 19 m
United States f. 56 m
Singapore & Penang f. 96 m
Other America f. 1.5 m
Africa f.13m
Australia f. 24 m
4.69



4.70 Participation in education by all children, 1935.

4.71 Participation in education by girls, 1935. *The age category against which school enrolments is compared here includes all children who could walk, and thus a sizeable number who were not yet of school age. In all regions, the number of 'school-age' females was considerably less than the number of 'school age' males, because females were classified as adults when they were old enough to marry (i.e. at 14–15), whereas males were adults when they could work (i.e. at 15–16). Females were 46.5% of this 'school-age' population in the colony.*

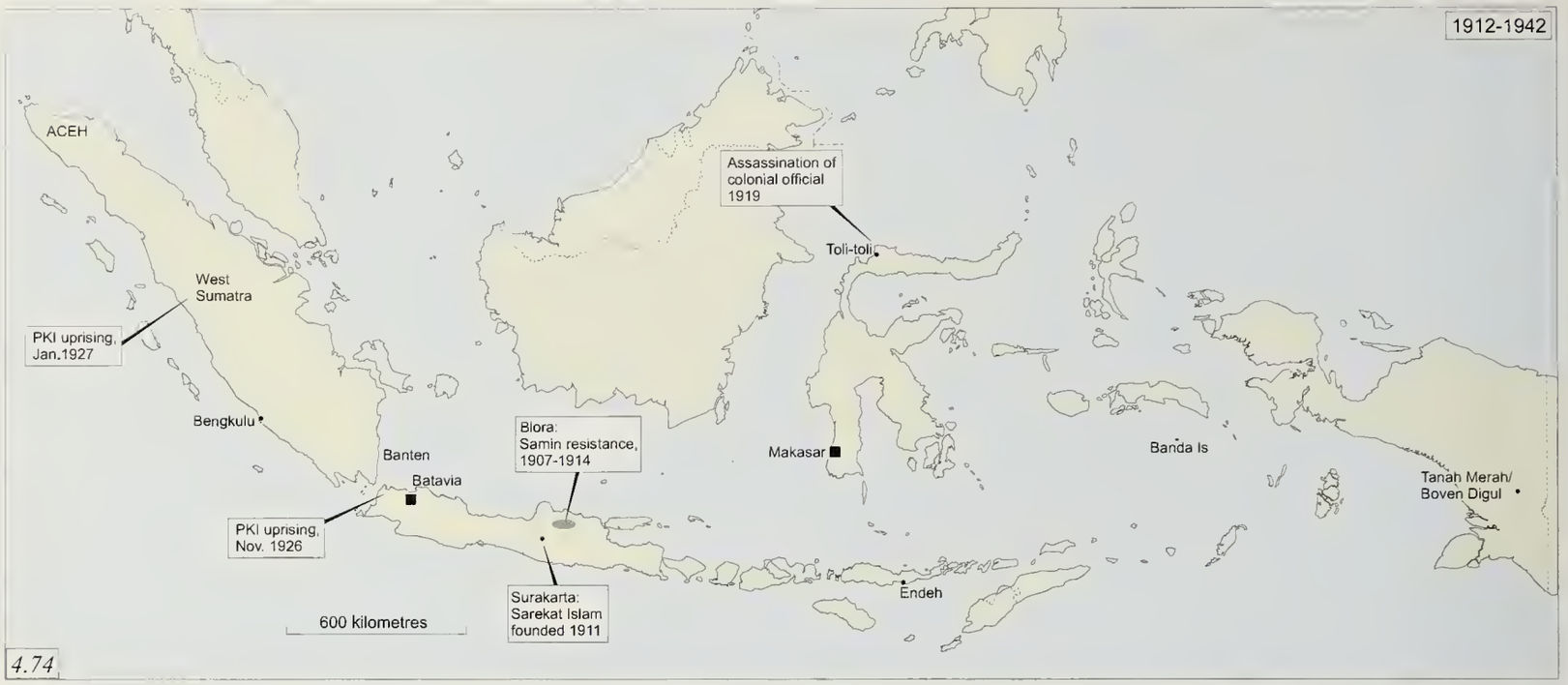
Participation in the education system remained limited in most pa of the Netherlands Indies until the end of colonial rule. In the early 20 century, the colonial government founded schools to give Western-sty education in Indonesian languages in many regions, but these scho reached only a small proportion of the school-age population. The fe high schools and even fewer university-level institutions which the Dut established, however, were of high quality. Their graduates were capab of undertaking most tasks previously reserved for the Dutch and becan resentful of the discrimination they faced despite their qualificatio



In the second half of the 19th century, newspapers and periodicals printed in Indonesian languages, especially Malay, began to appear in many cities of the Netherlands Indies. The print run for all these publications was small and they reached only a limited audience, but they provided a vehicle for information about the rest of the Indies and the wider world and played a major role in making the indigenous people of the archipelago more familar with ideas of modernity.

4.72 Vernacular newspapers and periodicals in the Netherlands Indies, 1875–1900.

4.73 Vernacular newspapers and periodicals in the Netherlands Indies, 1900–1913. *Because library collections for this period are far from complete, other newspapers, of which no record has survived, may have existed during these years.*



4.74 The emergence of a nationalist movement.

The earliest modern political association in the Indies was Budi Utomo, an organization formed in 1908 to promote the cultural and educational interests of lesser Javanesearistocrats, primarily within the colonial bureaucracy. Some of its members became interested in a radical agenda, but the organization as a whole remained conservative and basically sympathetic to continued colonial rule.

In 1911, however, a more radical movement emerged in the form of the Sarekat Islam (Islamic Union). Initially a commercial cooperative formed to assist Muslim batik traders against their Chinese competitors, the Sarekat Islam developed into a mass organization under the leadership of H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, with branches in Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan.

The emergence of the Sarekat Islam marked the beginning of an age of political ferment in which the peoples of the archipelago explored a wide range of political ideas and strategies in order to determine what kind of progress they wanted and how that progress might be achieved in the face of Dutch resistance. Three streams of thought developed, all of them emerging in one way or another from elements present in the early Sarekat Islam. First, Islamic modernism became a major political force. Arguing that Islam needed to be cleansed of un-Islamic practices which had accumulated over centuries, the Islamic modernists emphasised that true Islam was fully compatible with modern science, technology and political power. Modernism's most important organizational expression in Indonesia was the Muhammadiyah, founded in 1912 to strengthen the Islamic character of society by promoting education and combating 'superstition'. The second important stream was socialist. It drew on Marxist and Leninist analyses of colonialism both to explain the condition of the archipelago under Dutch rule and to find hope for the future. Indonesia had no more than a tiny industrial working class, but Marxists won a following amongst urban workers, especially in the railways. The most

4.75 Sarekat Islam membership, 1912–1916.

important organization to develop on this intellectual basis was the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), founded in 1920.

The third intellectual stream aimed at taking Indonesia along an accelerated path towards Western-style modernity. This stream saw many colonial practices and policies as contradicting the best in the Western tradition and they sought to make the benefits of modernity and prosperity accessible to all people, not just to a colonial or aristocratic elite. This stream did not crystallize into a distinct political political movement until 1927, when the young nationalist Sukarno founded the Perserikatan (later Partai) Nasional Indonesia or PNI in 1927. Despite antagonism between these streams, intellectual interaction between them remained important, especially as a result of the activities of Sukarno to create a sense of unity across what was generally called the Movement (Pergerakan) as a whole.

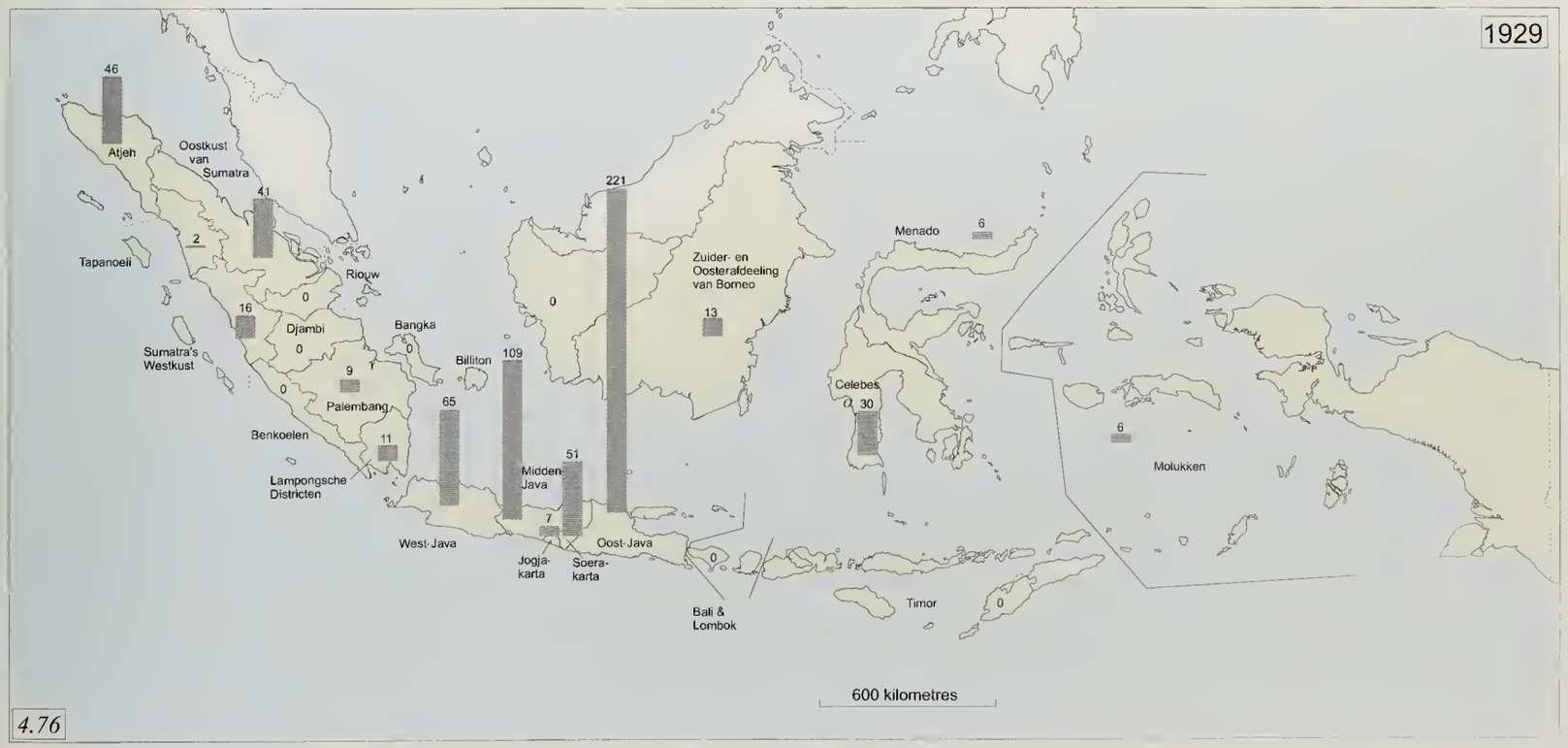
Budi Utomo's primarily Javanese orientation was reflected in the emergence of other regional organizations such as the Sarekat Sumatra and the Pasundan (based amongst the Sundanese of West Java), but there was little serious interest in seeking independence outside the framework which was coming to be called Indonesia. That name was a relatively new coinage, but it reflected a widespread feeling in the Pergerakan that the problems of the archipelago would be best solved within a political framework encompassing the entire archipelago. This feeling was formalized at a Youth Congress in Batavia in 1928 which adopted the slogan 'One people, one language, one homeland: Indonesia'.

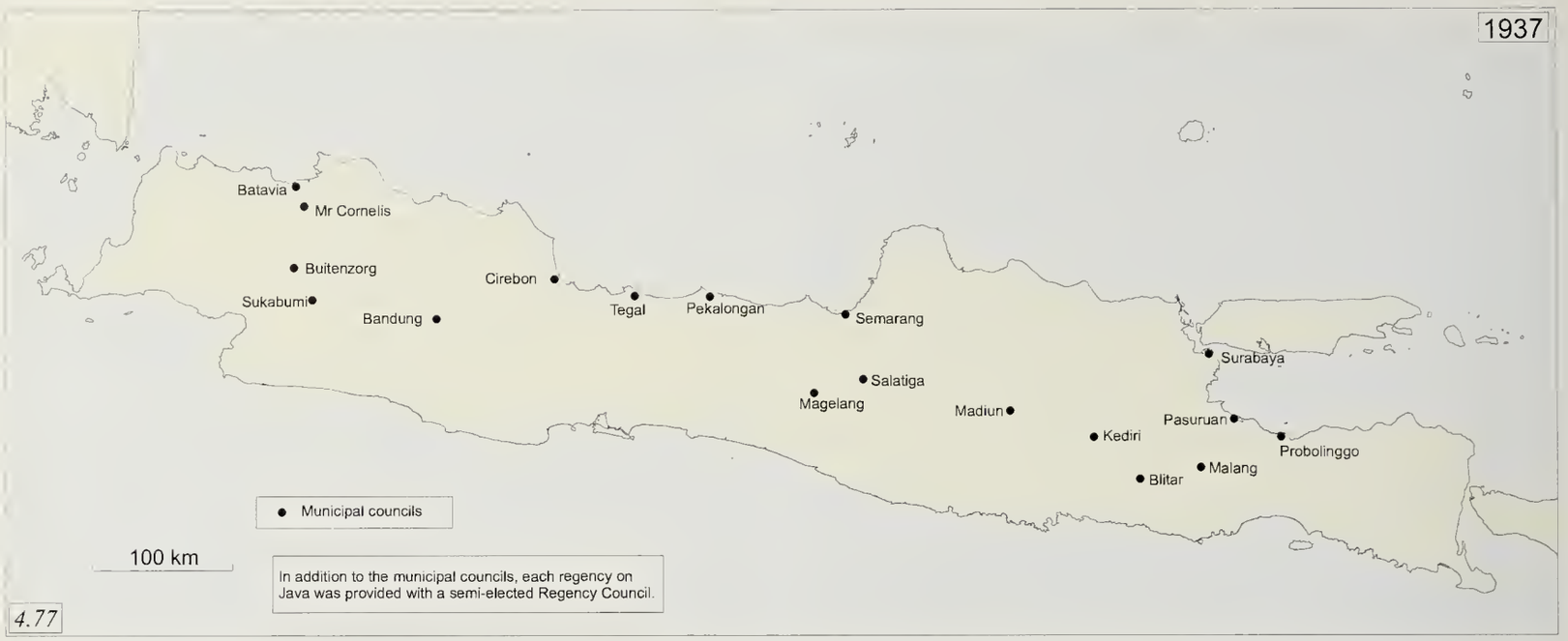
Nonetheless, nationalists were always far from agreement on just how the goal of independence could be achieved. The Sarekat Islam caught a wave of popular opposition to Dutch rule but it had no idea how to transform that wave of opposition into an effective strategy to win power. Sections of the organization secretly planned revolution and were implicated in the assassination of a colonial official at Tolitoli in 1919. The Dutch, however, stepped up police surveillance and effectively prevented further action on this front. The PKI also attempted armed rebellion, but the Dutch apprehended its plans for a coordinated archipelago-wide uprising and were able to prevent serious outbreaks except in Banten (November 1926) and West Sumatra (January 1927). A few of the leaders were shot, but more than 1,300 were sent into exile at a prison camp called Boven Digul (Tanah Merah) in West New Guinea, where they were later joined by other radical nationalists.

Aware of the power of the Dutch to defeat any immediate challengers, the nationalists began to take a longer-term view, concentrating on building their own organizational infrastructure and spreading nationalist ideas to a broader public. Even this strategy, however, was unacceptable to the Dutch, who harrassed and arrested nationalist leaders, often exiling them to remote parts of the archipelago. Sukarno was sent first to Endeh in Flores and then to Bengkulu in Sumatra; leading nationalists from Sumautra, Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, went first to Boven Digul and then to Banda.

The only channel left open to nationalists was particpation in a limited representative institutions established by the Dutch from 1903. The first elected municipal councils mainly benefited the European population, but in the course of the 20th century the notion of representation was gradually broadened, not only with an extension of the franchise

4.76 Convictions for political crimes (crimes against the state and against public order), 1929.



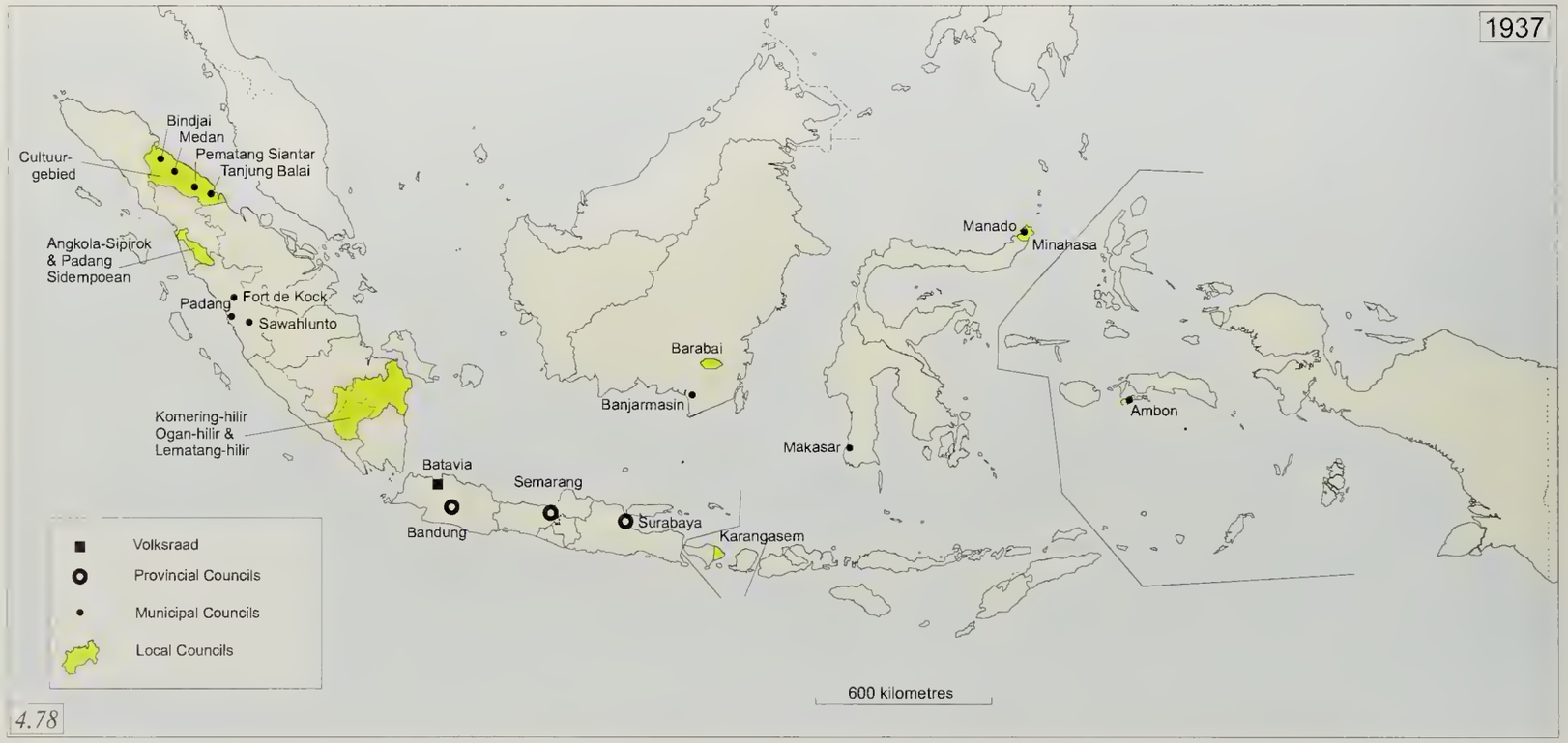


4.77 Representative councils in Java, 1937.

to some Indonesians but also with the creation of councils at regional and central levels. Through these councils, Indonesians elected representatives to a central People's Council or Volksraad, though they elected far fewer representatives proportionate to the size of their community than did the Europeans and Foreign Orientals.

The councils presented Indonesian nationalists with a dilemma: because council powers were restricted, they appeared an improbable step towards independence, yet they offered aspiring politicians the chance to develop their political skills. The gulf between the cooperators, who were willing to work in the councils, and the non-cooperators who would not, became one of the main strategic divisions within the nationalist movement in the last decade of colonial rule. Nonetheless, during the 1930s many nationalists looked increasingly to the growing power of Japan as a force which might change that balance of power in eastern Asia and bring about liberation from colonial rule.

4.78 Representative councils in the Netherlands Indies, 1937.



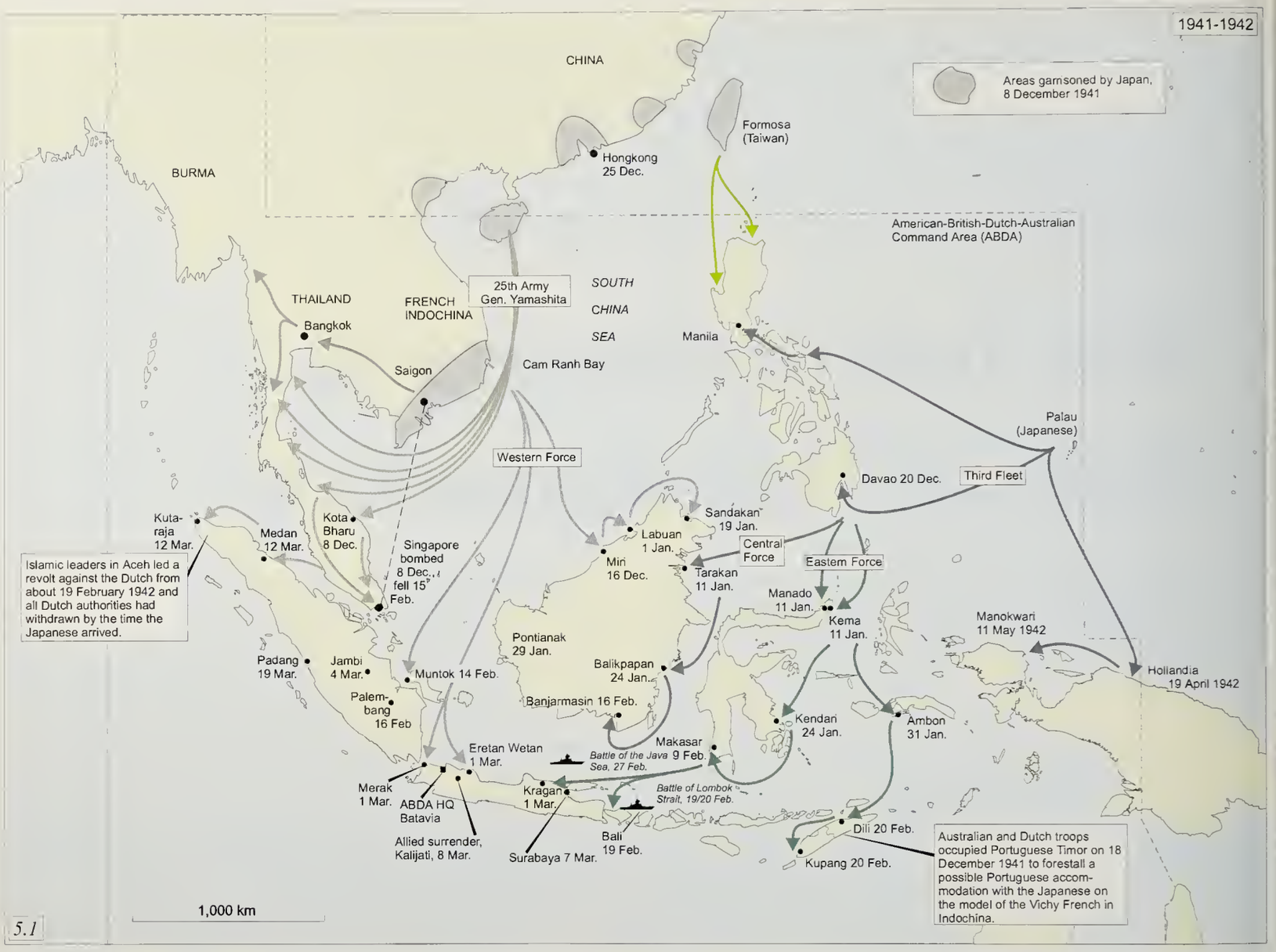
Chapter 5

War, Independence and Political Transformations

1942 to the Present

By 1920, the Netherlands appeared to be utterly secure in its Indies colony. A vigorous forward policy in the outer islands had staved off annexations by colonial newcomers such as the Germans and Americans, and Britain's naval base in Singapore appeared to offer security against attack. With the rise of Japan, however, the international atmosphere began to change, especially as it became apparent that Japan had a special interest in the oil wells of the Indies to fuel its military machine. The colonial authorities became extremely nervous about contacts between the Japanese and the nationalist movement, but few imagined that Japan would be able to put an end to Dutch rule so swiftly.

The Japanese occupation of 1942 heralded a quarter century of rapid political change. The occupation itself lasted only a little over three years, but when the Japanese surrendered to the Allies in August 1945, Indonesian nationalists took advantage of the interregnum to declare independence. Four and a half years of intermittent warfare and negotiation was to follow until in late 1949 the Dutch finally transferred to an Indonesian Republic the sovereignty they had first claimed a century and a half earlier. Independence brought no respite from political turmoil. Parliamentary governments in the early 1950s were plagued by division and regional dissent until they were swept away by Sukarno's autocratic Guided Democracy in 1957. Sukarno's rule, however, became a time of still greater political polarization and economic decay, culminating in a transition to military rule and the massacre of perhaps half a million Indonesian communists in 1965–1966. From 1966, Indonesia was ruled by a military-backed 'New Order' government under President Suharto, which presided over an era of unprecedented economic growth and rapid social change until both prosperity and the authoritarian system were brought down by the effects of Asia's 1997 financial crisis.



5.1 The Japanese conquest of the Netherlands Indies, 1941–1942.

Occupation and Revolution

From bases in Vichy French Indochina and the Japanese colony of Palau, Japanese forces struck the archipelago along its entire northern borders. Their first landings were on the Malay peninsula on 8 December 1941, about an hour before the attack on Pearl Harbor; the supposedly impregnable British fortress of Singapore fell on 15 February 1942. Allied forces in the region were grouped into a somewhat fractious joint American–British–Dutch–Australian (ABDA) command and were generally outclassed strategically and tactically. The first Japanese landings on Java took place on 1 March, but by then a Japanese fleet had defeated the Dutch navy in the Battle of the Java Sea and the colonial authorities recognized that fighting on Java would only delay the inevitable fall of the island and of the Indies. The formal surrender of all Allied forces in the Netherlands Indies took place on 8 March, though sporadic resistance continued in some regions and the Japanese themselves took some time to occupy the more outlying islands.

The occupation was a devastating blow to colonial prestige. The rapid Japanese victory, achieved in the face of only token Dutch resistance on Java, suddenly made colonial power appear fragile. The Japanese further damaged the assumptions of European superiority by removing Westerners from positions of authority and sending most of them into internment camps, where they died in thousands. The use of Dutch was banned and Indonesians were promoted to take positions opened up by the removal of Europeans.

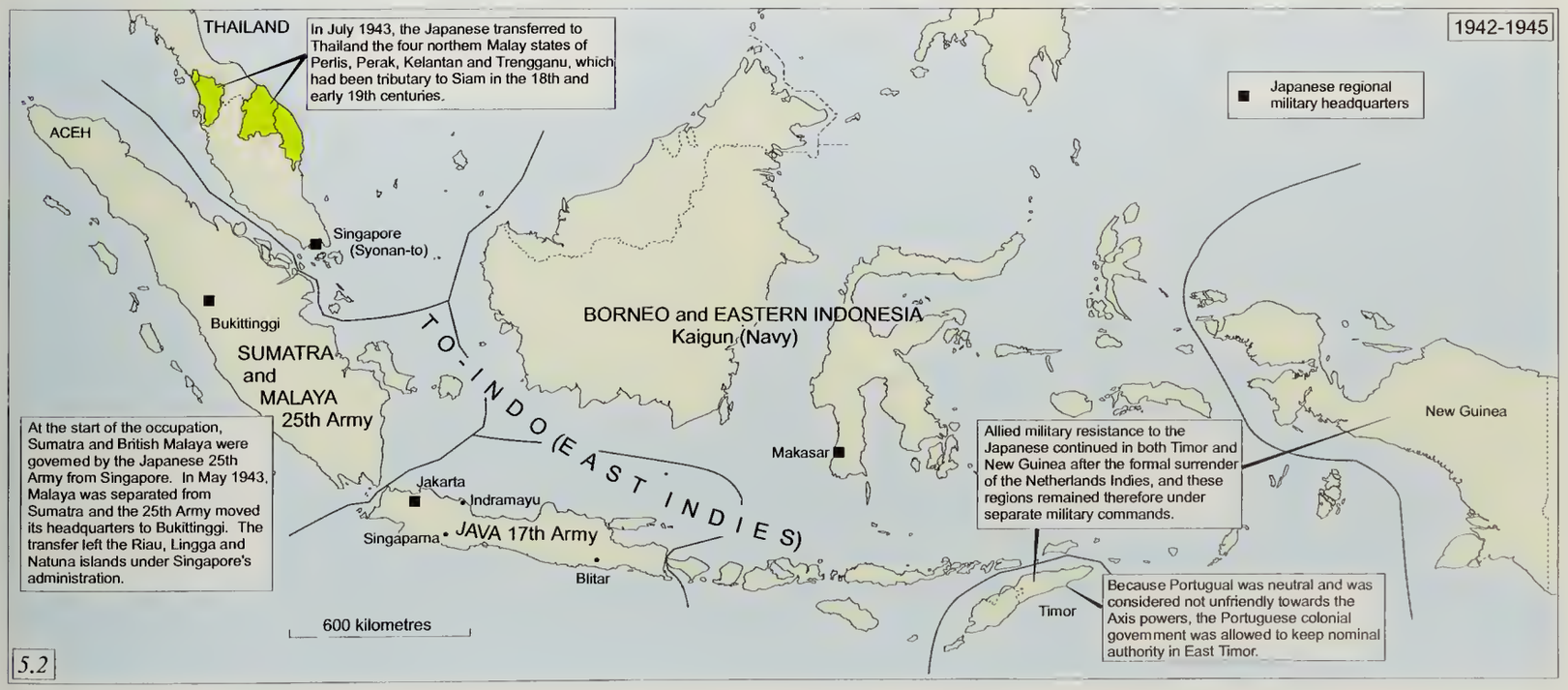
The islands of Indonesia experienced the Japanese occupation in very different ways. The east of the archipelago remained a front line. Dutch and Australian troops fought a guerrilla war with the Japanese in the interior of Timor until January 1943 and much of western New Guinea was contested territory. Allied bombing and submarine raids caused much damage, and the Allied front line's advance in New Guinea helped to diminish the psychological effect of the Japanese victories in 1942. In eastern Indonesia, moreover, the authorities were ruthless in suppressing dissent. In October 1943 the Japanese uncovered an opposition movement amongst the West Borneo elite. They responded with a wave of arrests followed by executions, in which almost all the regional elite – professionals, nationalists, officials, and rajas – were killed. Arrests and executions, though on a lesser scale, also took place in South Borneo.

Java and Sumatra, on the other hand, were relatively unaffected by Allied commando and bombing raids and the Japanese army authorities in Java were less hostile to political movements than were the naval authorities in the east. Partly to generate popular support for the war effort, Japanese authorities on Java sponsored a series of mass organizations which provided something of a platform for nationalist leaders such as Sukarno and Hatta. But Java and Sumatra bore the brunt of Japanese wartime economic policies. The Japanese occupation cut the Indonesian archipelago off from its traditional markets in Europe and North America. Japan was never able to absorb more than a small proportion of Indonesian production, and transport of produce to Japan became more and more difficult as the war progressed. In consequence, many of the tea, coffee, rubber, sugar and other plantations in Java, Sumatra and Borneo were converted to food crops or to crops such as ramie (for fibre) or castor (for oil) useful in the war economy. This dismantling of productive capacity caused much suffering amongst Indonesian communities once dependent on export production and it contributed to Indonesia's economic difficulties after the war. Problems were exacerbated by mismanaged Japanese rice procurement policies and by the recruitment of more than two million *romusha* (forced labourers) to work on Japanese military and civilian projects both in Java and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Huge numbers died as a result of disease, neglect and maltreatment, and many more were left stranded far from their homes at the end of the war.

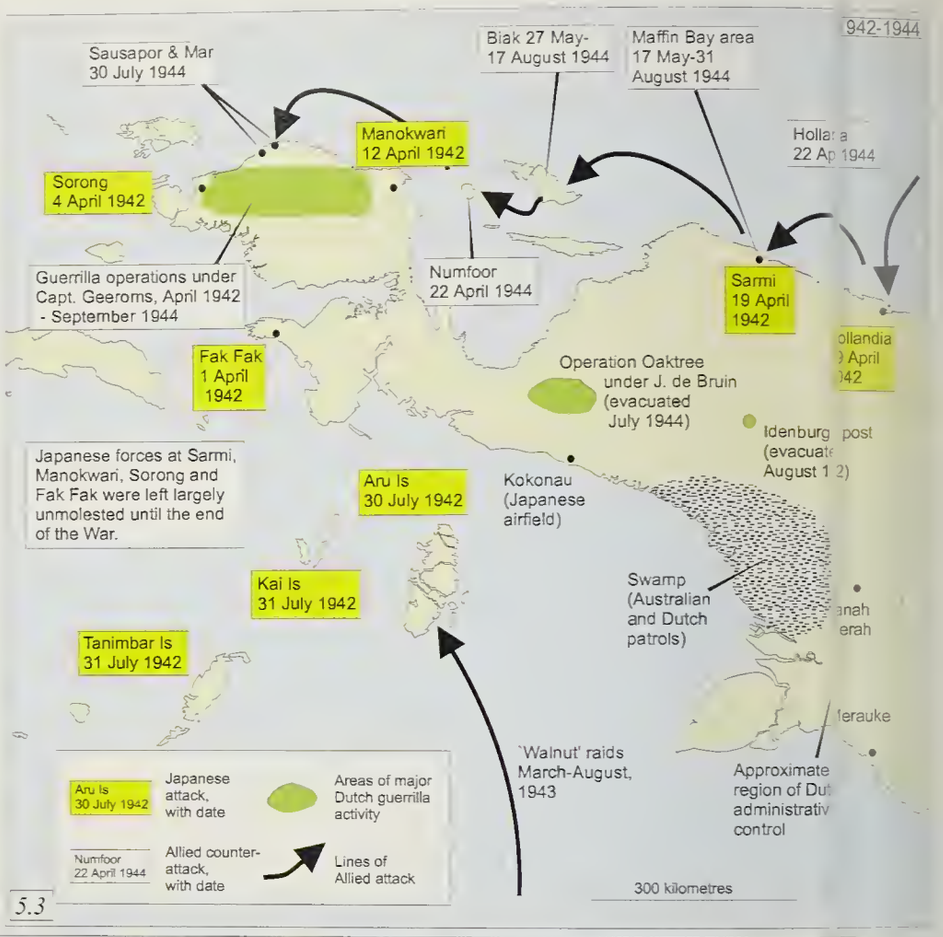
Local resistance to the Japanese developed in several regions. The occupation forces never fully controlled Aceh, and significant local revolts took place there in 1942 and 1944. In February 1944, peasants in the Singaparna region of Java, driven to desperation by Japanese rice procurement policies and led by a local Islamic militant, revolted against the Japanese. A similar uprising followed in April 1944. Both were brutally suppressed. In February 1945, troops of the PETA, an Indonesian auxiliary army created by the Japanese, mutinied in Blitar in East Java. The mutiny was quickly suppressed by the Japanese, but its leader, Supriyadi, disappeared and was seen by many nationalists as the first military hero of the revolution.

Nowhere in Indonesia, did the ferocity of the resistance match that in the Malay peninsula, where the Japanese faced an intense struggle throughout the war from the left-wing, predominantly Chinese Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA).

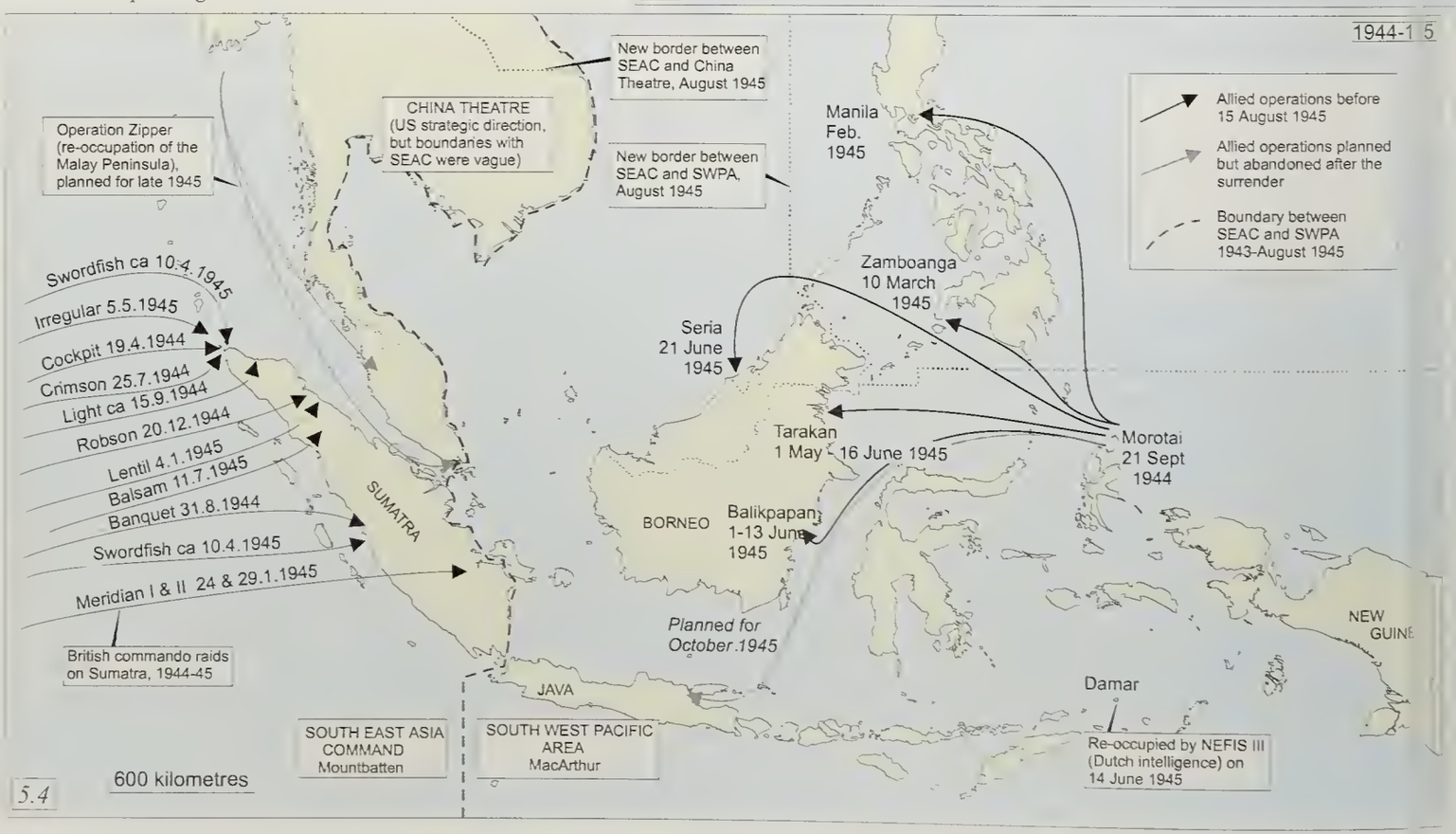
5.2 Japanese administrative divisions in the Indonesian archipelago.


THAILAND
In July 1943, the Japanese transferred to Thailand the four northern Malay states of Perlis, Perak, Kelantan and Trengganu, which had been tributary to Siam in the 18th and early 19th centuries.
1942-1945
Japanese regional military headquarters
ACEH
Singapore (Syonan-to)
Bukittinggi
SUMATRA and MALAYA 25th Army
TO-INDO (EAST INDIES)
BORNEO and EASTERN INDONESIA Kaigun (Navy)
At the start of the occupation, Sumatra and British Malaya were governed by the Japanese 25th Army from Singapore. In May 1943, Malaya was separated from Sumatra and the 25th Army moved its headquarters to Bukittinggi. The transfer left the Riau, Lingga and Natuna islands under Singapore's administration.
Makasar
Jakarta
Indramayu
Singaparna
JAVA 17th Army
Blitar
Allied military resistance to the Japanese continued in both Timor and New Guinea after the formal surrender of the Netherlands Indies, and these regions remained therefore under separate military commands.
New Guinea
Timor
Because Portugual was neutral and was considered not unfriendly towards the Axis powers, the Portuguese colonial government was allowed to keep nominal authority in East Timor.
600 kilometres
5.2

5.3 Western New Guinea, 1942–1944: Japanese invasion, Dutch resistance and Allied re-occupation. *Keen to extend their defensive perimeter out into the southwest Pacific, and hampered by difficult terrain of swamps and mountains, the Japanese were unable to dislodge Dutch forces from western New Guinea. Small Dutch units waged successful guerrilla struggles in several districts, while the Merauke region to the south remained entirely under Dutch rule.*


942-1944
Sausapor & Mar 30 July 1944
Biak 27 May-17 August 1944
Maffin Bay area 17 May-31 August 1944
Manokwari 12 April 1942
Sorong 4 April 1942
Numfoor 22 April 1944
Sarmi 19 April 1942
Guerrilla operations under Capt. Geerorns, April 1942 - September 1944
Fak Fak 1 April 1942
Operation Oaktree under J. de Bruin (evacuated July 1944)
Japanese forces at Sarmi, Manokwari, Sorong and Fak Fak were left largely unmolested until the end of the War.
Aru Is 30 July 1942
Kokonau (Japanese airfield)
Kai Is 31 July 1942
Swamp (Australian and Dutch patrols)
Tanimbar Is 31 July 1942
'Walnut' raids March-August, 1943
Approximate region of Dut administrativ control
Aru Is 30 July 1942
Japanese attack, with date
Areas of major Dutch guerrilla activity
Numfoor 22 April 1944
Allied counter-attack, with date
Lines of Allied attack
300 kilometres
5.3

5.4 Allied military operations and positions, mid-July 1944 to August 1945. *Japan's naval advance in the Pacific was stemmed in early May 1942 in the battle of the Coral Sea and western New Guinea soon felt the impact of American and Australian counter-attacks. By contrast, British forces attacking from the west were mainly engaged in Burma and the dozen commando raids on Sumatra were of little military or political significance. In the east, after the capture of Morotai, American forces concentrated on recovering the Philippines, leaving Australian troops to begin the attacks on central Indonesia.*


1944-1 5
New border between SEAC and China Theatre, August 1945
CHINA THEATRE (US strategic direction, but boundaries with SEAC were vague)
New border between SEAC and SWPA, August 1945
Operation Zipper (re-occupation of the Malay Peninsula), planned for late 1945
Allied operations before 15 August 1945
Allied operations planned but abandoned after the surrender
Boundary between SEAC and SWPA 1943-August 1945
Manila Feb. 1945
Zamboanga 10 March 1945
Seria 21 June 1945
Tarakan 1 May - 16 June 1945
Morotai 21 Sept 1944
Balikpapan 1-13 June 1945
BORNEO
Swordfish ca 10.4.1945
Irregular 5.5.1945
Cockpit 19.4.1944
Crimson 25.7.1944
Light ca 15.9.1944
Robson 20.12.1944
Lentil 4.1.1945
Balsam 11.7.1945
Banquet 31.8.1944
Swordfish ca 10.4.1945
Meridian I & II 24 & 29.1.1945
SUMATRA
British commando raids on Sumatra, 1944-45
Planned for October 1945
NEW GUINE
JAVA
Damar
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND Mountbatten
SOUTH WEST PACIFIC AREA MacArthur
Re-occupied by NEFIS III (Dutch intelligence) on 14 June 1945
600 kilometres
5.4

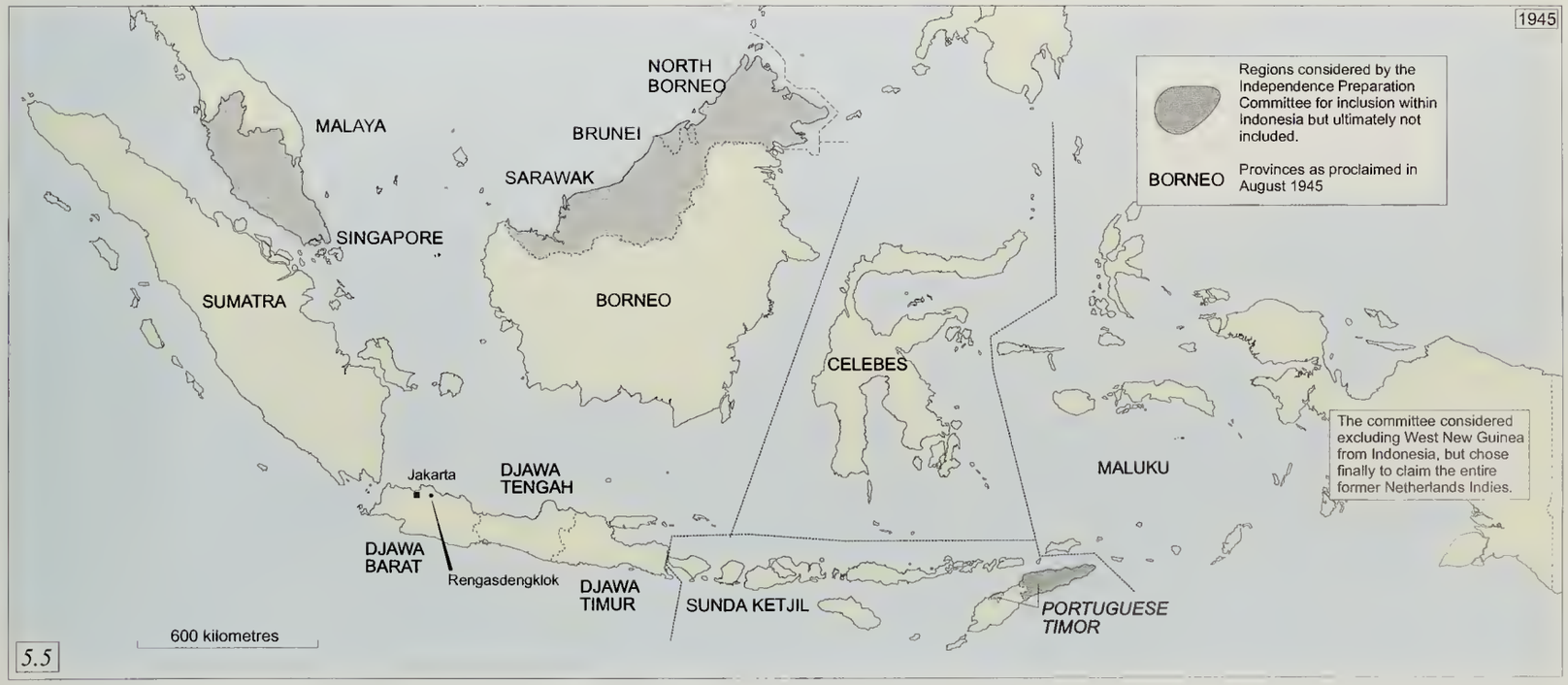
As Japanese forces retreated, the occupation authorities on Java became increasingly willing to seek Indonesian political support by offering political concessions. On 7 September 1944, the Japanese prime minister, K. Koiso, declared that independence would be granted to the 'East Indies' at some stage in the future. Koiso presumably had in mind as a model the Japanese-created puppet states in Burma and the Philippines, but both the form and extent of the independent Indies was left vague. During the following months, however, the Japanese both became more specific about their intentions and allowed Indonesians to discuss the constitutional form and extent of the future state. In March 1945, the Japanese created an investigatory committee of nationalists to consider details of the independence proposal. Some nationalists in the committee favoured including other broadly Malay areas – Malaya, northern Borneo and Portuguese Timor – and possibly excluding Melanesian western New Guinea. A small Malay nationalist movement in the Japanese sections of the Malay peninsula also favoured integration with Indonesia, but by August 1945 most parties had reached a consensus to include only the former Netherlands Indies in the new state.

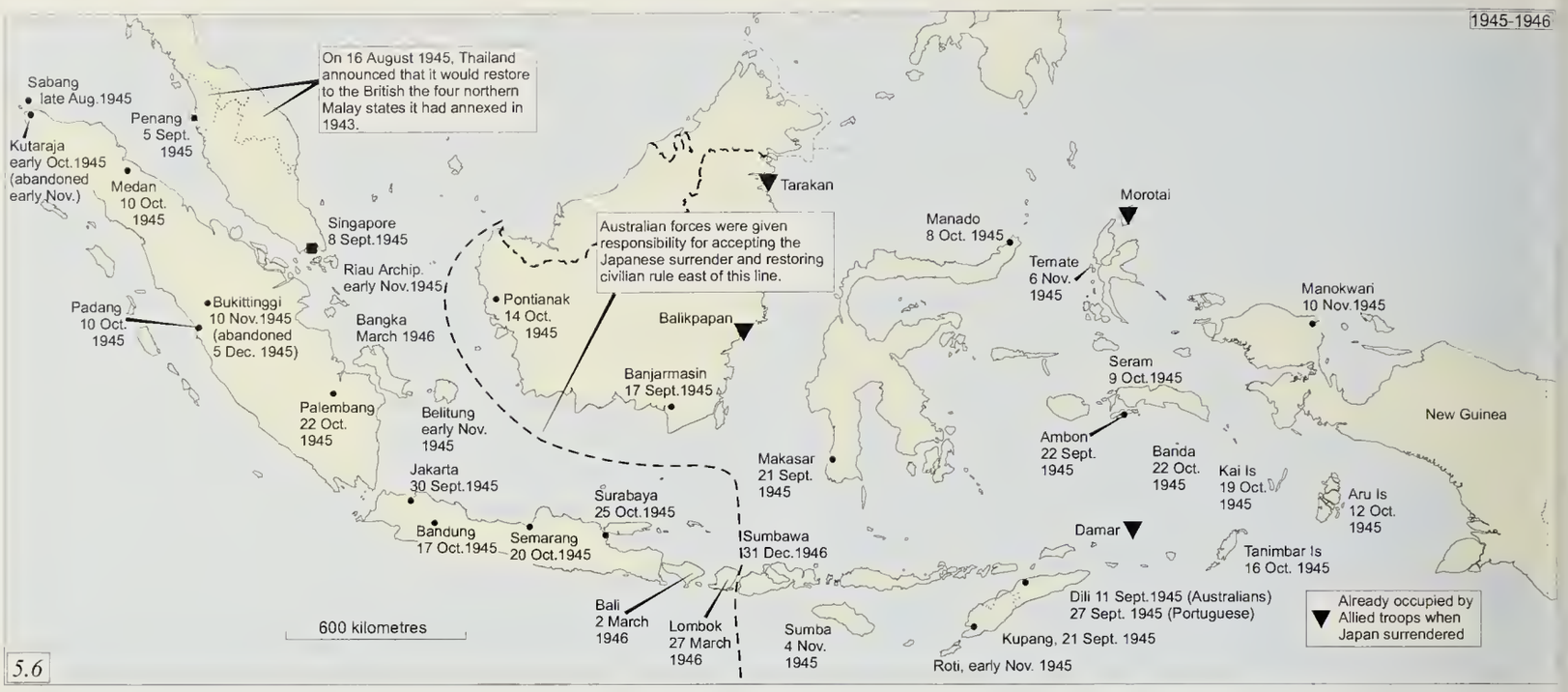
By the beginning of August 1945, the Japanese had set a date in September for the creation of the new Indonesian state and they installed a new Independence Preparatory Committee which was to act as a kind of proto-parliament. On 6 August the atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima, but the significance of this event was not immediately clear in Indonesia. On 9 August, the nationalist leaders Sukarno and Hatta flew to the Japanese regional headquarters in Dalat, in Vietnam, to receive formal authorization for the independence declaration. They returned on the 14th and a day later heard the news of the Japanese surrender.

Nationalist circles were thrown into turmoil over what to do next. Sukarno and Hatta favoured caution, fearing that the Japanese might not tolerate precipitate action and fearing still more that going ahead with the declaration might compromise them with the victorious Allies. Younger nationalists, however, especially a group connected with the so-called Free Indonesia Hostel at Menteng 31 in Jakarta, urged an immediate declaration of independence which would mark the Indonesian people's seizure of their own future and ensure that independence was not a gift from the Japanese. When Sukarno and Hatta remained obdurate, the young nationalists kidnapped them and took them to the isolated town of Rengasdengklok, east of the city, where they finally persuaded the older leaders to act. Sukarno and Hatta returned to Jakarta on the 16th and after a night of hectic preparation declared independence in a low-key ceremony in the garden of Sukarno's house at Pegangsaan Timur 56.

On the following day, the Independence Preparatory Committee met, adopted the constitution it had drafted under Japan's auspices, reconstituted itself as the provisional national parliament and elected Sukarno and Hatta as President and Vice-President. The new Republic of Indonesia was to be a unitary state rather than a federation, and none of its eight provinces corresponded to any single ethnic group or to any of the former native states.

5.5 17 August 1945: the declaration of independence. *Because of communication difficulties and because the Allies and later the Dutch occupied many regions, none of the provinces created in 1945 ever functioned as an effective administrative unit.*

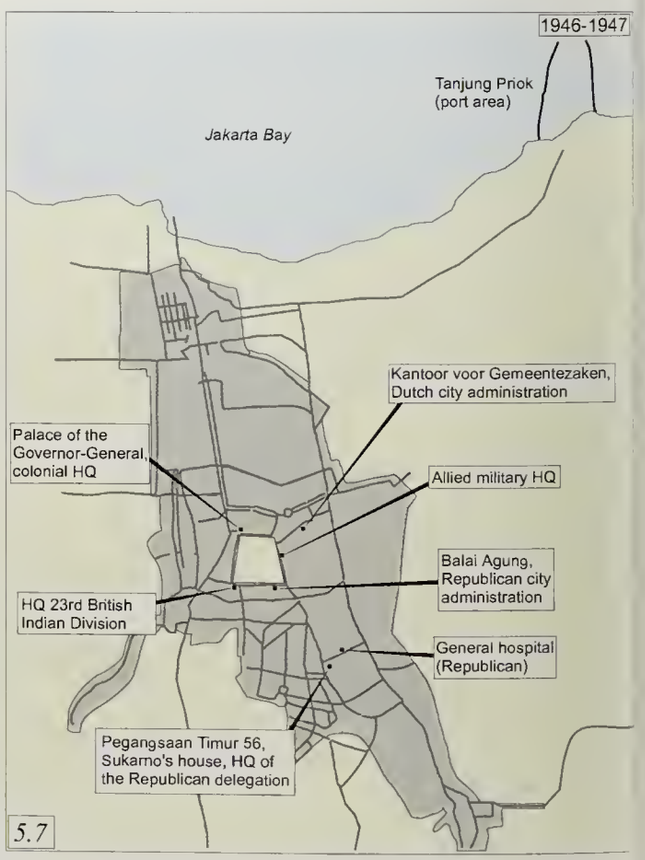



1945-1946
On 16 August 1945, Thailand announced that it would restore to the British the four northern Malay states it had annexed in 1943.
Sabang late Aug.1945
Penang 5 Sept. 1945
Kutaraja early Oct.1945 (abandoned early Nov.)
Medan 10 Oct. 1945
Singapore 8 Sept.1945
Riau Archip. early Nov.1945
Padang 10 Oct. 1945
Bukittinggi 10 Nov.1945 (abandoned 5 Dec. 1945)
Bangka March 1946
Pontianak 14 Oct. 1945
Australian forces were given responsibility for accepting the Japanese surrender and restoring civilian rule east of this line.
Tarakan
Balikpapan
Banjarmasin 17 Sept.1945
Palembang 22 Oct. 1945
Belitung early Nov. 1945
Jakarta 30 Sept.1945
Bandung 17 Oct.1945
Semarang 20 Oct.1945
Surabaya 25 Oct.1945
Makasar 21 Sept. 1945
Sumbawa 31 Dec.1946
Bali 2 March 1946
Lombok 27 March 1946
Sumba 4 Nov. 1945
Manado 8 Oct. 1945
Morotai
Ternate 6 Nov. 1945
Manokwari 10 Nov.1945
Seram 9 Oct.1945
Ambon 22 Sept. 1945
Banda 22 Oct. 1945
Kai Is 19 Oct. 1945
Aru Is 12 Oct. 1945
Damar
Tanimbar Is 16 Oct. 1945
Dili 11 Sept.1945 (Australians)
27 Sept. 1945 (Portuguese)
Kupang, 21 Sept. 1945
Roti, early Nov. 1945
New Guinea
600 kilometres
Already occupied by Allied troops when Japan surrendered
5.6

5.6 The Allied re-occupation, August 1945-March 1946. *A few earlier reconnaissance missions which did not assume authority are not shown.*

Neither the Dutch nor the other Allies recognized the declaration of Indonesian independence. They saw the declaration as, at best, the action of a small intellectual elite and they suspected that it had been engineered by the Japanese in an effort to hamper the restoration of colonial rule. Because, however, Allied military planners in Southeast Asia had not expected the Japanese surrender so soon, several weeks passed before Allied forces arrived in significant numbers to accept the Japanese surrender and to begin restoring Dutch rule. In the interval, despite the risk that Japanese forces would block the Republic as they were required to do under the terms of their surrender, the new state quickly won the allegiance of many Indonesians and began to take over government offices and other public buildings. The Republic's ability to consolidate itself varied greatly from region to region. In Borneo, there was hardly any nationalist leadership left to take an initiative, and Australian forces in most of eastern Indonesia faced little resistance from the small and scattered nationalist groups there. On Java and Sumatra, on the other hand, the nationalists had the advantage of numbers and were often able to seize or otherwise obtain weapons from the Japanese. Tens of thousands of Indonesians joined either the official army or one of the many 'struggle organizations' which sprang up to defend national independence. When the Allies landed in the larger cities of Java and Sumatra, therefore, they often faced determined armed resistance. In particular, the Battle of Surabaya (11 November 1945) impressed the British with the strength of the Indonesian nationalist movement and led them to begin placing pressure on the Dutch to reach a negotiated settlement with the Republic.

5.7 Semi-occupied Jakarta, 1946–1947. *Although Allied forces established them-selves in Jakarta in September 1945, the Republic maintained both central and local government offices there, and the city was under a kind of dual administration until the Dutch 'police action' of July 1947 (see pp. 156–157).*


1946-1947
Tanjung Priok (port area)
Jakarta Bay
Kantoor voor Gemeentezaken, Dutch city administration
Palace of the Governor-General, colonial HQ
Allied military HQ
Balai Agung, Republican city administration
HQ 23rd British Indian Division
General hospital (Republican)
Pegangsaan Timur 56, Sukarno's house, HQ of the Republican delegation
5.7

In the months after the independence declaration, social and political tensions which had built up during the colonial era and under the Japanese in several parts of Java and Sumatra led to local social revolutions. Established elites – generally the aristocratic-administrative elites who had participated in colonial rule – were overthrown and new elites came to power, though all of them professed allegiance to the new Republic.

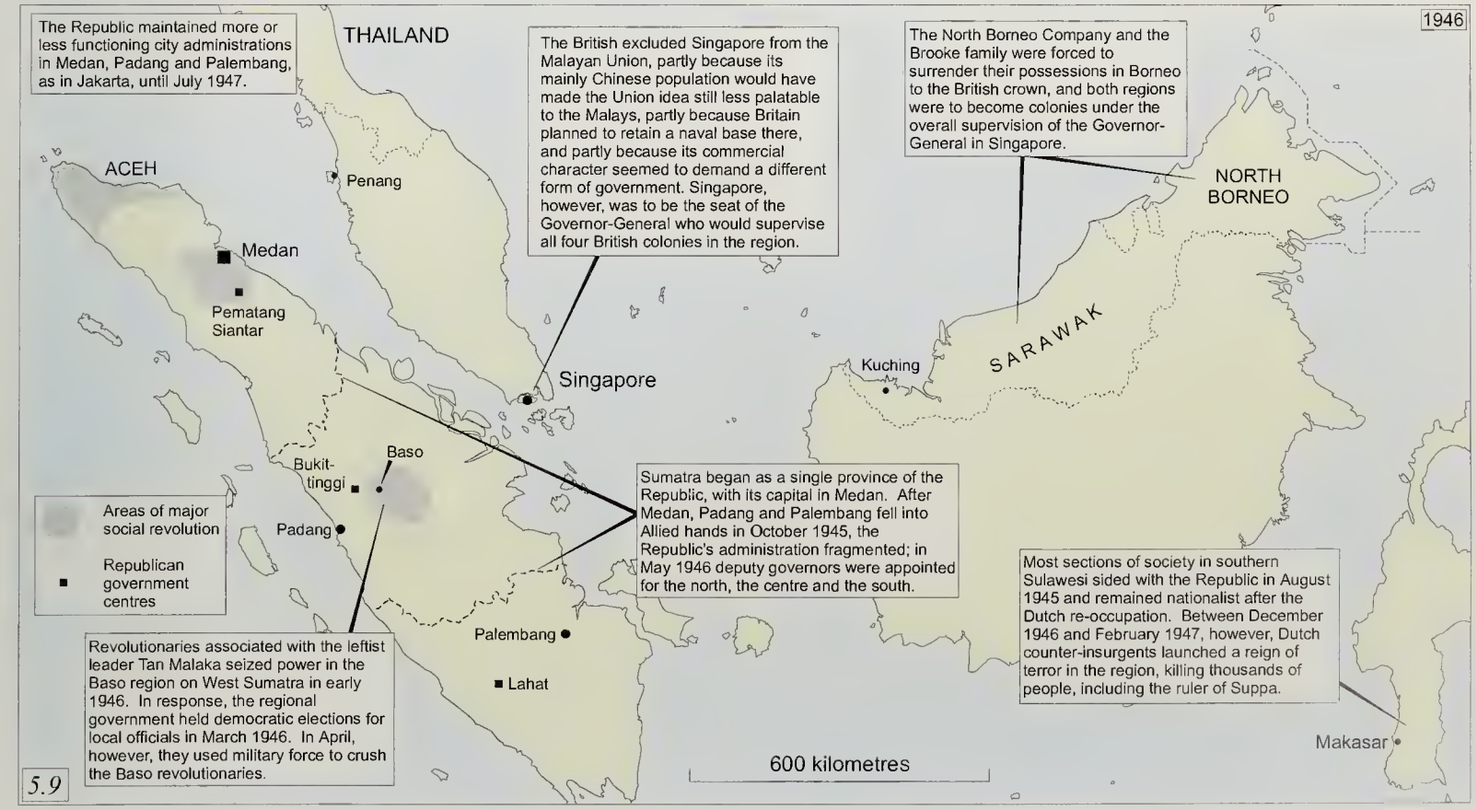
In November–December 1945, underground communists and orthodox Muslim activists seized power in the so-called 'Three Regions' (Tiga Daerah) of Brebes, Tegal and Pemalang in Central Java. In the Karawang region east of Jakarta, the dominant elements in the new order were powerful local gangsters with links to the nationalist movement dating from before the war. In both regions, the revolutionaries soon clashed with the Republican authorities and were eventually suppressed. In Banten, a coalition of leftists, Muslims and gangsters dominated politics with little challenge from the Republic until late in the revolution.

During late 1945, the Sultan of Yogyakarta in Central Java launched a kind of revolution from above, increasing the level of democracy in local government and reducing the power of the aristocracy. The neighbouring Sunan of Surakarta, on the other hand, was less adept at accommodating the spirit of revolution and was stripped of his powers in June 1946.

In Aceh, Islamic leaders (*ulama*) spearheaded action against local aristocrats, the *uleëbalang*, who had cooperated with the Dutch since early in the century. A civil war between December 1945 and March 1946 wiped out the *uleëbalang* as a political force. Further south, in East Sumatra, Batak gangs led a series of attacks on the Malay and Batak aristocracies in which hundreds died and the power of the rajas was greatly weakened.

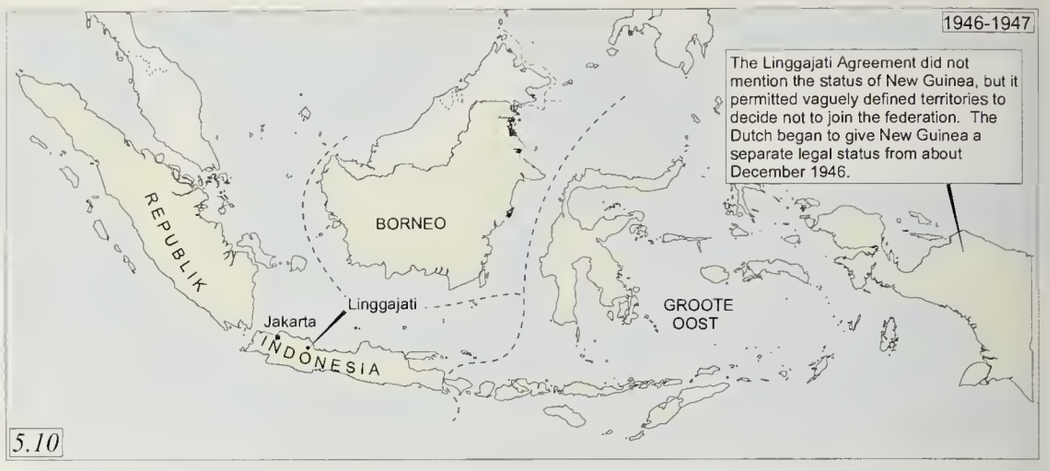
The British, meanwhile, planned major reforms in Malaya. Under the Malayan Union plan, the Sultans were to lose most of their powers, and all the Malayan territories except Singapore were to be combined into a unified colony under a governor. The British also proposed liberal citizenship laws which would have granted citizenship to most of the Chinese and Indian residents of the colony. Although the Malayan Union was installed in April 1946, it led to a massive mobilization amongst Malays and the formation of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) to defend the special position of the Malays and their sultans.

5.8 Social revolutions in Java, 1945–46.


1946
The Republic maintained more or less functioning city administrations in Medan, Padang and Palembang, as in Jakarta, until July 1947.
THAILAND
The British excluded Singapore from the Malayan Union, partly because its mainly Chinese population would have made the Union idea still less palatable to the Malays, partly because Britain planned to retain a naval base there, and partly because its commercial character seemed to demand a different form of government. Singapore, however, was to be the seat of the Governor-General who would supervise all four British colonies in the region.
The North Borneo Company and the Brooke family were forced to surrender their possessions in Borneo to the British crown, and both regions were to become colonies under the overall supervision of the Governor-General in Singapore.
ACEH
Penang
Medan
Pematang Siantar
Singapore
NORTH BORNEO
SARAWAK
Kuching
Bukit-tinggi
Baso
Padang
Areas of major social revolution
Republican government centres
Sumatra began as a single province of the Republic, with its capital in Medan. After Medan, Padang and Palembang fell into Allied hands in October 1945, the Republic's administration fragmented; in May 1946 deputy governors were appointed for the north, the centre and the south.
Most sections of society in southern Sulawesi sided with the Republic in August 1945 and remained nationalist after the Dutch re-occupation. Between December 1946 and February 1947, however, Dutch counter-insurgents launched a reign of terror in the region, killing thousands of people, including the ruler of Suppa.
Palembang
Lahat
Revolutionaries associated with the leftist leader Tan Malaka seized power in the Baso region on West Sumatra in early 1946. In response, the regional government held democratic elections for local officials in March 1946. In April, however, they used military force to crush the Baso revolutionaries.
Makasar
600 kilometres
5.9

5.9 Sumatra and the British colonies, 1946.

5.10 Federal Indonesia as proposed in the Linggajati Agreement. *By the middle of 1946, Allied forces had occupied virtually all of Borneo and eastern Indonesia, but held only small enclaves on Java and Sumatra. Under pressure from the British, who did not want to fight in another colonial war, the two sides met in the hill town of Linggajati in West Java and in November 1946 reached an agreement that Indonesia would become an independent federal republic, consisting of the Republic of Indonesia on Java and Sumatra, together with two new federal states of Borneo and the 'Great East' (eastern Indonesia).*

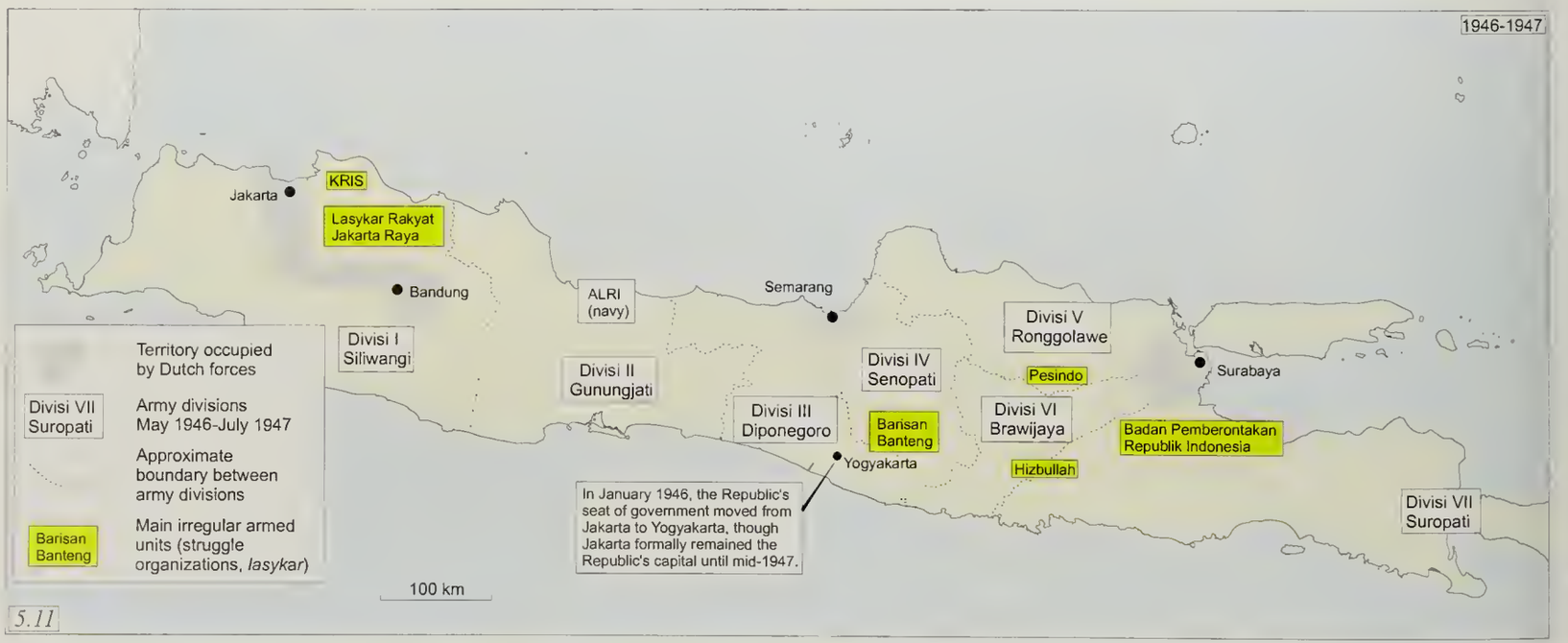

1946-1947
The Linggajati Agreement did not mention the status of New Guinea, but it permitted vaguely defined territories to decide not to join the federation. The Dutch began to give New Guinea a separate legal status from about December 1946.
REPUBLIK
BORNEO
Linggajati
Jakarta
INDONESIA
GROOTE OOST
5.10

During the first weeks after the independence declaration, Indonesia's government hesitated to create a national army. They doubted that Indonesia could defeat the battled-hardened forces of the Allies and hoped that the Atlantic Charter's assertion of the right of all peoples to self-determination would be extended to Indonesia. They therefore devolved the creation of official armed units to residency level. For this reason, much of the early work of creating an army high command was done by military figures themselves. Only in November 1945, with the appointment of Amir Syarifuddin as defence minister, did the government begin to pay serious attention to military matters.

Indonesian military strategy at this stage focussed on defending the Republic's front lines around the occupied cities of the north coast. The government's plan was to make the Republic a reality which the Dutch would sooner or later have to accept. They were prepared, however, to hasten that acceptance by making concessions: in particular, they were willing to allow the Dutch to recover their economic interests, to adopt a federal system of government, and to accept a continuing relationship with the Netherlands in the form of a commonwealth. For many Indonesians, however, such concessions amounted to giving away much of what the revolution stood for. Three governments fell in the period 1946–1947 in the face of popular indignation over the concessions they had made to the Dutch.

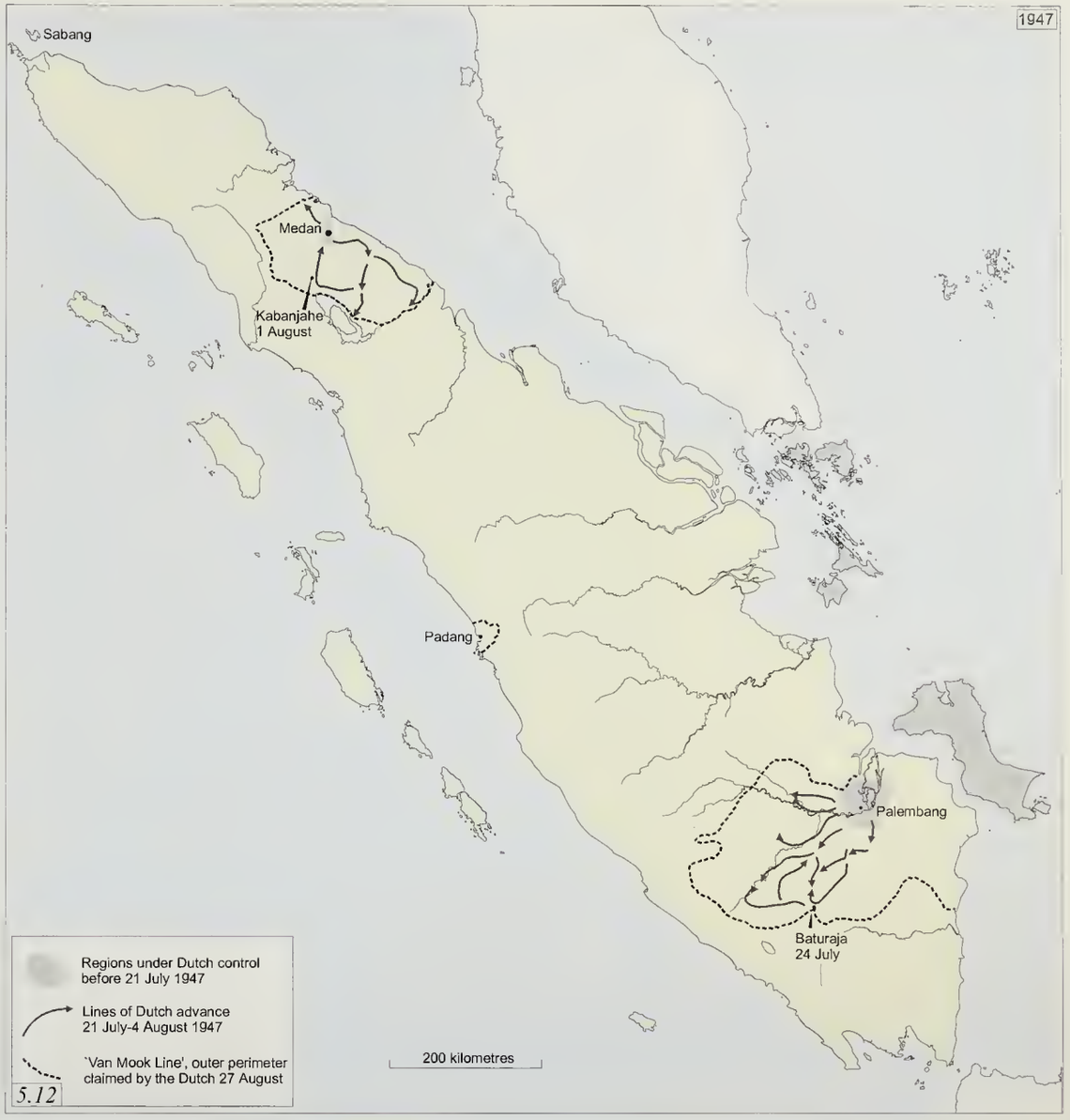
By mid-1947 talks had broken down and on 21 July 1947 Dutch forces launched what they called a 'police action' to recover territories they regarded as being in rebellion. This action seized the most important plantation regions of Java and Sumatra, but failed to destroy the Republic. Although the United Nations brokered a ceasefire on 4 August, Dutch military action continued in the south of West Java.

5.11 Republican military units on Java, 1946–47. *Although the high command of the Indonesian army struggled constantly during the revolution to bring regular and irregular units into a single, coordinated hierarchy, lack of resources and difficulties of communication allowed many units to remain largely independent. The actual structure of divisions and smaller units was frequently changed.*

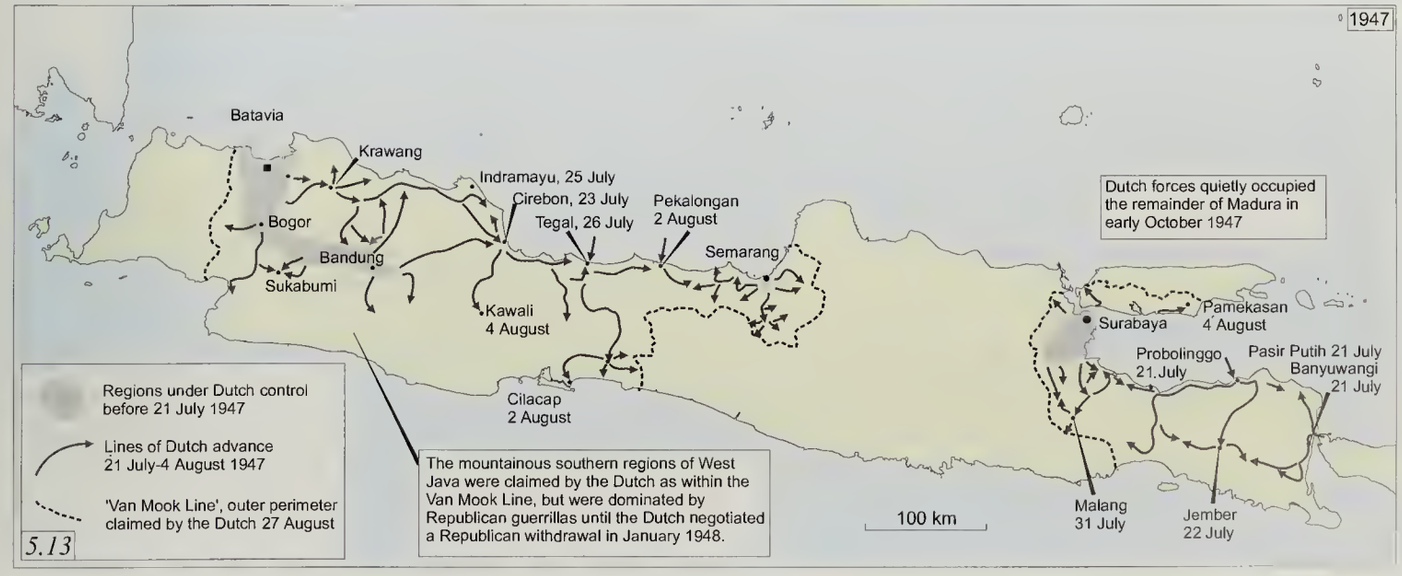


The furthermost points of the Dutch advance became the basis of the Van Mook Line, which separated Republican and Dutch regions until December 1948.

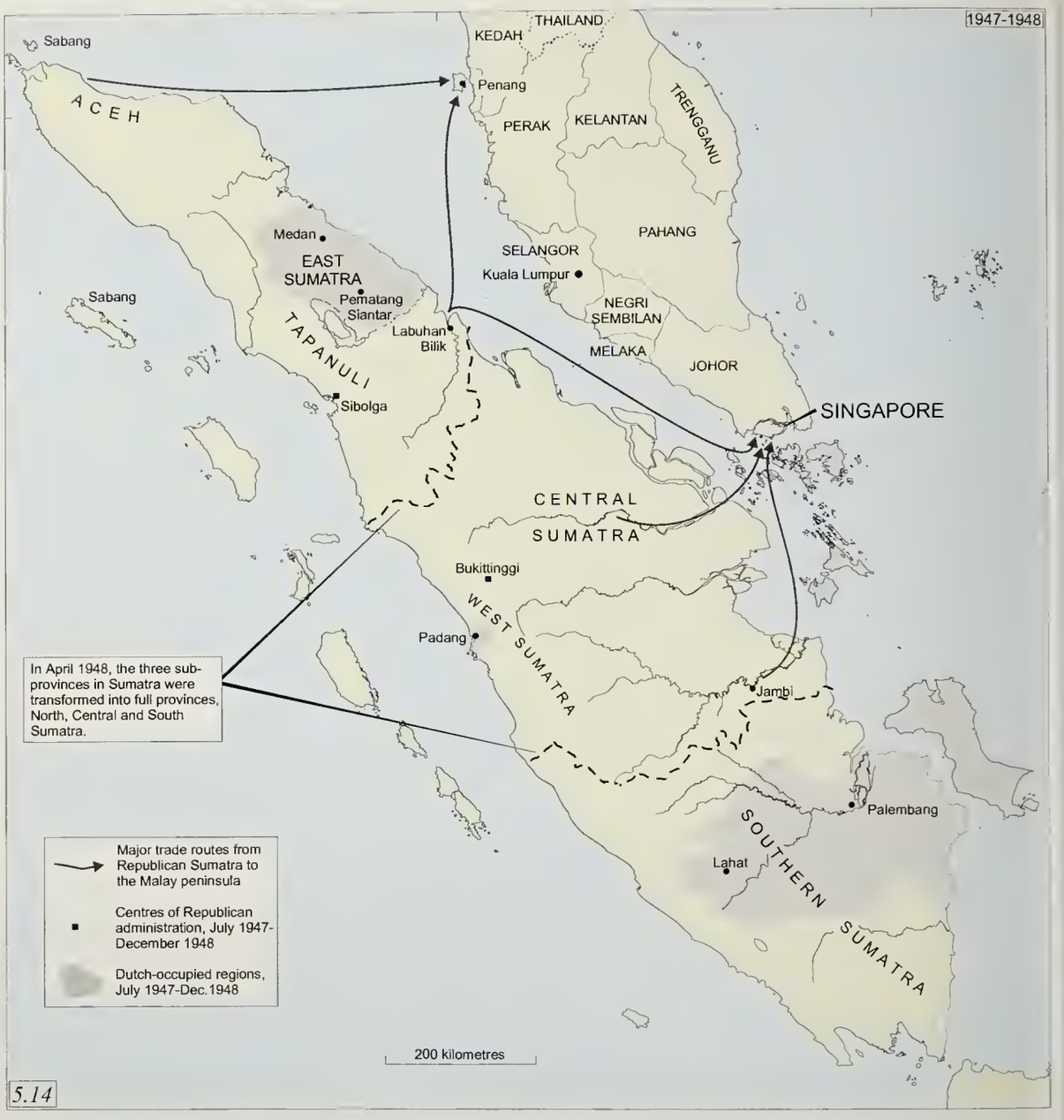
Despite deep mistrust between the two sides, negotiations resumed under United Nations auspices aboard an American warship, the *Renville*, anchored for the purpose in Jakarta Bay. Under international pressure, the Republic and the Dutch signed a second agreement in January 1948. The agreement ratified the Dutch conquests and confirmed plans for a federation, but it gave the Republic some formal status as party to an international agreement and it promised a plebiscite on the political future of the conquered territories. The agreement was bitterly unpopular in the Republic.



5.12 (right) The first Dutch 'Police Action' on Sumatra, July–August 1947.



5.13 The first Dutch 'Police Action' on Java, July–August 1947.



5.14 Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, 1947–48. *The Malayan Union was installed in April 1946, but Malay opposition was so strong that by mid-year the British had decided to modify it drastically. In close consultation with UMNO and the rulers, the British drafted plans for the Federation of Malaya (Persekutuan Tanah Melayu). Although the Federation had an effective central government (in contrast with the pre-war situation), the states and the sultans retained a good deal more authority than under the Union, and the citizenship provisions excluded many residents of Indian or Chinese descent. Singapore, with its large Chinese community, continued to be excluded. The Federation was installed in February 1948.*

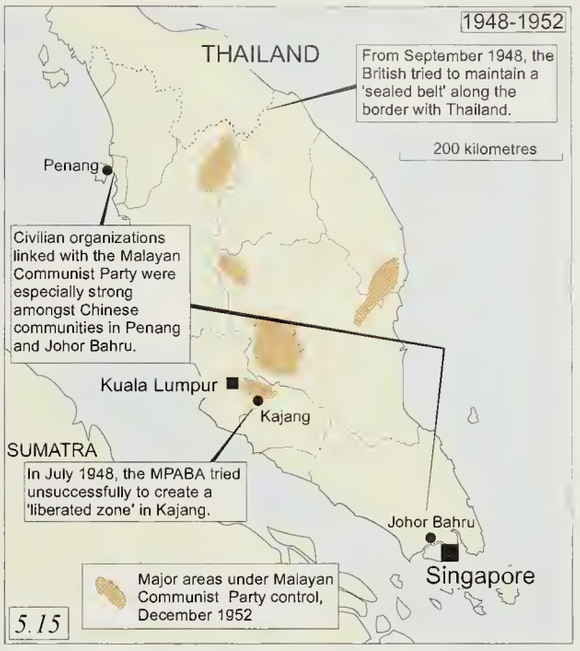
Sumatra's regions continued to differ greatly in their political complexion after the social revolutions died down in mid-1946. In Aceh, where the Dutch never penetrated further than the offshore settlement of Sabang, the *ulama*-dominated government began to introduce Islamic law provisions, especially in inheritance matters. Further south, independent warlords dominated much of East Sumatra and its hinterland, Tapanuli. Their depredations on the local people added to memories of the violence in 1946 made many people relieved to see the Dutch extend their control in July 1947. Tapanuli remained turbulent throughout this period and descended into full-scale civil war between September and November 1948. The regional government in West Sumatra, by contrast, was dominated by Western-educated nationalists who had close links to influential Minangkabau politicians on Java, but in March 1947 they suppressed a coup by Muslim leaders wanting to follow more closely the path of Aceh. The situation in southern Sumatra is less well-known, but political antagonisms there seem to have been more subdued than further north.

Until the Dutch military action of July 1947, all these regional authorities exported plantation products (rubber, coffee, pepper and tea) as well as gold and other goods across the Melaka Strait, despite a Dutch naval blockade. In this era, the Republican governor of South Sumatra called himself 'the biggest smuggler in Southeast Asia'. After July 1947, only Aceh and Central Sumatra (with Jambi as its main port) played a significant role in this trade. Cut off from central and even provincial governments, many regions in Sumatra issued their own currency notes after July 1947, but with little to back them the regional currencies suffered terribly from inflation.

Deep tensions developed in the Republican camp during 1948. Resources were scarce in those parts of Central and East Java still in Republican hands, and local armed units competed for living space with each other and with more than 20,000 troops of the Siliwangi Division 'repatriated' from West Java under the *Renville* Agreement. Strikes in state enterprises and cuts in the civil service exacerbated tensions. The Left, which had dominated government from late 1945 until January 1948, was now excluded from power by the non-parliamentary government of vice-president Hatta, and saw its influence in the government and armed forces rapidly eroded. Led by members recently returned from Moscow, the communist party (PKI) began a campaign of radical mobilization in the towns and countryside, appealing especially to the followers of Javanist Islam (Kejawen).

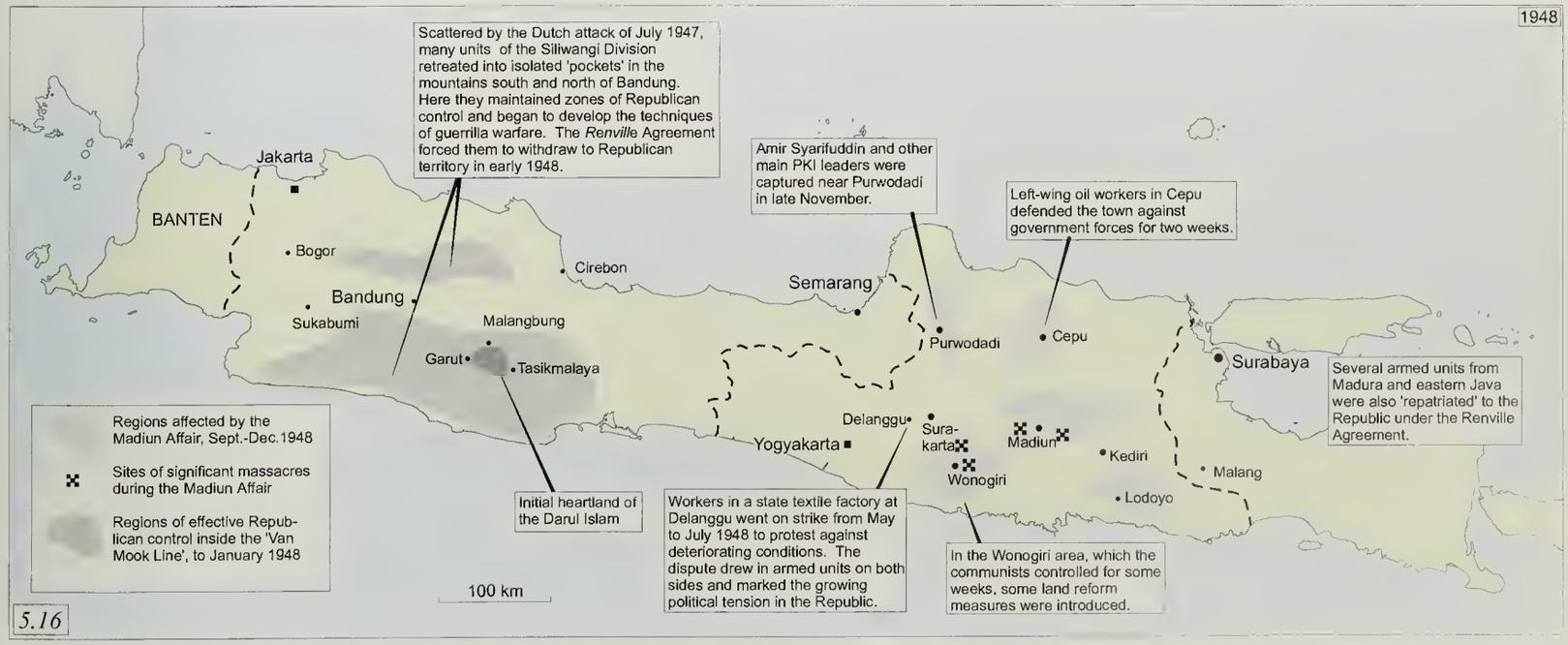
Driven from Surakarta by Siliwangi troops in mid-September 1948, pro-PKI units assembled in Madiun, where they seized the administration and declared a national front government. Party leaders then joined the revolt, which was ferociously condemned by president Sukarno. In the ensuing civil war, about eight thousand people were killed, many of them in communal clashes between *santri* and Kejawen villagers. The rebels were defeated by the beginning of December and most of the leaders were shot. The 'Madiun Affair' helped to create a legacy of bitterness in the Javanese countryside, and to confirm the enmity of the dominant Siliwangi group in the army high command towards the PKI. The defeat of the communists, however, made the United States more sympathetic to the Republic and in 1949 led the Americans to oppose a Dutch attempt to settle the conflict by force.

In March 1948, radical Muslims in West Java established their own resistance movement with the name Darul Islam. The DI did not formally repudiate the Republic at this stage, but it regarded the secular authorities in Yogyakarta as weak-willed traitors who would be unable to deliver independence.


1948-1952
THAILAND
From September 1948, the British tried to maintain a 'sealed belt' along the border with Thailand.
200 kilometres
Penang
Civilian organizations linked with the Malayan Communist Party were especially strong amongst Chinese communities in Penang and Johor Bahru.
Kuala Lumpur
Kajang
SUMATRA
In July 1948, the MPABA tried unsuccessfully to create a 'liberated zone' in Kajang.
Johor Bahru
Singapore
Major areas under Malayan Communist Party control, December 1952
5.15

5.15 The Emergency in Malaya. *Communist revolution (called the Emergency by the British) also began in Malaya in 1948 with the creation of the Malayan People's Anti-British Army in February. Throughout 1948 and 1949, the MPABA attempted to create 'liberated zones' in the jungle, but it made little headway against British security forces.*

5.16 Upheaval in Java, 1948: the Madiun Affair and the Darul Islam movement


1948
Scattered by the Dutch attack of July 1947, many units of the Siliwangi Division retreated into isolated 'pockets' in the mountains south and north of Bandung. Here they maintained zones of Republican control and began to develop the techniques of guerrilla warfare. The *Renville* Agreement forced them to withdraw to Republican territory in early 1948.
Amir Syarifuddin and other main PKI leaders were captured near Purwodadi in late November.
Left-wing oil workers in Cepu defended the town against government forces for two weeks.
Several armed units from Madura and eastern Java were also 'repatriated' to the Republic under the Renville Agreement.
Jakarta
BANTEN
Bogor
Bandung
Sukabumi
Cirebon
Semarang
Malangbung
Garut
Tasikmalaya
Purwodadi
Cepu
Surabaya
Delanggu
Sura-karta
Madiun
Yogyakarta
Wonogiri
Kediri
Malang
Lodoyo
Regions affected by the Madiun Affair, Sept.-Dec.1948
Sites of significant massacres during the Madiun Affair
Regions of effective Republican control inside the 'Van Mook Line', to January 1948
Initial heartland of the Darul Islam
Workers in a state textile factory at Delanggu went on strike from May to July 1948 to protest against deteriorating conditions. The dispute drew in armed units on both sides and marked the growing political tension in the Republic.
In the Wonogiri area, which the communists controlled for some weeks, some land reform measures were introduced.
100 km
5.16

5.17 Federal Indonesia, 1948–1949.

Before the Second World War there had been considerable discussion over whether a federal structure might not suit independent Indonesia because of its economic diversity. In the event, the nationalists decided for a unitary system at the time of the declaration of independence, but the idea of federalism was taken up by the Dutch as part of their struggle to recover influence in the archipelago.

Initially, federalism was mainly a device to reunite the regions which had become separate as a result of the fact that the Dutch had occupied most of Borneo and eastern Indonesia, while the Republic dominated Java and Sumatra. In time, however, the Dutch sought to use federalism as a tool to detach important regions and ethnic groups from the Republic. By the end of the revolution, the Dutch had created a structure as complex as the pre-war system of indirectly ruled states.

At the core of the federal system were six *negara*, or states, which were intended to federate with the Republic of Indonesia into a Republic of the United States of Indonesia, which would in turn be a part of a highly devolved Netherlands-Indonesian Union. Alongside these states were regions considered to be less developed politically; these were classified for the most part as *neo-landschappen*. The Negara Indonesia Timur (State of Eastern Indonesia) and several of the *neo-landschappen* were themselves divided into quasi-federal regions. Finally, there were also regions considered not to be viable as separate political units.

Negara

1. Indonesia Timoer (East Indonesia, created 24 December 1946) comprising thirteen *daerah*: Soelawesi Selatan, Soelawesi Tengah, Gorontalo, Minahasa, Sangihe & Talaud, Bali, Lombok, Soembawa, Flores, Soemba, Timor dan poelau-poelau, Maloekoe Selatan, and Maloekoe Oetara.
2. Soematra Timur (East Sumatra, created 25 December 1947)
3. Madoera (created 20 February 1948)
4. Pasoendan (West Java, created 25 February 1948)
5. Soematra Selatan (South Sumatra, created 2 September 1948)
6. Jawa Timoer (East Java, created 27 November 1948)

Other autonomous constitutional units (defined principally by particpation in constitutional discussions and mention in the federal constitution)

7. Daerah Istimewa Kalimantan Barat (Special Territory of West Kalimantan) – federation of 15 native states and three *neo-landschappen*
8. Federasi Kalimantan Timur (East Kalimantan Federation) – federation of four native states and the *neo-landschap* of Pasir
9. Dajak Besar – *neo-landschap*
10. Daerah Bandjar – *neo-landschap*
11. Kalimantan Tenggara – federation of *neo-landschappen* of Pegatan, Poeloe Laut and Tjantung Sampanahan
12. Bangka – *neo-landschap*
13. Billiton – *neo-landschap*
14. Riau – *neo-landschap*

} Loosely federated from June 1948, but separately represented in federal councils

15. Djawa Tengah – limited to the residencies of Semarang, Banjoemas and Pekalongan; had no defined political identity but nonetheless constituted a 'political entity'.

Other regions

Kota Waringin (native state); Padang (municipality); Sabang; Djakarta Federal District; New Guinea.

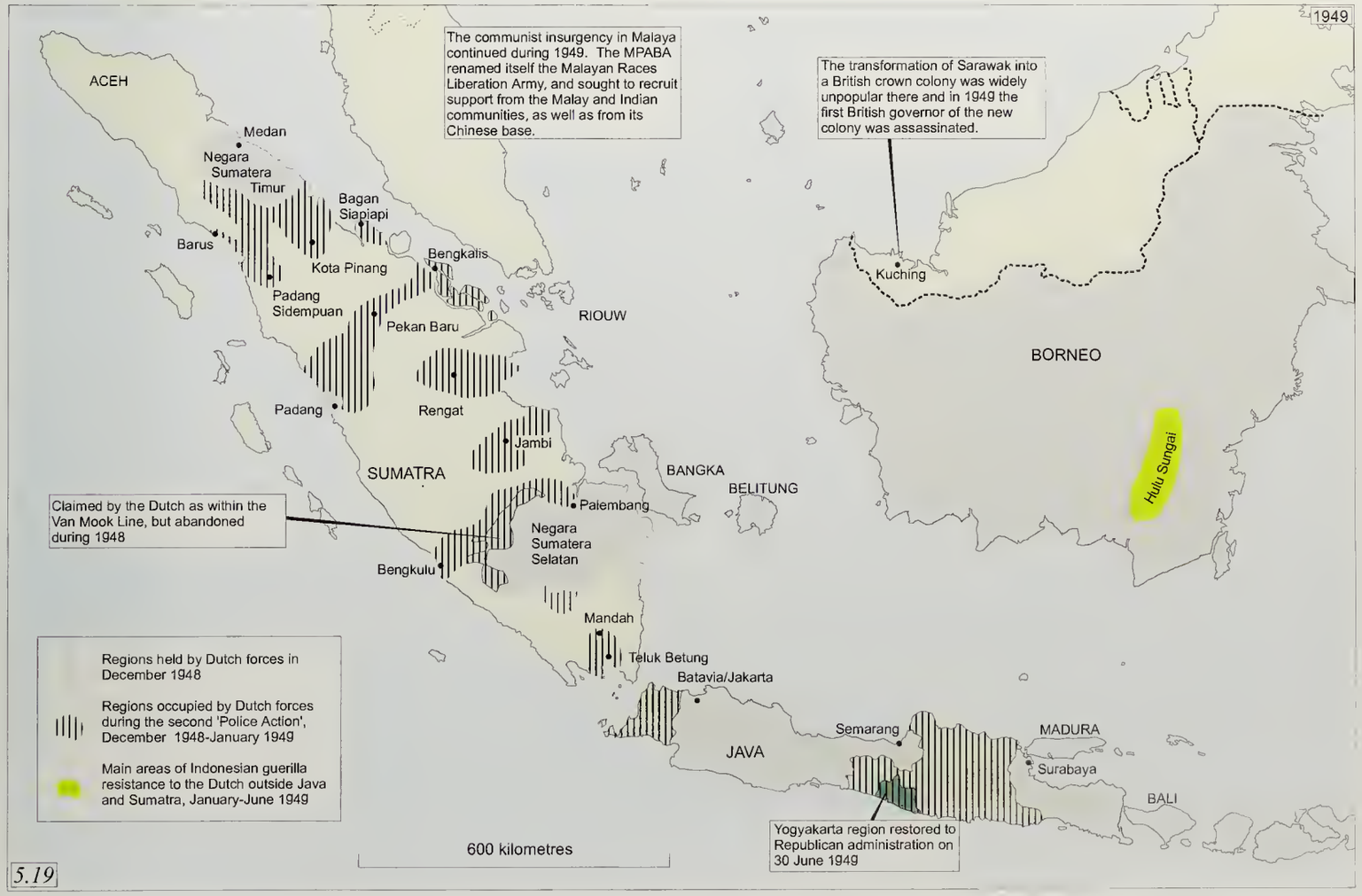
Many of these federal and sub-federal units had little political identity, and all of them were abolished in early 1950. Indonesia formally returned to a unitary structure in August 1950.

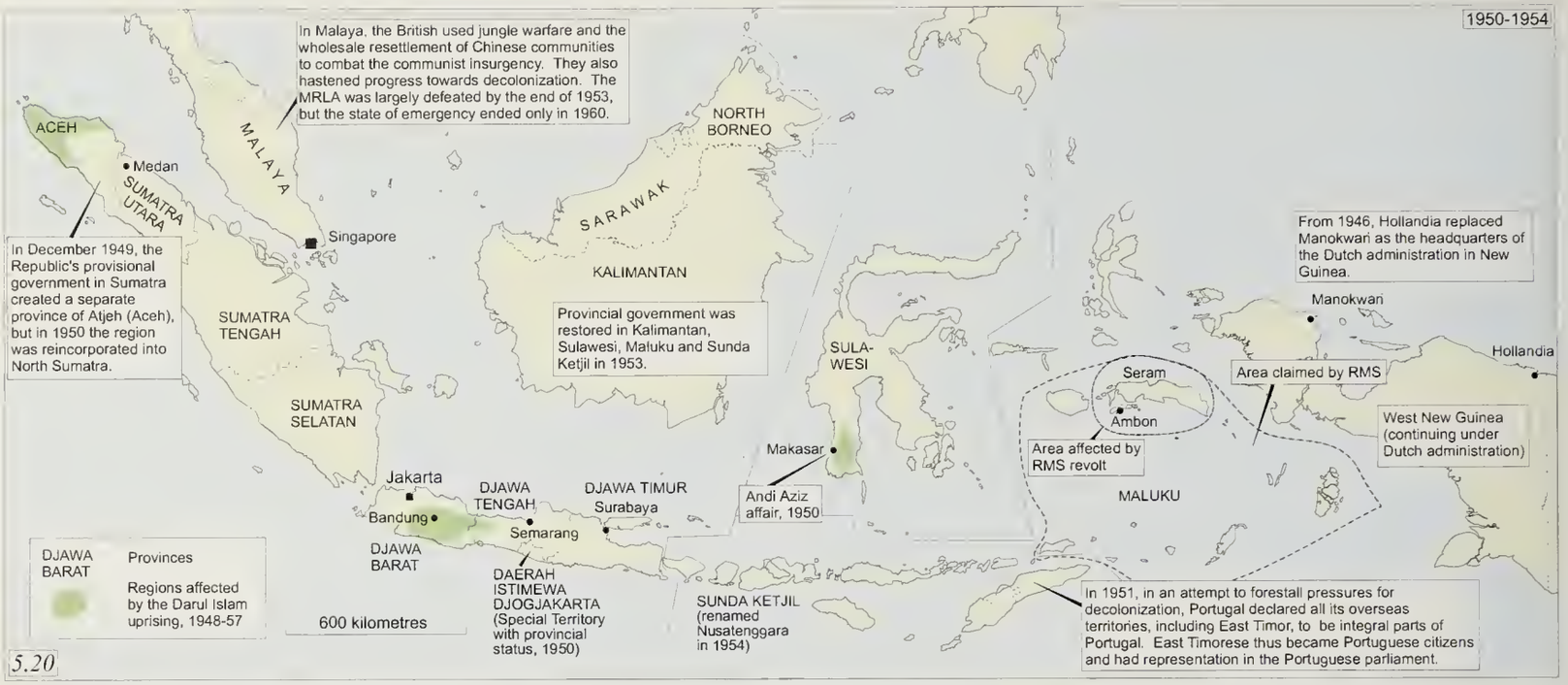
By late 1948, the Dutch believed that military and political circumstances were ripe for crushing the Republic. Dutch armed forces were at full strength, whereas the Indonesian army had recently undergone a demoralizing reduction in numbers as an austerity measure. Political tensions in the Republic were high: the Left had just been defeated in the Madiun uprising (see p.159), and there were deep tensions between fundamentalist and more secularly-minded Muslims. The Dutch moreover had begun constructing a federal constitutional order in the parts of Indonesia that they controlled and they hoped that this political reform would attract those they saw as moderate nationalists. To deal what they hoped would be a final blow to the Republic, Dutch forces launched a second 'Police Action' on 19 December 1948. They quickly captured the Republic's capital, Yogyakarta, and arrested most of the civilian cabinet. In the following days, virtually all of Java and much of Republican Sumatra (with the exception of Aceh) were occupied. Against Dutch expectations, however, international condemnation, guerilla resistance and a refusal to cooperate, even on the part of previously amenable 'moderate' nationalists, put them rapidly on the defensive. Unable to secure a quick victory, they were forced into negotiations with the captured Republican leaders. Yogyakarta returned to Republican rule in June 1949,

5.18 General Sudirman's 'guerrilla route'. *Most of the Republic's civilian leaders let themselves be captured in first hours of the Dutch attack on Yogyakarta, but the army commander, Sudirman, who was ill with tuberculosis, fled to the countryside to lead guerrilla resistance to the Dutch.*

and most of the rest of the newly seized regions returned to Republican rule on 29 December when the Dutch formally transferred sovereignty to a new, federal Republic of the United States of Indonesia, in which the Republic of Indonesia (as declared in August 1945) was the dominant political force.

5.19 The Second 'Police Action' and its aftermath, 1948–1949.


1949
The communist insurgency in Malaya continued during 1949. The MPABA renamed itself the Malayan Races Liberation Army, and sought to recruit support from the Malay and Indian communities, as well as from its Chinese base.
The transformation of Sarawak into a British crown colony was widely unpopular there and in 1949 the first British governor of the new colony was assassinated.
ACEH
Medan
Negara Sumatera Timur
Bagan Siapiapi
Barus
Kota Pinang
Bengkalis
Padang Sidempuan
Pekan Baru
RIOUW
Kuching
BORNEO
Padang
Rengat
Jambi
SUMATRA
BANGKA
BELITUNG
Hulu Sungai
Palembang
Claimed by the Dutch as within the Van Mook Line, but abandoned during 1948
Negara Sumatera Selatan
Bengkulu
Mandah
Teluk Betung
Batavia/Jakarta
Semarang
MADURA
JAVA
Surabaya
BALI
Regions held by Dutch forces in December 1948
Regions occupied by Dutch forces during the second 'Police Action', December 1948-January 1949
Main areas of Indonesian guerilla resistance to the Dutch outside Java and Sumatra, January-June 1949
600 kilometres
Yogyakarta region restored to Republican administration on 30 June 1949
5.19


1950-1954
In Malaya, the British used jungle warfare and the wholesale resettlement of Chinese communities to combat the communist insurgency. They also hastened progress towards decolonization. The MRLA was largely defeated by the end of 1953, but the state of emergency ended only in 1960.
ACEH
Medan
SUMATRA UTARA
MALAYA
Singapore
NORTH BORNEO
SARAWAK
KALIMANTAN
In December 1949, the Republic's provisional government in Sumatra created a separate province of Atjeh (Aceh), but in 1950 the region was reincorporated into North Sumatra.
SUMATRA TENGAH
SUMATRA SELATAN
Provincial government was restored in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and Sunda Ketjil in 1953.
SULA-WESI
From 1946, Hollandia replaced Manokwari as the headquarters of the Dutch administration in New Guinea.
Manokwari
Hollandia
Seram
Area claimed by RMS
Ambon
West New Guinea (continuing under Dutch administration)
Area affected by RMS revolt
MALUKU
Makasar
Andi Aziz affair, 1950
Jakarta
DJAWA TENGAH
DJAWA TIMUR
Surabaya
Bandung
Semarang
DJAWA BARAT
DAERAH ISTIMEWA DJOGJAKARTA (Special Territory with provincial status, 1950)
SUNDA KETJIL (renamed Nusatenggara in 1954)
In 1951, in an attempt to forestall pressures for decolonization, Portugal declared all its overseas territories, including East Timor, to be integral parts of Portugal. East Timorese thus became Portuguese citizens and had representation in the Portuguese parliament.
DJAWA BARAT
Provinces
Regions affected by the Darul Islam uprising, 1948-57
600 kilometres
5.20

5.20 Regional rebellions and provincial boundaries, 1950–1954.

Tension and Conflict in the Republic, 1950–1966

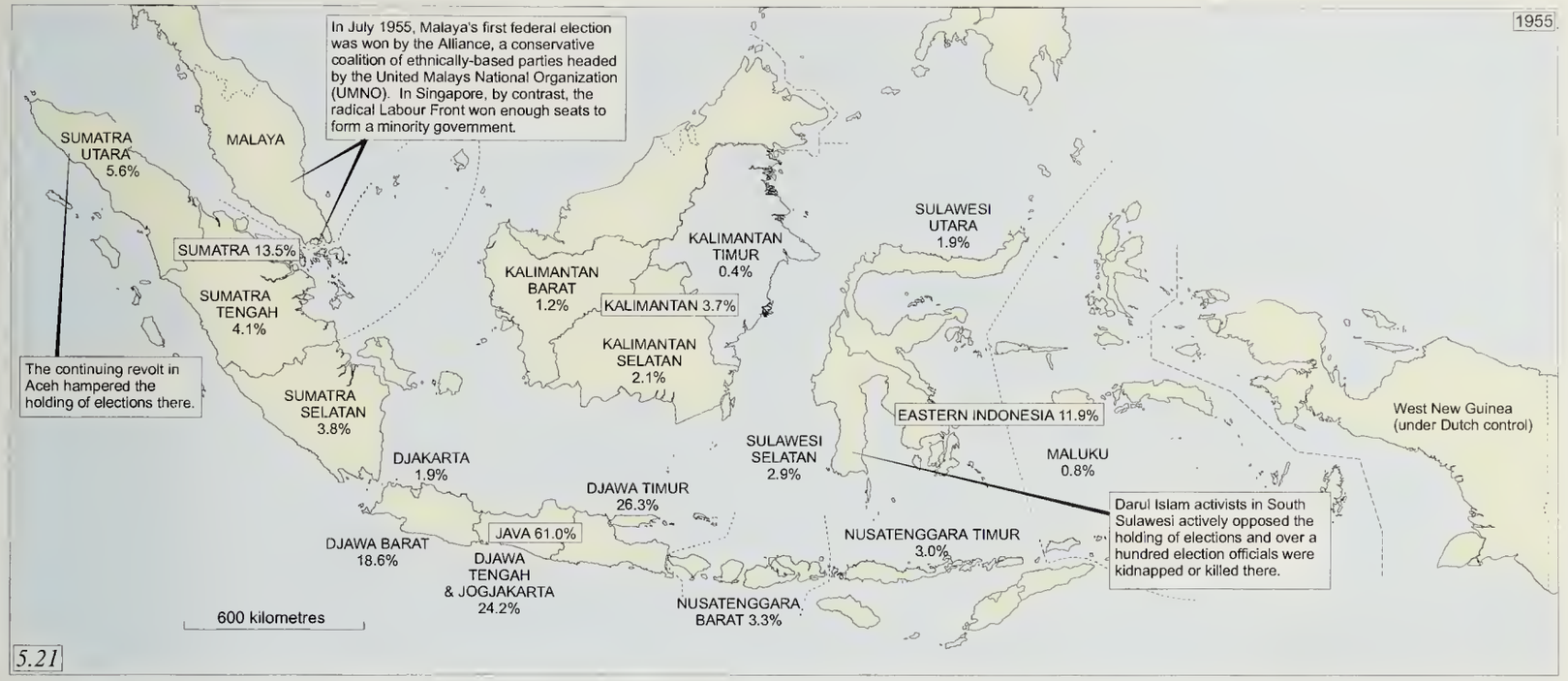
Many Indonesians were unhappy with the terms of the independence agreement with the Netherlands, and their dissatisfaction bedevilled the Republic's politics during the early 1950s.

The more conservative groups which the Dutch had cultivated feared – correctly – that the republic would move quickly to dismantle the federal system. In many regions the federal structures were so weak that they collapsed at the slightest prompting, but in a few regions the federalists took up arms. In Bandung and Jakarta, the Dutch commando leader Raymond Westerling, who had been responsible for terrible massacres in South Sulawesi in early 1947, launched an unsuccessful putsch against the Republic in January 1950, apparently with the aim of installing a federalist government. In April Andi Aziz, an Indonesian officer in the former Dutch colonial army, mutinied in Makasar in the hope of protecting the state of East Indonesia. His action hastened its dissolution, but meanwhile on 25 April dissident Ambonese declared the independence of a Republic of the South Moluccas (RMS). Government troops defeated the rebels during the second half of 1950, but guerrilla warfare continued for several years on the island of Seram.

For other Indonesians, by contrast, the settlement with the Dutch was too soft. They objected to continuing constitutional links with Holland through a Netherlands–Indonesian Union, to various economic concessions to Dutch interests, and to the fact that the Dutch had retained control of West New Guinea, which Indonesians called Irian Barat (West Irian). In West Java and South Sulawesi, nationalist armed units from the army and from irregular forces objected to being demobilized and took to the hills, often describing themselves as Barisan Sakit Hati (the Sick-at-Heart Brigade).

In addition, many Muslims were unhappy with the secular character of the Indonesian state, and they wished to see the majority status of Indonesia's Muslims reflected in an Islamic state. These aspirations helped sustain the Darul Islam movement in West Java and allowed it to extend its influence into Central Java. In January 1952, the Sakit Hati rebels in South Sulawesi joined the Darul Islam, followed in September 1953 by the Muslim leaders in Aceh who had been a bulwark of the Republic during the revolution. At the height of its power in 1954, the Darul Islam controlled significant areas of the country and could even mount operations on the outskirts of Jakarta.

The legitimacy of all these movements was enhanced by the fact that the Republic's parliament in Jakarta had not been elected but was a composite body drawn from the parliaments of the revolutionary Republic and the federal states. The parliamentarians represented a wide range of parties and social groups, and all the cabinets of the early 1950s were therefore coalitions. This situation meant that no single party could impose its will on the country, but it made governments unstable and left them open to criticism for lack of action. The first cabinets benefited from an economic boom as a result of the Korean War, but after 1953 economic conditions became more difficult and were exacerbated by increasing official corrupion.

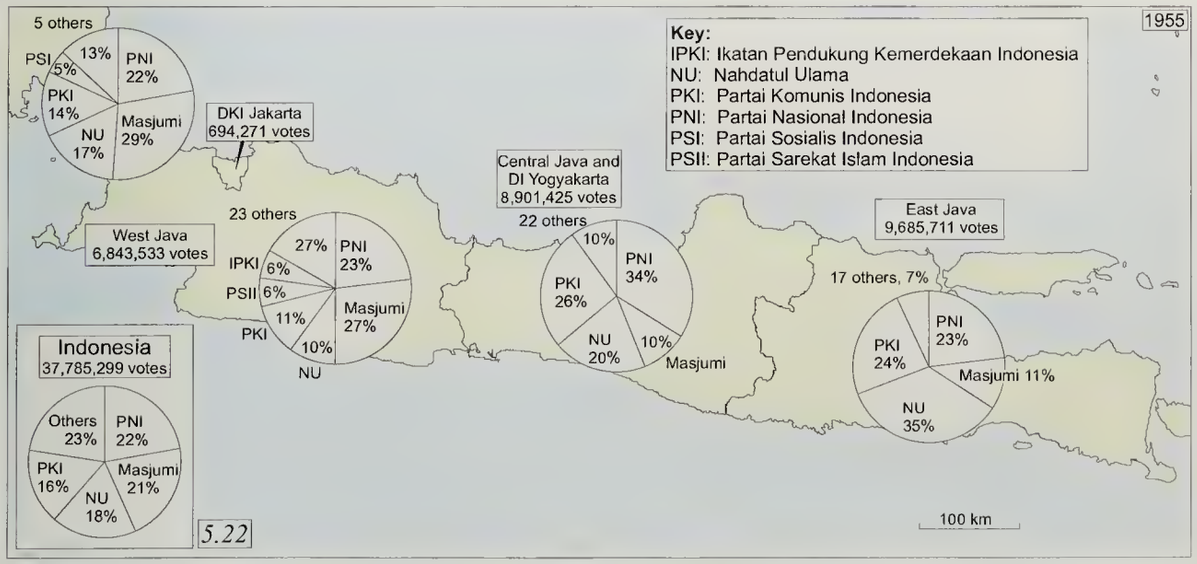

1955
In July 1955, Malaya's first federal election was won by the Alliance, a conservative coalition of ethnically-based parties headed by the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). In Singapore, by contrast, the radical Labour Front won enough seats to form a minority government.
SUMATRA UTARA 5.6%
MALAYA
SUMATRA 13.5%
SUMATRA TENGAH 4.1%
SUMATRA SELATAN 3.8%
The continuing revolt in Aceh hampered the holding of elections there.
KALIMANTAN BARAT 1.2%
KALIMANTAN TIMUR 0.4%
KALIMANTAN 3.7%
KALIMANTAN SELATAN 2.1%
SULAWESI UTARA 1.9%
SULAWESI SELATAN 2.9%
EASTERN INDONESIA 11.9%
MALUKU 0.8%
West New Guinea (under Dutch control)
DJAKARTA 1.9%
DJAWA TIMUR 26.3%
JAVA 61.0%
DJAWA BARAT 18.6%
DJAWA TENGAH & JOGJAKARTA 24.2%
NUSATENGGARA TIMUR 3.0%
NUSATENGGARA BARAT 3.3%
Darul Islam activists in South Sulawesi actively opposed the holding of elections and over a hundred election officials were kidnapped or killed there.
600 kilometres
5.21

5.21 The 1955 elections: proportion of voters by province. *With 61% of the votes in 1955 cast in Java, the political influence of the Outer Islands in the new parliament was decidedly weak.*

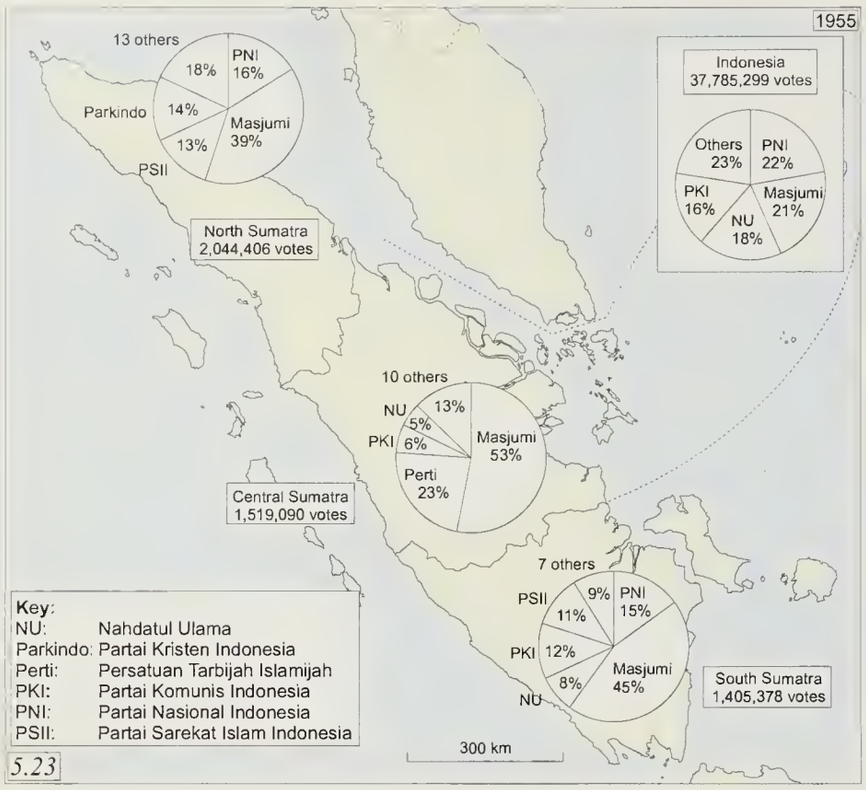
Indonesia's first national parliamentary elections were finally held in September 1955. Votes were tallied first by province, but the proportional voting system meant that the whole country effectively voted as a single electorate for the new 257-member parliament.

Many observers had expected the modernist Muslim Masjumi, the largest party in the old parliament, to do well, and perhaps to win a majority in its own right, but the party won only 20.9% of the vote and came second to the secular Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI) with 22.3%. Many of the votes which the Masjumi had hoped to win went instead to the conservative Muslim Nahdatul Ulama (NU), but the four main Muslim parties together won only 43% of the vote. Although the Masjumi was the only party to win at least 10% of the vote in every province, its weakest performance was in the two Javanese provinces of Central and East Java. In contrast, the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) won 16% of the vote, almost all of it from Central and East Java, which were also the stronghold of the PNI and NU. Of the four large parties in the new parliament, therefore, only the Masjumi was widely represented outside Java.

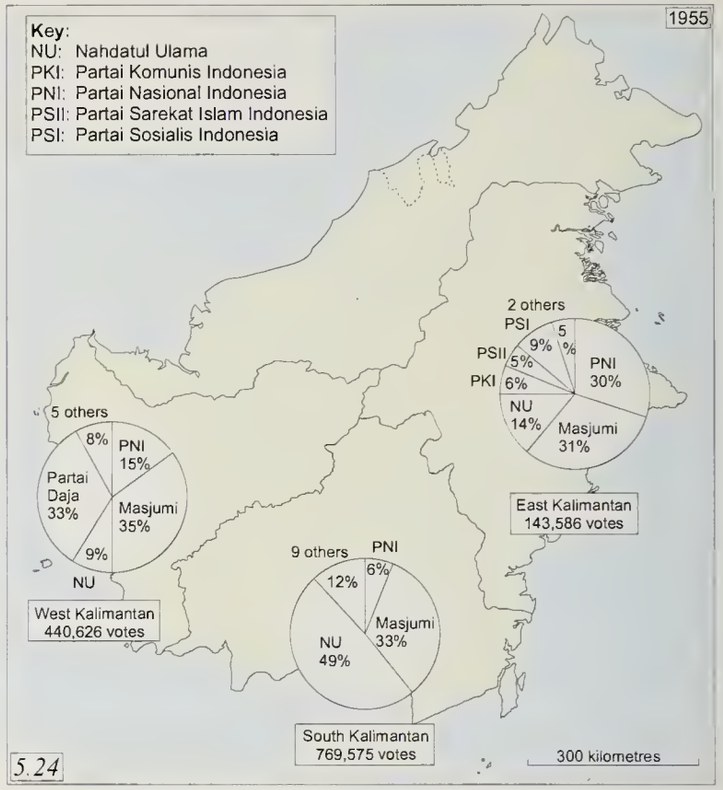
The government which formed in the new parliament in March 1956 was a coalition between the three largest parties (PNI, Masjumi and NU), but it was headed by the PNI leader Ali Sastroamidjojo and was dominated by the PNI. Its economic policies tended to favour the importers of Java over the exporters of the Outer Islands, and its social and foreign policies tended to move leftwards in order to undercut the growing appeal of the PKI on Java.



5.22 Java in the 1955 elections. *The strong NU and PKI votes in the two most populous provinces, East Java and Central Java, were decisive in giving those parties a powerful position in the new parliament.*

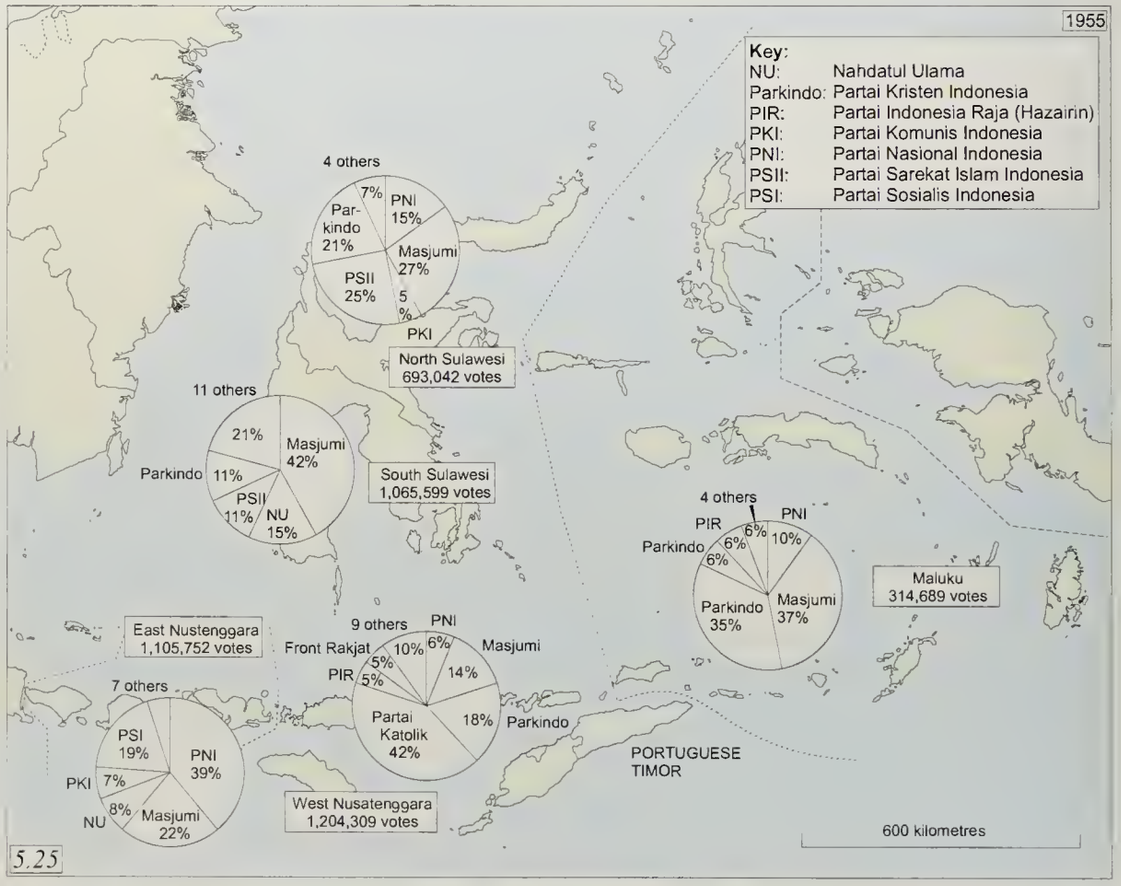


5.23 Sumatra in the 1955 elections. *Masjumi and the smaller Muslim parties Perti and PSII dominated the elections in Sumatra. The PKI's following was strongest amongst Javanese settler communities in North and South Sumatra.*

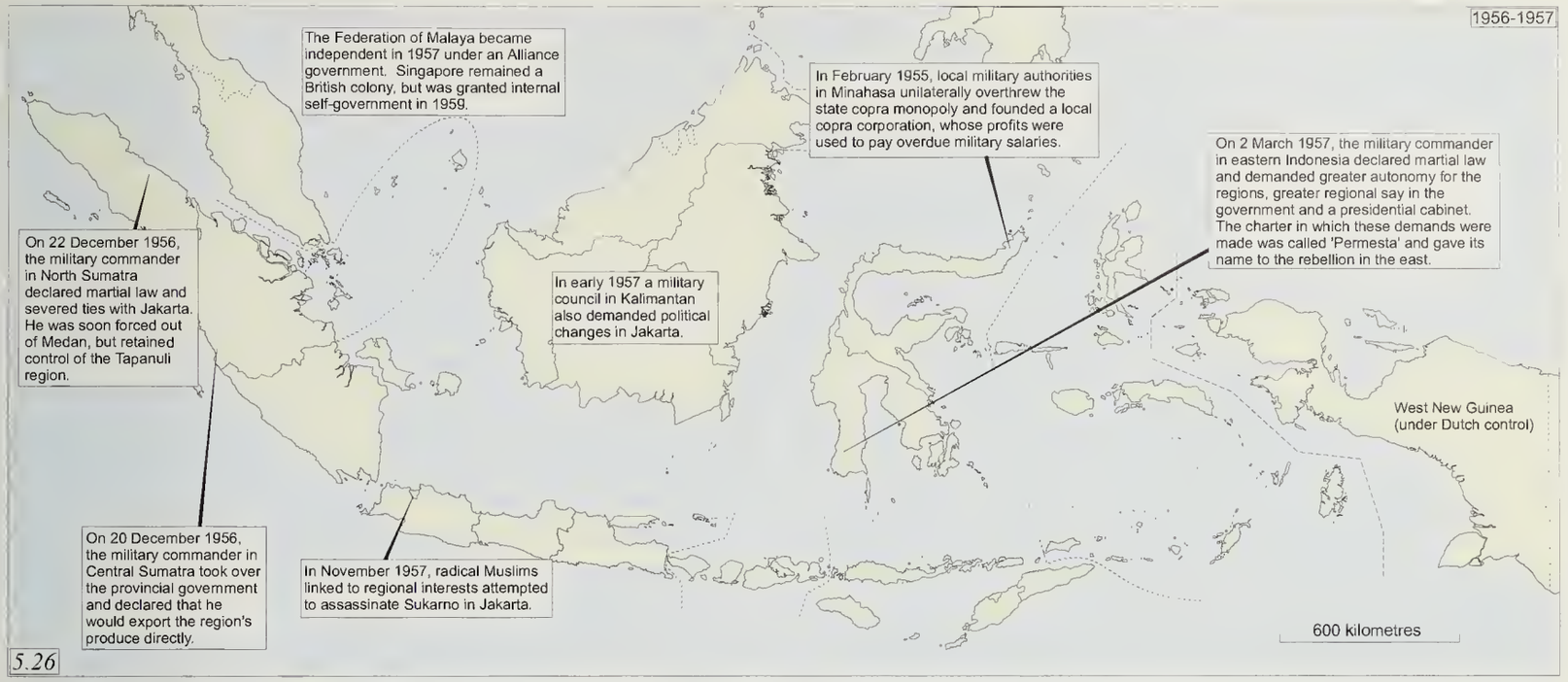


5.24 Kalimantan in the 1955 elections. *The Partai Daja, representing the indigenous Dayaks of Kalimantan, was the only party based openly on ethnic identity to win a seat in the elections.*

NOTE
Maps show parties winning 5% or more of the vote, by province.



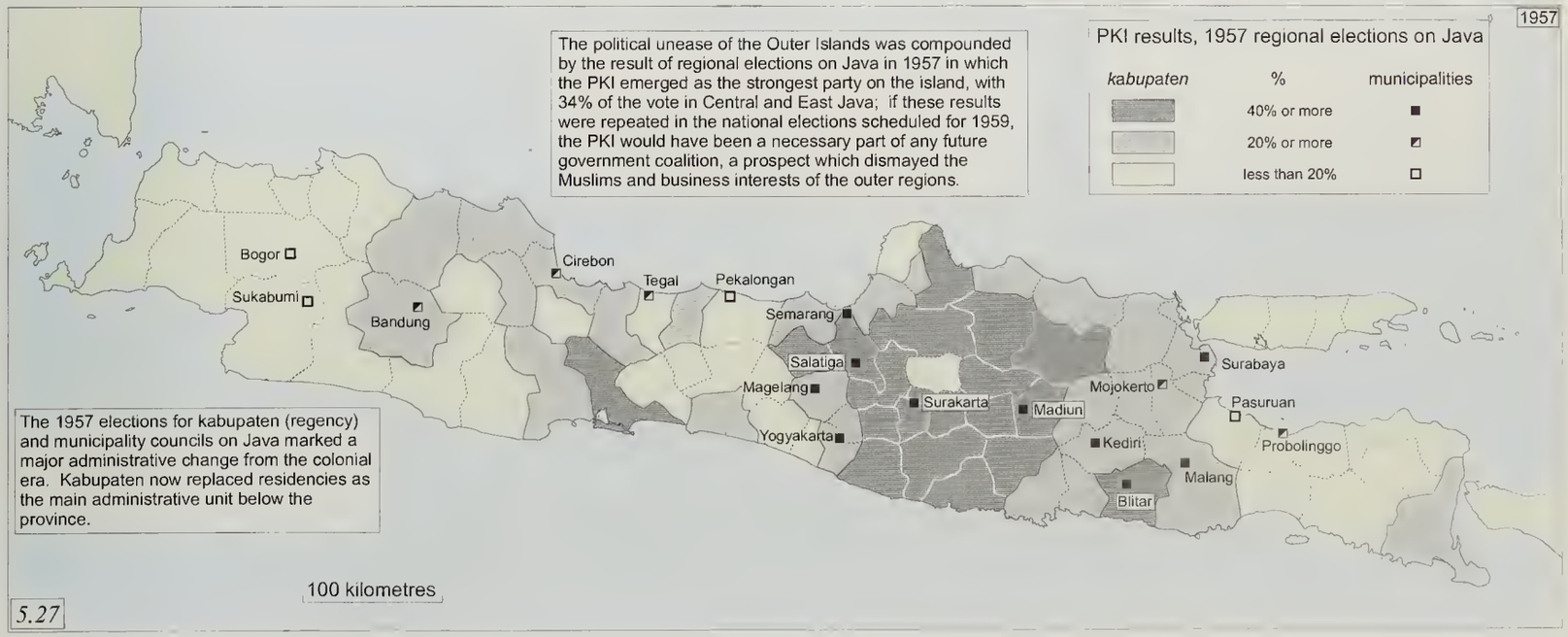
5.25 Eastern Indonesia in the 1955 elections. *The two Christian parties were strong in Eastern Indonesia, but Muslim parties also had a significant following. The PSI was a political force only in Bali.*


1956-1957
The Federation of Malaya became independent in 1957 under an Alliance government. Singapore remained a British colony, but was granted internal self-government in 1959.
In February 1955, local military authorities in Minahasa unilaterally overthrew the state copra monopoly and founded a local copra corporation, whose profits were used to pay overdue military salaries.
On 2 March 1957, the military commander in eastern Indonesia declared martial law and demanded greater autonomy for the regions, greater regional say in the government and a presidential cabinet. The charter in which these demands were made was called 'Permesta' and gave its name to the rebellion in the east.
On 22 December 1956, the military commander in North Sumatra declared martial law and severed ties with Jakarta. He was soon forced out of Medan, but retained control of the Tapanuli region.
In early 1957 a military council in Kalimantan also demanded political changes in Jakarta.
West New Guinea (under Dutch control)
On 20 December 1956, the military commander in Central Sumatra took over the provincial government and declared that he would export the region's produce directly.
In November 1957, radical Muslims linked to regional interests attempted to assassinate Sukarno in Jakarta.
600 kilometres
5.26

5.26 Regional unrest, 1955–1957.

As the economic policies of the Ali government made conditions increasingly difficult for the Outer Islands, and as the political marginalization of the Masjumi became clear, regional dissent began to develop. Vice-President Hatta, widely seen as a voice for the Outer Islands in Jakarta, resigned in July 1956. During late 1956 and early 1957, army commanders in Sumatra and eastern Indonesia declared martial law in their regions and cut relations with Jakarta, demanding a government closer to the interests of the Outer Islands. Unable to remain in the cabinet while their electoral base was in revolt against it, the Masjumi left the coalition in January 1957, though the cabinet did not resign until March. Meanwhile, President Sukarno and the army commander, Gen. A.H. Nasution, were increasingly determined to dismantle the parliamentary system. Sukarno spoke strongly against '50% plus one' democracy, while Nasution canvassed the idea of a permanent government role for the military.

5.27 Local elections in Java, June–August 1957: the rise of the PKI.


1957
The political unease of the Outer Islands was compounded by the result of regional elections on Java in 1957 in which the PKI emerged as the strongest party on the island, with 34% of the vote in Central and East Java; if these results were repeated in the national elections scheduled for 1959, the PKI would have been a necessary part of any future government coalition, a prospect which dismayed the Muslims and business interests of the outer regions.
PKI results, 1957 regional elections on Java
kabupaten
%
municipalities
40% or more
20% or more
less than 20%
Bogor
Sukabumi
Bandung
Cirebon
Tegal
Pekalongan
Semarang
Salatiga
Magelang
Yogyakarta
Surakarta
Madiun
Mojokerto
Surabaya
Pasuruan
Probolinggo
Kediri
Malang
Blitar
The 1957 elections for kabupaten (regency) and municipality councils on Java marked a major administrative change from the colonial era. Kabupaten now replaced residencies as the main administrative unit below the province.
100 kilometres
5.27

In April 1957, with the parties unable to agree on a new coalition, President Sukarno formed a 'business' cabinet, nominally non-party and led by a respected independent politician, Djuanda, but in fact dominated by the PNI and NU. The following month he formed a National Council, consisting of representatives of so-called 'functional groups' (peasants, workers, students, women, military and so on). Although presented as a non-ideological alternative to parliament, the council appeared to many people to be a forum for the growing ascendancy of the left wing in Indonesian politics.

In December 1957, after the United Nations General Assembly had failed to pass a resolution calling on the Dutch to negotiate over West New Guinea, left wing groups began seizing Dutch assets in Indonesia. The Dutch-owned KPM shipping line was one of the enterprises targeted, but many of its ships escaped. The loss of these vessels further damaged the trading position of the Outer Islands.

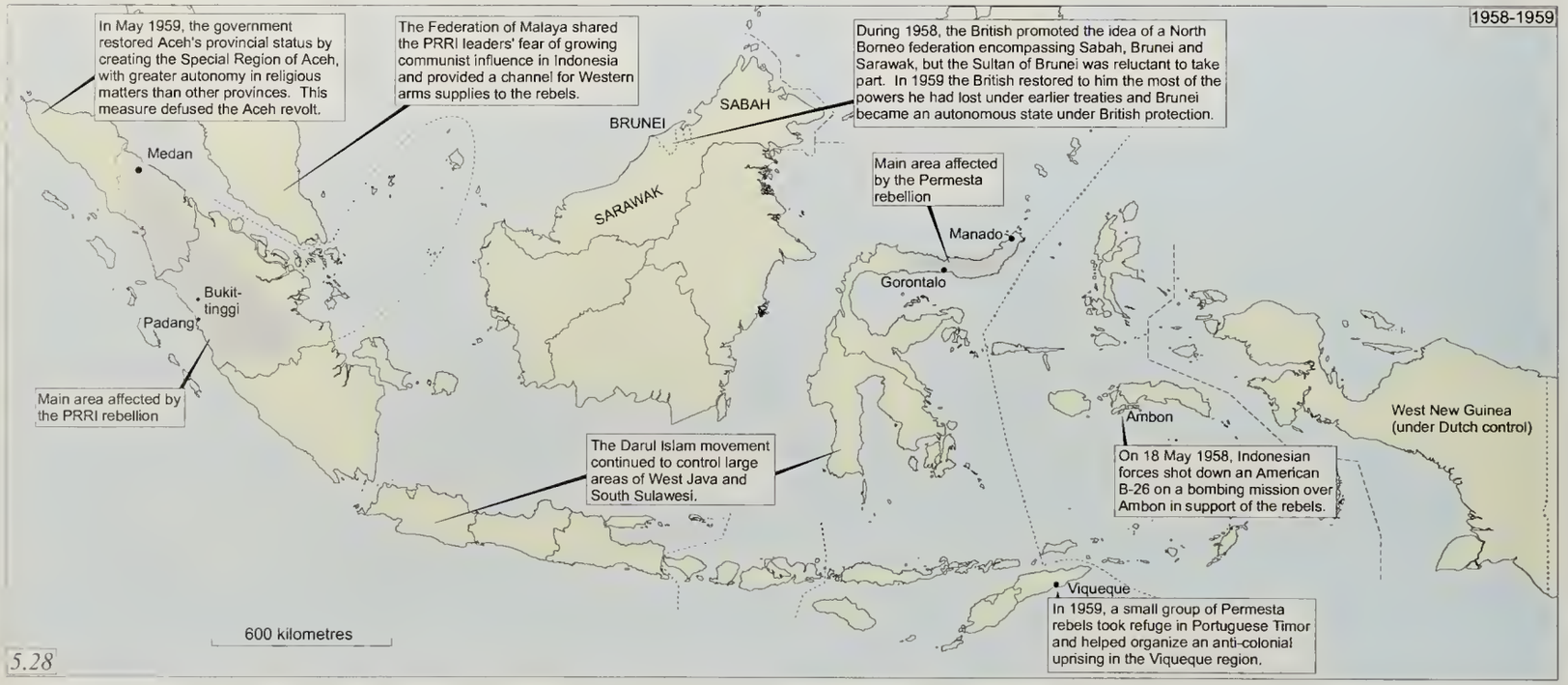
With tension rising in Jakarta, senior Masjumi and PSI leaders fled to Central Sumatra where they declared an alternative government in February 1958, calling it the Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI, Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia). The Permesta movement, now largely confined to northern Sulawesi allied itself with the PRRI.

The rebels in Sumatra initially controlled most of the provinces of North and Central Sumatra, but armed forces loyal to the government bombed Padang and the rebel capital, Bukittinggi, and recaptured Medan by mid-March. Padang fell in mid-April and Bukittingi in early May, reducing the rebellion to sporadic guerrilla activity in the countryside. In the east, government troops moved eastward from Gorontalo, finally capturing Manado in late June.

The PRRI–Permesta badly strained relations between Indonesia and the newly independent Federation of Malaya, which had openly sympathized with the rebels, and with the United States which had actively supported and encouraged them. The rebellion's failure also removed the conservative Masjumi influence from national politics and made easier the passage to Sukarno's new form of military-backed authoritarianism, which came to be called Guided Democracy. The Masjumi and PSI were banned in September 1958 and in July 1959 Sukarno revoked the provisional constitution of 1950, reintroducing the original constitution of August 1945, which provided for a strong executive presidency. The elected parliament was dissolved, though most of its members were appointed to a larger national assembly (MPRS); the regional assemblies elected in 1957 were dismissed.

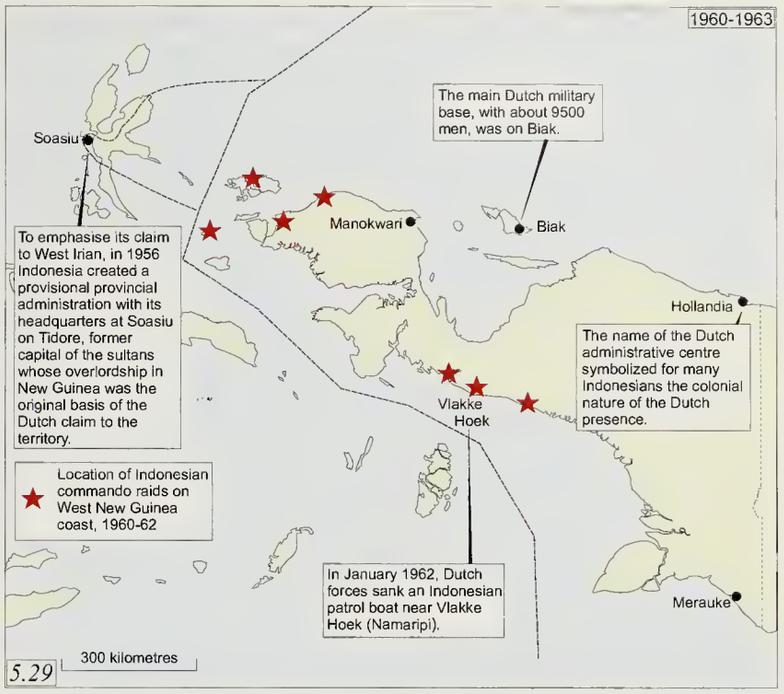
Under Guided Democracy, the military played an enhanced role in government, through Nasution's presence in the cabinet, through the appointment of military officers as provincial governors and through the army's control of the enterprises seized from the Dutch in 1957 and subsequently nationalized. The PKI, however, also became increasingly influential, partly because of its own energy in recruiting support, partly because Sukarno welded many of its ideas into his philosophy of NASAKOM, which was elevated to be the national political philosophy, and partly because Sukarno encouraged the party as a counterweight to the power of the army.

5.28 Regional rebellions, 1958–1959. *Although the PRRI-Permesta and Darul Islam rebellions drew on regional resentment against Jakarta and against the Javanese, both were committed to preserving Indonesia as their political framework.*

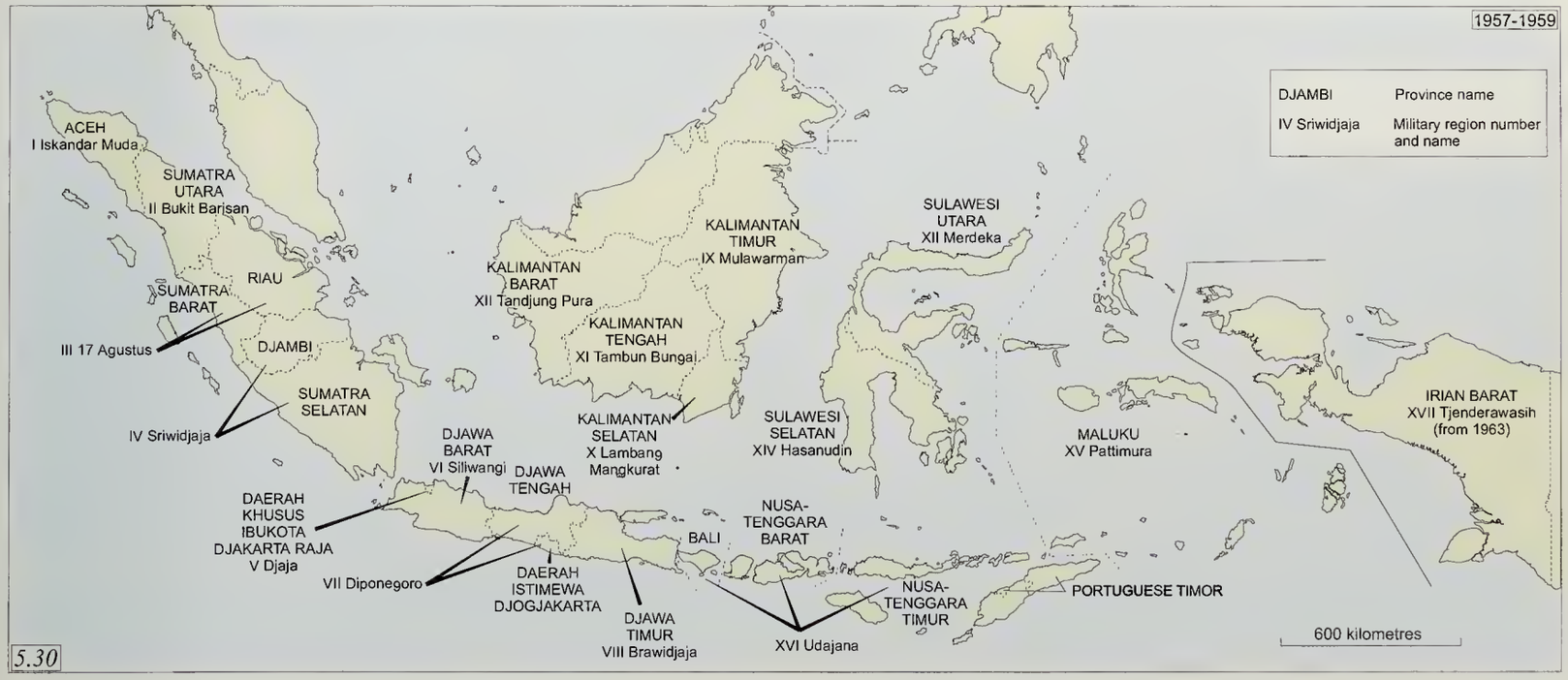

1958-1959
In May 1959, the government restored Aceh's provincial status by creating the Special Region of Aceh, with greater autonomy in religious matters than other provinces. This measure defused the Aceh revolt.
The Federation of Malaya shared the PRRI leaders' fear of growing communist influence in Indonesia and provided a channel for Western arms supplies to the rebels.
During 1958, the British promoted the idea of a North Borneo federation encompassing Sabah, Brunei and Sarawak, but the Sultan of Brunei was reluctant to take part. In 1959 the British restored to him the most of the powers he had lost under earlier treaties and Brunei became an autonomous state under British protection.
BRUNEI
SABAH
SARAWAK
Medan
Main area affected by the Permesta rebellion
Manado
Gorontalo
Bukit-tinggi
Padang
Main area affected by the PRRI rebellion
The Darul Islam movement continued to control large areas of West Java and South Sulawesi.
Ambon
West New Guinea (under Dutch control)
On 18 May 1958, Indonesian forces shot down an American B-26 on a bombing mission over Ambon in support of the rebels.
Viqueque
In 1959, a small group of Permesta rebels took refuge in Portuguese Timor and helped organize an anti-colonial uprising in the Viqueque region.
600 kilometres
5.28

With Guided Democracy in place, Sukarno began to press the issue of western New Guinea, which the Indonesians called Irian Barat (West Irian). During the 1950s, the Dutch had pursued a general policy of economic development and education in the territory, intending to bring it eventually to a separate independence, but they had established elected councils, with a limited franchise, only at local and regional levels. Only in April 1961 did they create a partly-elected New Guinea Council with limited powers over the whole region.

International opinion was divided over whose claim had priority but was increasingly inclined to support Dutch proposals for an internationally supervised plebiscite, which might well have gone against Indonesia. From 1960, however, Sukarno made increasing threats of military action against the Dutch and in 1962 began small scale military infiltration into the territory. Although these operations were relatively unsuccessful, the Dutch were unwilling to fight another colonial war and came under strong American pressure to back down. The Americans feared that the Irian issue would drive Indonesian politics further to the left if the territory were not restored to the Republic. In October 1962, therefore, the Dutch transferred western New Guinea to a temporary United Nations administration which handed it in turn to Indonesia in May 1963, with the provision that an 'Act of Free Choice' should be held after five years to determine the wishes of the people.


1960-1963
Soasiu
The main Dutch military base, with about 9500 men, was on Biak.
Manokwari
Biak
To emphasise its claim to West Irian, in 1956 Indonesia created a provisional provincial administration with its headquarters at Soasiu on Tidore, former capital of the sultans whose overlordship in New Guinea was the original basis of the Dutch claim to the territory.
Hollandia
The name of the Dutch administrative centre symbolized for many Indonesians the colonial nature of the Dutch presence.
Vlakke Hoek
Location of Indonesian commando raids on West New Guinea coast, 1960-62
In January 1962, Dutch forces sank an Indonesian patrol boat near Vlakke Hoek (Namaripi).
Merauke
300 kilometres
5.29

5.29 Indonesia's campaign for western New Guinea, 1960–1963.



5.30 Provinces and military regions, 1955–1959. *Close ties between civilian and military leaders in the Outer Islands had contributed to the mutinies of 1956 and the subsequent rebellions. From 1957 to 1959, therefore, the government began a programme of dividing the military and civilian jurisdictions in the Outer Islands into smaller units. Seven large Tentara and Territorium were replaced by sixteen military regions (KODAM), and the provinces of Central Sumatra, South Sumatra, South Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Nusatenggara Barat were split up. The provincial structure on the outer islands thus came to resemble that of the* gewesten *or residencies in the colonial era.*

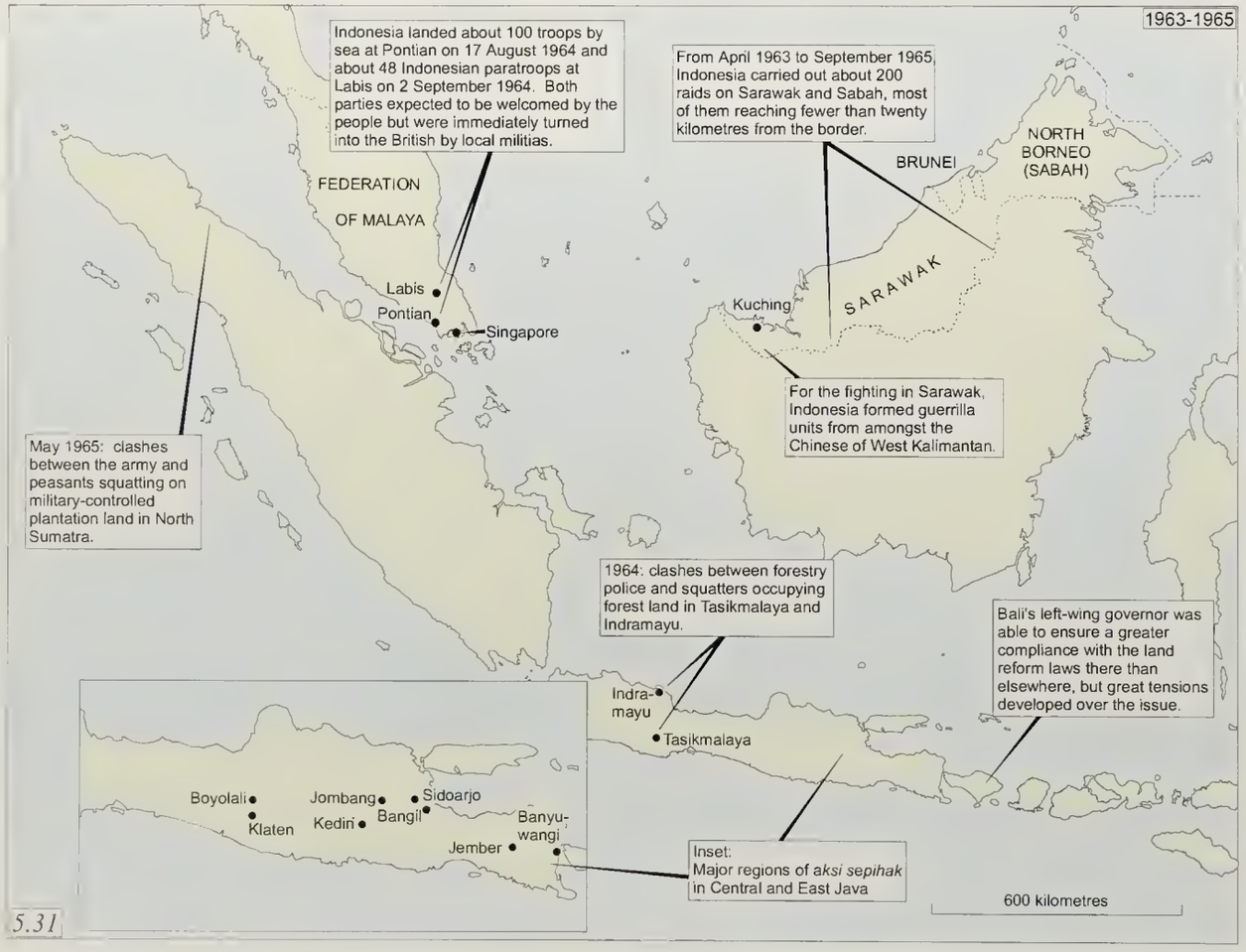
In 1963, a seventeenth KODAM was created to cover West Irian (Irian Barat).

Meanwhile, political tensions within Indonesia had increased. Although one of the aims of Guided Democracy had been to create a truce between the groups conflicting over Indonesia's future, the system depended on Sukarno's ideological virtuosity and careful balancing of the army, the Muslims and the PKI. As Sukarno's health showed signs of decline, therefore, the rival political forces continued to manoeuvre for strategic advantage. In January 1963, partly to create a new external issue to unite Indonesians after the resolution of the West Irian issue, Sukarno declared a 'confrontation' with the newly formed state of Malaysia, a federation of all the Southeast Asian territories under British domination (except Brunei). The Malaysia proposal allowed the British to join Singapore to its natural economic hinterland in the Malay peninsula while balancing the predominantly Chinese population of Singapore with the northern Borneo states where Chinese were only about a third of the population. Indonesia objected to Malaysia because it saw the British proposal as closely resembling the Dutch strategy of the late 1940s: Malaysia was to be a federation in which traditional aristocracies held a major constitutional role and with which the former colonial power retained strong economic, military and cultural ties. A rebellion in Brunei in December 1962 also fed Indonesian suspicions that the people of northern Borneo did not want to join Malaysia. Sukarno was offended, too, because the British had not consulted Indonesia, as the major regional power, on their plans.

In mid-1963, the Malayan authorities assured Indonesia that the northen Borneo territories would be included only if their inhabitants were proven to support the idea. Sukarno was therefore incensed when Malayan officials announced that Malaysia would go ahead regardless of the results of a United Nations public opinion survey in August–September 1963. When Malaysia was formally created on 16 September 1963, therefore, Indonesia stepped up its confrontation, landing commandos on the Malay peninsula and fighting a jungle war with Commonwealth forces in Borneo.

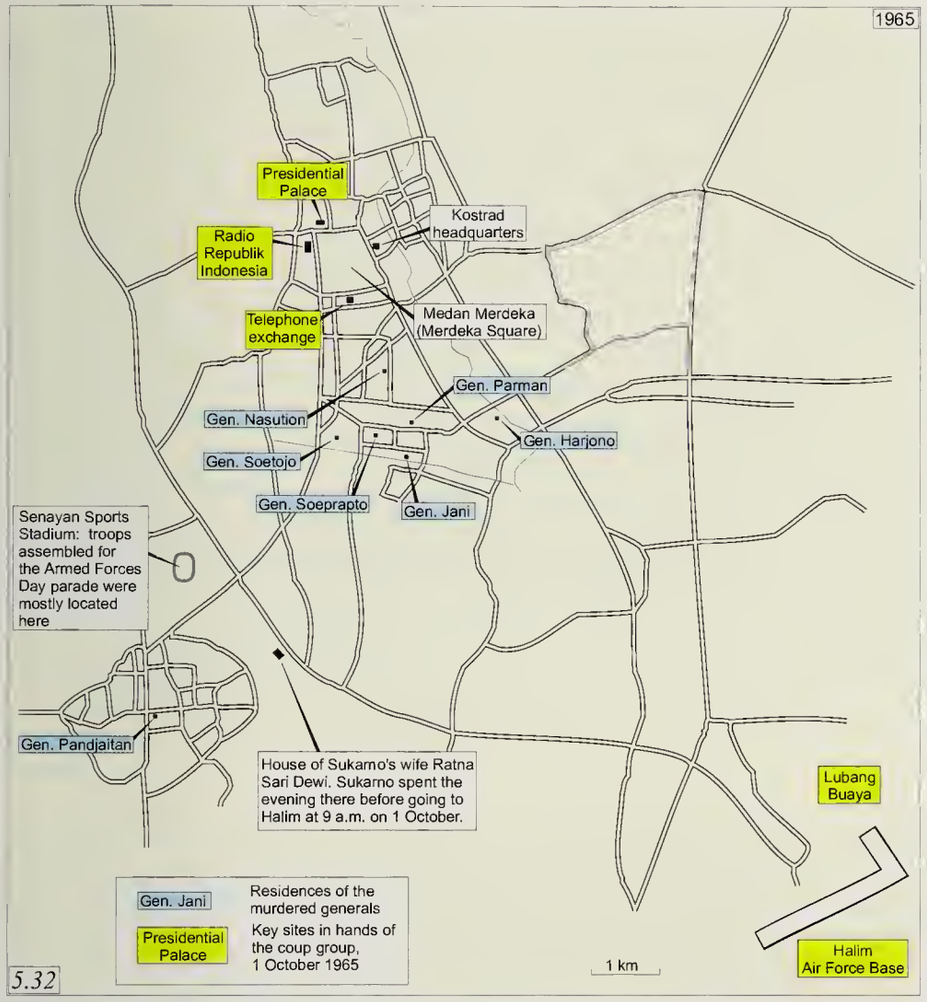
Although all the political groups in Indonesia publicly supported Confrontation, the army was far from happy with it. Not only did they fear military defeat at the hands of the better trained and equipped Commonwealth forces but they were reluctant to place their own better troops in Kalimantan and Sumatra for fear of allowing the PKI to gain greater influence on Java. They were also worried greatly by a PKI proposal in January 1965 to arm workers and peasants as a 'fifth force' (alongside the four branches of the existing armed forces) to fight the British. Sections of the armed forces, therefore, opened contacts with the British to assure them that Confrontation would not be pursued too vigorously.

Indonesia's Confrontation with Malaysia was complicated by a separate claim which the Philippines made to Sabah on the basis of the former sovereignty of the sultans of Sulu.


1963-1965
Indonesia landed about 100 troops by sea at Pontian on 17 August 1964 and about 48 Indonesian paratroops at Labis on 2 September 1964. Both parties expected to be welcomed by the people but were immediately turned into the British by local militias.
From April 1963 to September 1965, Indonesia carried out about 200 raids on Sarawak and Sabah, most of them reaching fewer than twenty kilometres from the border.
FEDERATION OF MALAYA
BRUNEI
NORTH BORNEO (SABAH)
SARAWAK
Labis
Pontian
Singapore
Kuching
For the fighting in Sarawak, Indonesia formed guerrilla units from amongst the Chinese of West Kalimantan.
May 1965: clashes between the army and peasants squatting on military-controlled plantation land in North Sumatra.
1964: clashes between forestry police and squatters occupying forest land in Tasikmalaya and Indramayu.
Bali's left-wing governor was able to ensure a greater compliance with the land reform laws there than elsewhere, but great tensions developed over the issue.
Indra-mayu
Tasikmalaya
Boyolali
Klaten
Jombang
Kediri
Sidoarjo
Bangil
Banyu-wangi
Jember
Inset:
Major regions of aksi sepihak in Central and East Java
600 kilometres
5.31

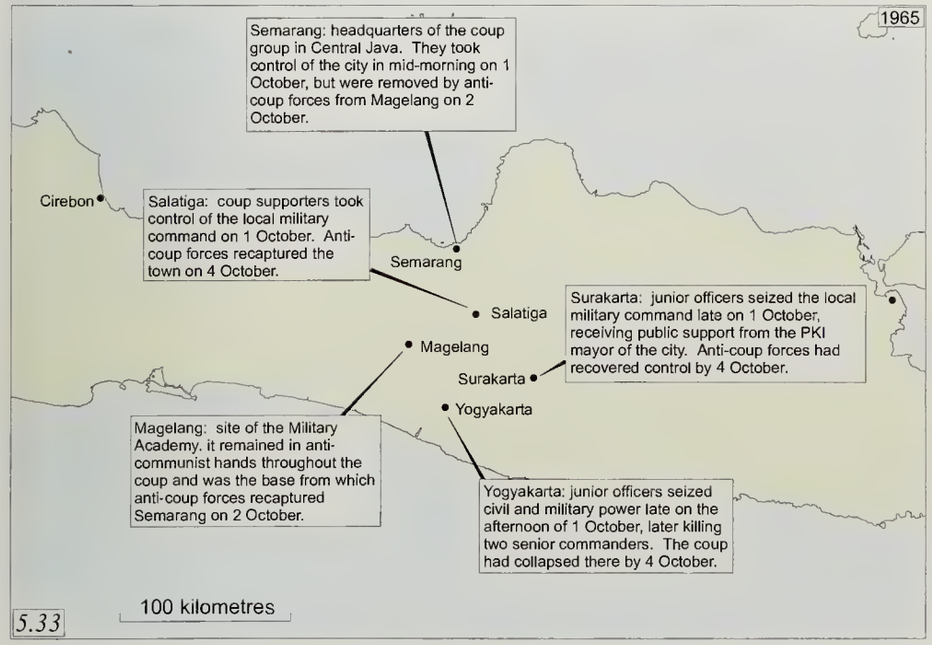
5.31 Internal and external tensions: land reform and confrontation with Malaysia. *In April 1964, the PKI launched a policy of direct action (*aksi sepihak*), especially in the countryside of East and Central Java, to implement land reform laws passed in 1960. There were few large landowners in Indonesia, but small inequalities were often sharply felt. The laws were seldom properly enforced because of obstruction by local landholding elites.*

In many regions, the PKI action led to fierce clashes between landlords, often linked to the Muslim NU, and PKI-backed peasants. Although the PKI officially disavowed the campaign in December 1964, the scale of violence contributed greatly to the apprehension on either side over what might happen to them if their enemies came to power in the aftermath of Guided Democracy.


1965
Presidential Palace
Kostrad headquarters
Radio Republik Indonesia
Telephone exchange
Medan Merdeka (Merdeka Square)
Gen. Parman
Gen. Nasution
Gen. Harjono
Gen. Soetojo
Gen. Soeprapto
Gen. Jani
Senayan Sports Stadium: troops assembled for the Armed Forces Day parade were mostly located here
Gen. Pandjaitan
House of Sukarno's wife Ratna Sari Dewi. Sukarno spent the evening there before going to Halim at 9 a.m. on 1 October.
Lubang Buaya
Gen. Jani
Residences of the murdered generals
Presidential Palace
Key sites in hands of the coup group, 1 October 1965
1 km
Halim Air Force Base
5.32

5.32 Jakarta on the night of the coup, 1 October 1965.

5.33 The coup in Central Java, 1–4 October 1965.


1965
Semarang: headquarters of the coup group in Central Java. They took control of the city in mid-morning on 1 October, but were removed by anti-coup forces from Magelang on 2 October.
Cirebon
Salatiga: coup supporters took control of the local military command on 1 October. Anti-coup forces recaptured the town on 4 October.
Semarang
Salatiga
Surakarta: junior officers seized the local military command late on 1 October, receiving public support from the PKI mayor of the city. Anti-coup forces had recovered control by 4 October.
Magelang
Surakarta
Yogyakarta
Magelang: site of the Military Academy. it remained in anti-communist hands throughout the coup and was the base from which anti-coup forces recaptured Semarang on 2 October.
Yogyakarta: junior officers seized civil and military power late on the afternoon of 1 October, later killing two senior commanders. The coup had collapsed there by 4 October.
100 kilometres
5.33

Early on the morning of 1 October 1965, leftist troops launched a coup in Jakarta, ostensibly to forestall a seizure of power by the army high command on Armed Forces Day, 5 October. Squads drawn mainly from the Sukarnoist Presidential Guard seized key points in the city and abducted six senior generals. Three of the generals were killed in the course of these raids, and the remaining three were taken to Lubang Buaya, near Halim airforce base, where they too were killed. Lurid stories, later shown to be fabrications, quickly circulated concerning the deaths of these generals. A seventh general, the influential A.H. Nasution, narrowly escaped. From their headquarters at Halim, where they had brought both President Sukarno and the PKI chairman D.N. Aidit, the plotters claimed state power in the name of a Revolutionary Council. Within hours, however, General Suharto, the senior surviving command officer and head of the strategic reserve Kostrad, had seized the initiative. By late afternoon he had recovered control of central Jakarta without firing a shot and on the evening of 1 October, the coup leaders, Sukarno and Aidit all fled from Halim, which fell to anti-communist troops on 2 October. Parallel mutinies by left-wing troops in Central Java were suppressed at the same time.

Both the sequence of events during these few hours and the underlying causes of the affair remain controversial. In particular, it is not certain that the plotters intended from the start to kill the generals or to seize power. The coup may in fact have been a limited political operation which ran out of control after the first generals were killed. Nor do we have reliable information on the links between the plotters and other forces in Indonesian politics. Both the communist party and President Sukarno had potential access to some advance knowledge of the plot and had reasons to hope it would succeed, but how far they were involved is largely a matter of conjecture on the basis of ambiguous or unreliable evidence. Some observers have also pointed out that Suharto himself may have had some advance knowledge of the coup and could at least have allowed it to proceed in the hope of profiting from its suppression. Others have pointed to evidence that the American Central Intelligence Agency was running a major covert operation in Indonesia, and have even hinted that the coup could have been stage-managed to provide a pretext for army intervention.

There was a widespread perception at the time, however, that the coup was a pre-emptive lunge for power by the communist party. This perception provided the grounds for Suharto to go beyond merely suppressing the coup and to begin the wholesale destruction of the left wing and the dismantling of Sukarno's power.

The New Order

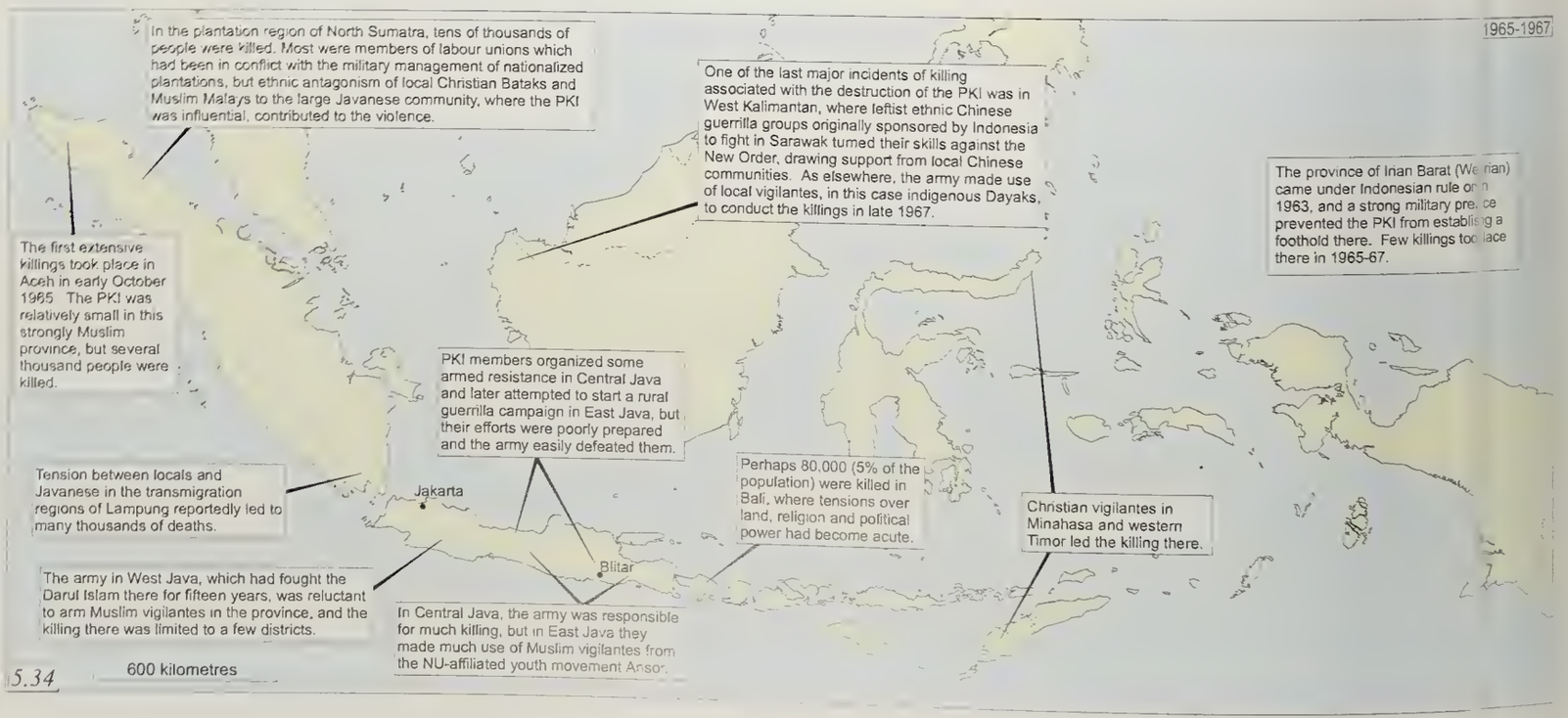
The coup attempt of 1 October 1965 gave the army, now led by General Suharto, the opportunity to seize power from President Sukarno. The transition to military-dominated rule in Jakarta was slow: In view of Sukarno's still enormous influence, Suharto moved cautiously, placing his own men in key positions, seeking international support and confronting Sukarno's main lieutenants one by one rather than the tackling the president directly. Only on 11 March 1966 did Suharto obtain from Sukarno what amounted to a formal transfer of presidential authority, and he did not take the title of Acting President until March 1967.

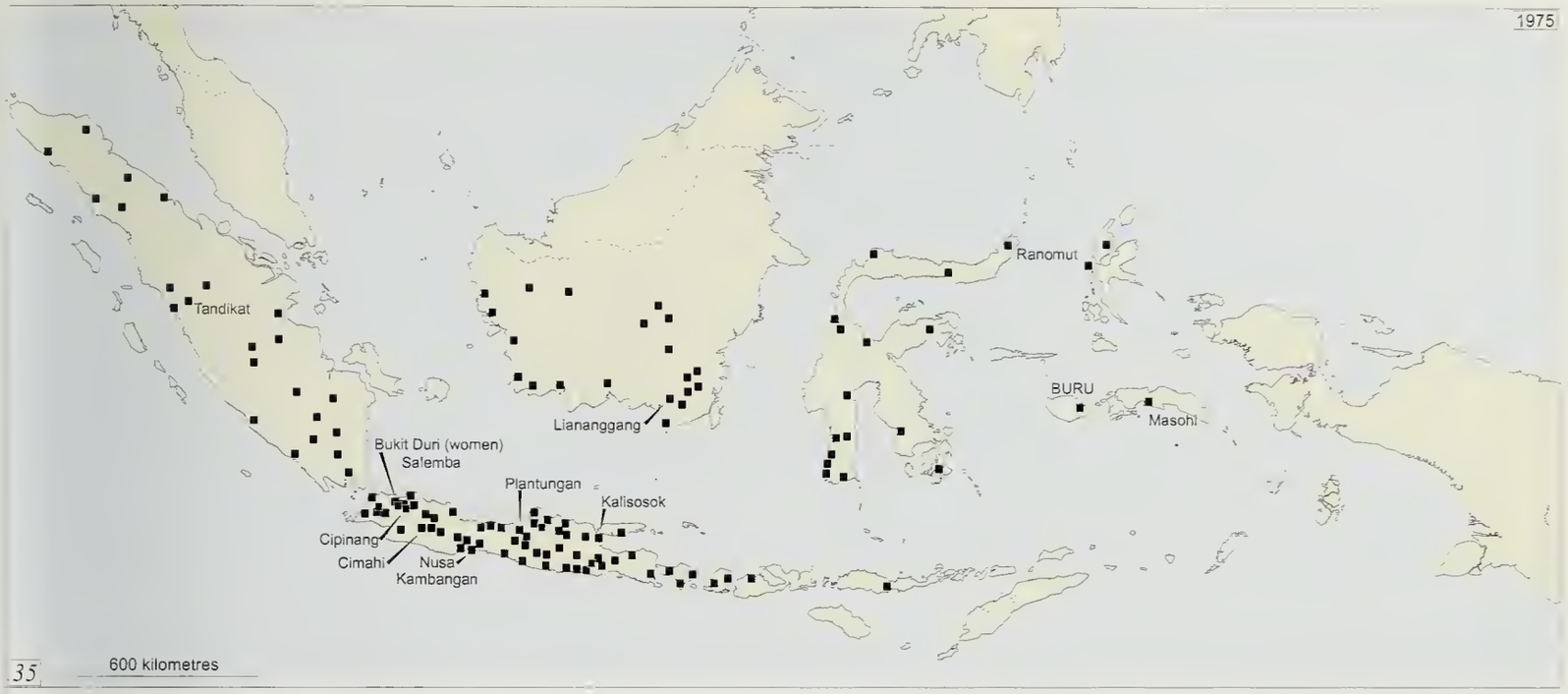
The destruction of the Left, on the other hand, was much swifter and more brutal. Within a few days of the suppression of the coup, accounts of the murder of the generals were embellished with fabricated stories that they had been tortured by crazed members of the PKI-linked women's organization, Gerwani. Further rumours quickly emerged that the communists had been planning a massacre of their political opponents to follow the coup, and within a few days anti-communist groups had begun first to burn PKI offices and then to kill party members and associates.

No reliable figures exist on the number of victims of these massacres, which were most severe in North Sumatra, Central and East Java and Bali. The number killed is unlikely to be less than 400,000 and may be as much as a million. The PKI had engaged in a wide variety of political conflicts in different parts of the country and its enemies were diverse; in parts of east Java the party had backed Hindu against conservative Muslims, while in Bali it was sharply critical of the Hindu establishment. The pattern of the killings, however, was similar in most regions. After an initial period of uncertainty, following the coup attempt, the arrival of anti-communist troops would spark a bout of killing of communists lasting several weeks. The army itself undertook many of the killings, especially in the few regions where party members offered resistance, but more often preferred to arm, train and encourage civilian vigilantes to do the job. The killings were for the most part confined to rural areas; PKI members in the cities were purged, but most of them were jailed for long periods rather than being killed.

5.34 The massacres of 1965–1967. *The campaigns of the PKI over land, religion and cultural issues had won it many enemies throughout Indonesia, but the intensity of the killings was also a deliberate consequence of army strategy. By spreading false stories of the mutilation of the murdered generals, the army encouraged brutal retaliation against the PKI. The military also sought to engage as many people as possible in the killings in order both to spread responsibility for the massacres and to force people who had become accustomed to political caution under Guided Democracy to commit themselves irrevocably to the anti-communist cause. People who might have been suspected of communist sympathies felt strong pressure to join in the killing to demonstrate their anti-communist credentials.*

Although some observers have described the killings as a form of running amok, closer examination suggests that the killings had little to do with the amok tradition of the Malay world, in which a man who felt that his honour was irrevocably lost put his affairs in 'order' and invited his own death by killing members of his community in a frenzied rage. By contrast, the massacres of 1965–1967 were carefully planned and intended to minimize the risk for the killers.


1965-1967
In the plantation region of North Sumatra, tens of thousands of people were killed. Most were members of labour unions which had been in conflict with the military management of nationalized plantations, but ethnic antagonism of local Christian Bataks and Muslim Malays to the large Javanese community, where the PKI was influential, contributed to the violence.
One of the last major incidents of killing associated with the destruction of the PKI was in West Kalimantan, where leftist ethnic Chinese guerrilla groups originally sponsored by Indonesia to fight in Sarawak turned their skills against the New Order, drawing support from local Chinese communities. As elsewhere, the army made use of local vigilantes, in this case indigenous Dayaks, to conduct the killings in late 1967.
The province of Irian Barat (Western New Guinea) came under Indonesian rule only in 1963, and a strong military presence prevented the PKI from establishing a foothold there. Few killings took place there in 1965-67.
The first extensive killings took place in Aceh in early October 1965. The PKI was relatively small in this strongly Muslim province, but several thousand people were killed.
PKI members organized some armed resistance in Central Java and later attempted to start a rural guerrilla campaign in East Java, but their efforts were poorly prepared and the army easily defeated them.
Tension between locals and Javanese in the transmigration regions of Lampung reportedly led to many thousands of deaths.
Jakarta
Perhaps 80,000 (5% of the population) were killed in Bali, where tensions over land, religion and political power had become acute.
Christian vigilantes in Minahasa and western Timor led the killing there.
Blitar
The army in West Java, which had fought the Darul Islam there for fifteen years, was reluctant to arm Muslim vigilantes in the province, and the killing there was limited to a few districts.
In Central Java, the army was responsible for much killing, but in East Java they made much use of Muslim vigilantes from the NU-affiliated youth movement Ansor.
5.34
600 kilometres



35 Detention camps for political prisoners, ca 1975, as reported by Amnesty International. *A few of the better known camps are named.*

The PKI had claimed three million members, of whom probably
lf a million were actively involved in party affairs. At least twenty
illion more Indonesians were members of PKI-affiliated organizations
sch as the peasants' union BTI and the women's movement Gerwani.
lrge numbers of leftist activists who were not killed in 1965–1966 –
ell over a million people by the government's own estimates – were
j led for longer or shorter periods in camps dotted over much of the
achipelago. Because of the difficulty of proving that any of them
ere involved in the events of 1 October 1965, very few were brought
t trial, but many spent over a decade in detention. Initially the
risoners were held in a wide variety of places, including existing jails,
any camps, and even a former civilian internment camp from the
Scond World War, in conditions varying from adequate to bad. By
te mid-1970s, the main detention area was on the island of Buru in
Maluku, where prisoners were required to create self-supporting agri-
cltural settlements loosely modelled on the transmigration settlements
bing established elsewhere in the country. After international pressure
o Indonesia, most political prisoners accused of PKI links were
reased by 1979, though until the demise of the New Order a small
nmber remained in detention, some of them under sentence of death.
Pleased prisoners were noted as such on their identity cards and were
pohibited from employment in a wide range of 'sensitive' occupations
(cluding teaching).

5.36 The main area of political prisoner settlement on Buru, ca 1975.

Although the Indonesian military made extensive use of violence to establish the New Order, they sought to create a political system in which tensions, and therefore, violence would be minimized. A major part of this strategy involved limiting the influence on government and society of all political parties, not just the communist party. The parties were alleged to have prevented good government both by appointing incompetent party supporters to administrative positions and by interpreting government policy in terms of party policy rather than national interest.

A major feature of the New Order, therefore, was the removal of the once powerful party presence in the administration and its substitution with a military presence. The military had been involved in administration both during the revolution against the Dutch and under Sukarno's Guided Democracy, but that involvement was now elevated to the level of a political doctrine, called *dwifungsi*, under which the military's role in providing political stability and the necessary conditions for economic development were placed on a par with the tasks of external defence.

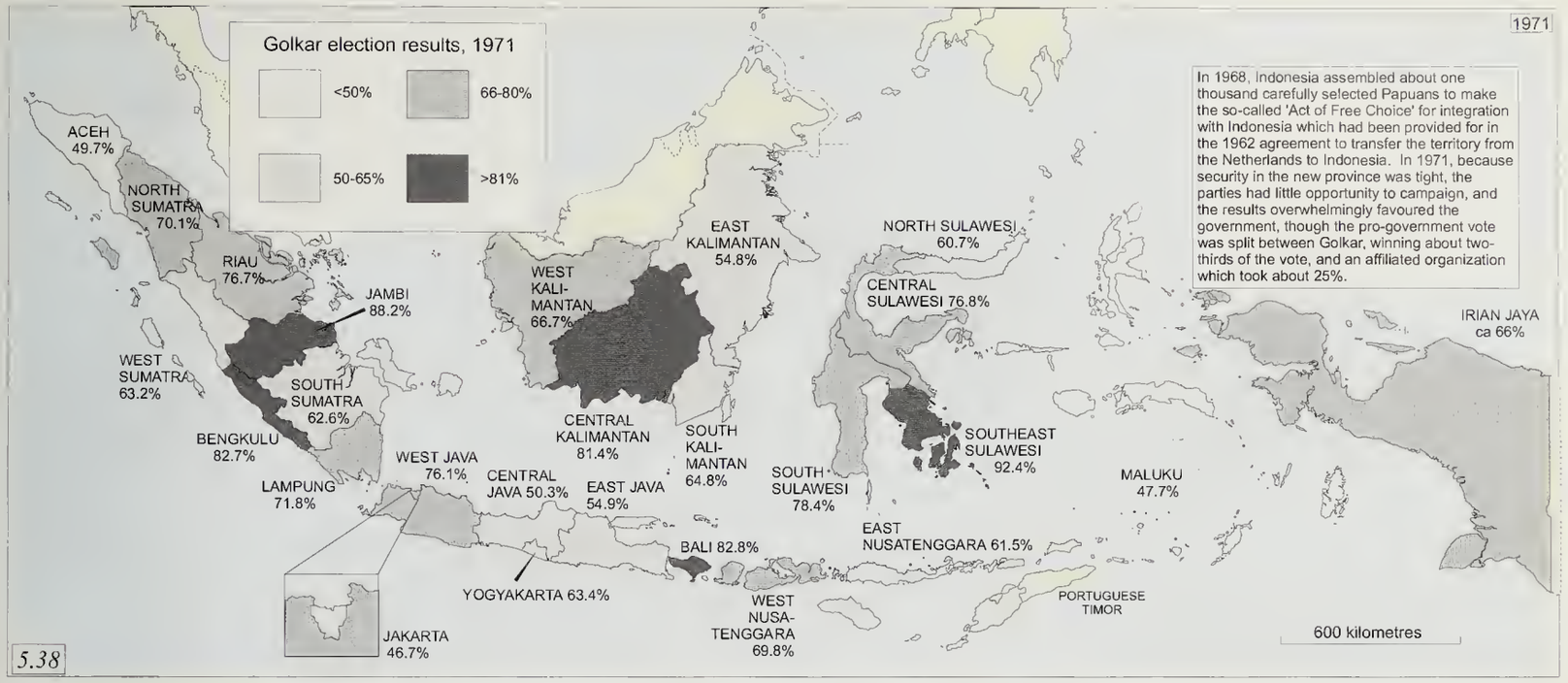
Military personnel, active and retired, were appointed to positions throughout the government. They were especially prominent in the Department of Internal Affairs (Dalam Negeri), holding positions ranging from governor down to village chief. The administration was never fully militarized, but the strong military (mainly army) presence ensured that this key ministry was under effective military control.

The government also habitually appointed military personnel to positions which offered the opportunity for financial advantage, either through corruption (embezzlement or bribes) or indirectly through privileged access to information and permits. This practice gave the New Order extensive opportunities to reward its supporters, as well as providing a major flow of funds into the military sector which was not covered in the state budget.

Party influence within the bureaucracy was further diminished by introduction of the principle of 'mono-loyalty', enunciated in 1970, under which public servants were required to give exclusive loyalty to the government and could not therefore join or support political parties without the written permission of their superiors.

The New Order stopped short of doing away with political parties and elections, but allowed both to continue only under tightly controlled conditions. Parties were not permitted to maintain a presence outside the larger cities and towns, and thus could not directly maintain mass membership; they could campaign only during the brief, designated campaign period prior to elections; and both their candidate lists and their campaign strategies were subject to modification by the authorities. The government, moreover, created its own election vehicle, called Golkar, which was not a party but which provided a label under which people could vote for the government. As the government vehicle, Golkar enjoyed the full support of both bureaucracy and military during the election campaigns.

5.37 The military dual function in 1984: provincial governors. *The number of provinces headed by (generally retired) military officers varied during the New Order period but tended to decrease with the passage of time. A survey of ministerial posts in the Indonesian government in 1981 showed that eleven out of twenty-four were held by serving or former officers. Also shown on the map is the ethnicity of provincial governors where they were not from the province they governed.*

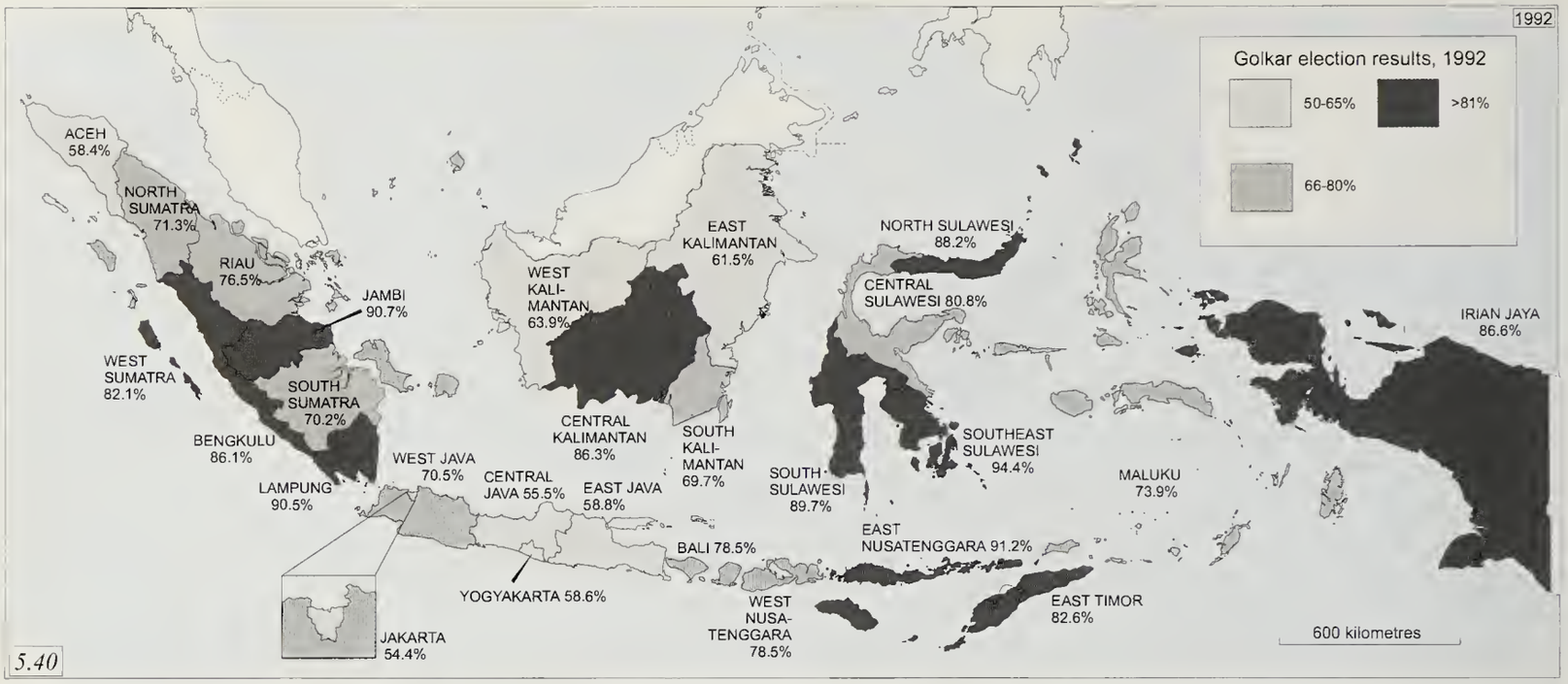

1971
Golkar election results, 1971
<50%
66-80%
50-65%
>81%
In 1968, Indonesia assembled about one thousand carefully selected Papuans to make the so-called 'Act of Free Choice' for integration with Indonesia which had been provided for in the 1962 agreement to transfer the territory from the Netherlands to Indonesia. In 1971, because security in the new province was tight, the parties had little opportunity to campaign, and the results overwhelmingly favoured the government, though the pro-government vote was split between Golkar, winning about two-thirds of the vote, and an affiliated organization which took about 25%.
ACEH 49.7%
NORTH SUMATRA 70.1%
RIAU 76.7%
JAMBI 88.2%
WEST SUMATRA 63.2%
SOUTH SUMATRA 62.6%
BENGKULU 82.7%
LAMPUNG 71.8%
WEST JAVA 76.1%
CENTRAL JAVA 50.3%
EAST JAVA 54.9%
BALI 82.8%
YOGYAKARTA 63.4%
JAKARTA 46.7%
WEST KALIMANTAN 66.7%
CENTRAL KALIMANTAN 81.4%
SOUTH KALIMANTAN 64.8%
EAST KALIMANTAN 54.8%
NORTH SULAWESI 60.7%
CENTRAL SULAWESI 76.8%
SOUTHEAST SULAWESI 92.4%
SOUTH SULAWESI 78.4%
EAST NUSATENGGARA 61.5%
WEST NUSA-TENGGARA 69.8%
MALUKU 47.7%
IRIAN JAYA ca 66%
PORTUGUESE TIMOR
600 kilometres
5.38

5.38 Golkar in the 1971 elections.

The first national elections held under the New Order gave an impressive victory to Golkar. The government won a majority in all provinces except Aceh, Jakarta and Maluku, where it missed by no more than a few percent. Golkar was especially successful in winning the votes of those who had formerly voted for the PNI, which had now been stripped of its power base in the bureaucracy. The religious parties did best in retaining the allegiance of their supporters, but the Parmusi, created under New Order auspices to fill the niche left after the banning of Masjumi in 1960, did less well than expected.

Golkar had been formed originally in 1964 as a military-sponsored coordinating body for non-communist trade unions. Even when it

5.39 Relics of the party system: non-government parties winning more than 10% of the vote, by province, 1971.

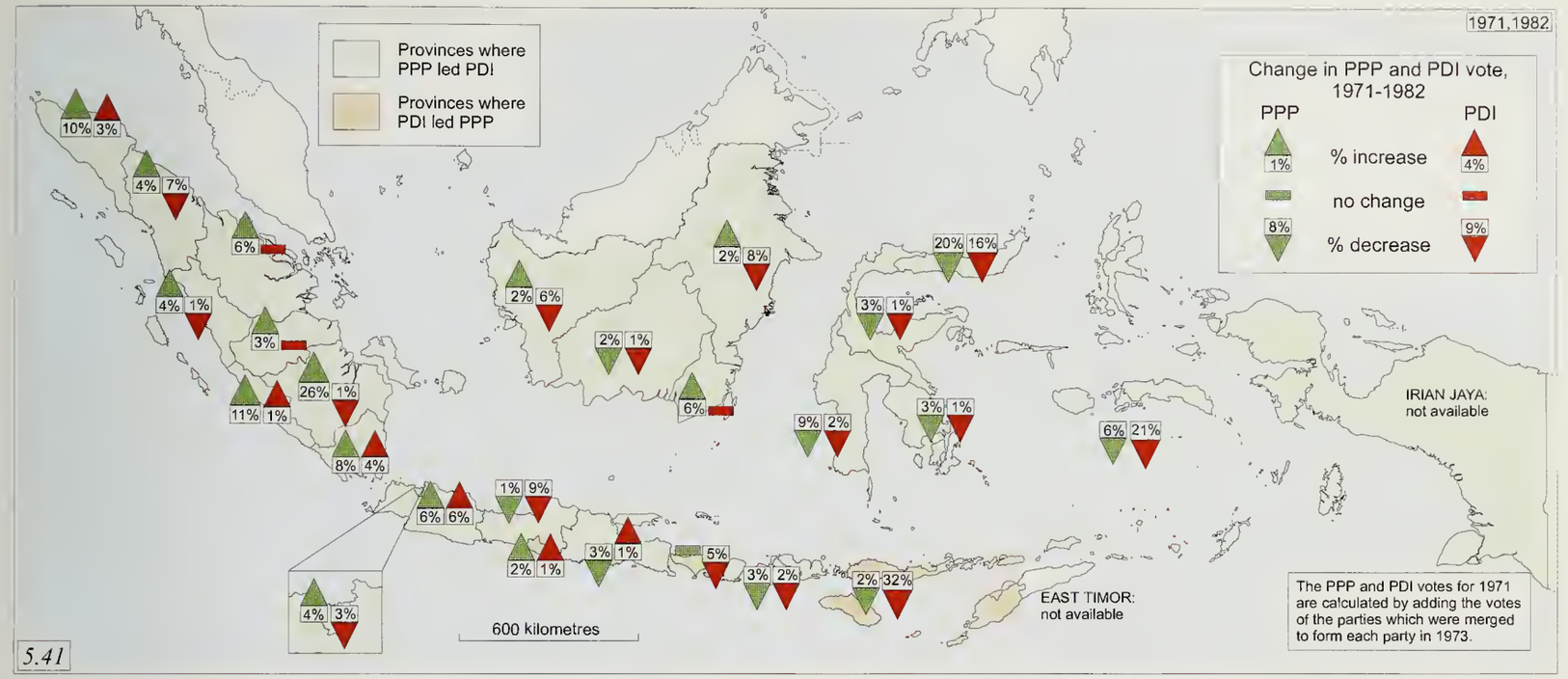


5.40 Golkar in the 1992 elections.

became an electoral vehicle for the government, it did not become a conventional political party, but retained its federal structure. Golkar therefore had no members and largely ceased to exist except at election time. In 1983, however, in an attempt to develop stronger political ties between government and people, Golkar officially transformed itself into a mass organization and began to recruit members, attracting several million in its first year. This transformation was one of the factors which helped Golkar to win handsomely in the 1987 elections and it gave rise to speculation that Golkar might develop a political identity distinct from that of the government. Only to a limited extent, however, did Golkar show signs of independence. Its leadership was still nominated by the government (and included two of President Suharto's children) and its parliamentary membership were still subject to rigorous vetting by state security services, so that individuals critical of or inconvenient to the government were unlikely to be permitted to stand for election again.

Golkar won all the national elections held from 1971 to 1992. In 1973, the government required the remaining political parties to merge into two new parties, the Unity Development Party (PPP) for the Muslim

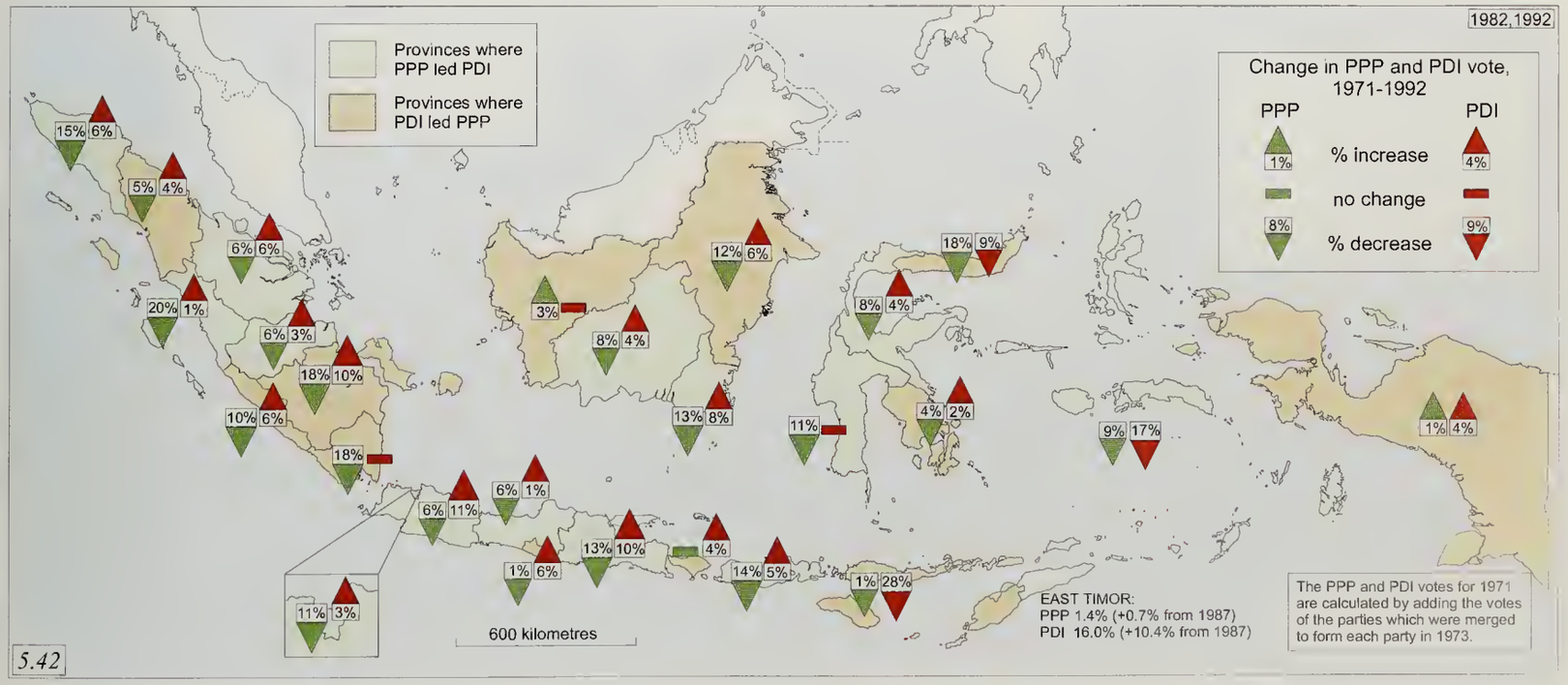
5.i The three party symbols, 1992. *PDI (left), PPP (centre), Golkar (right). The symbols of all three parties are drawn mainly from the Indonesian coat of arms, where the bull stands for national unity, the star for belief in God, the rice and cotton for prosperity and* waringin *(fig tree) for humanity. The PPP symbol also contains a highly stylized Ka'abah, the black rock at the centre of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.*

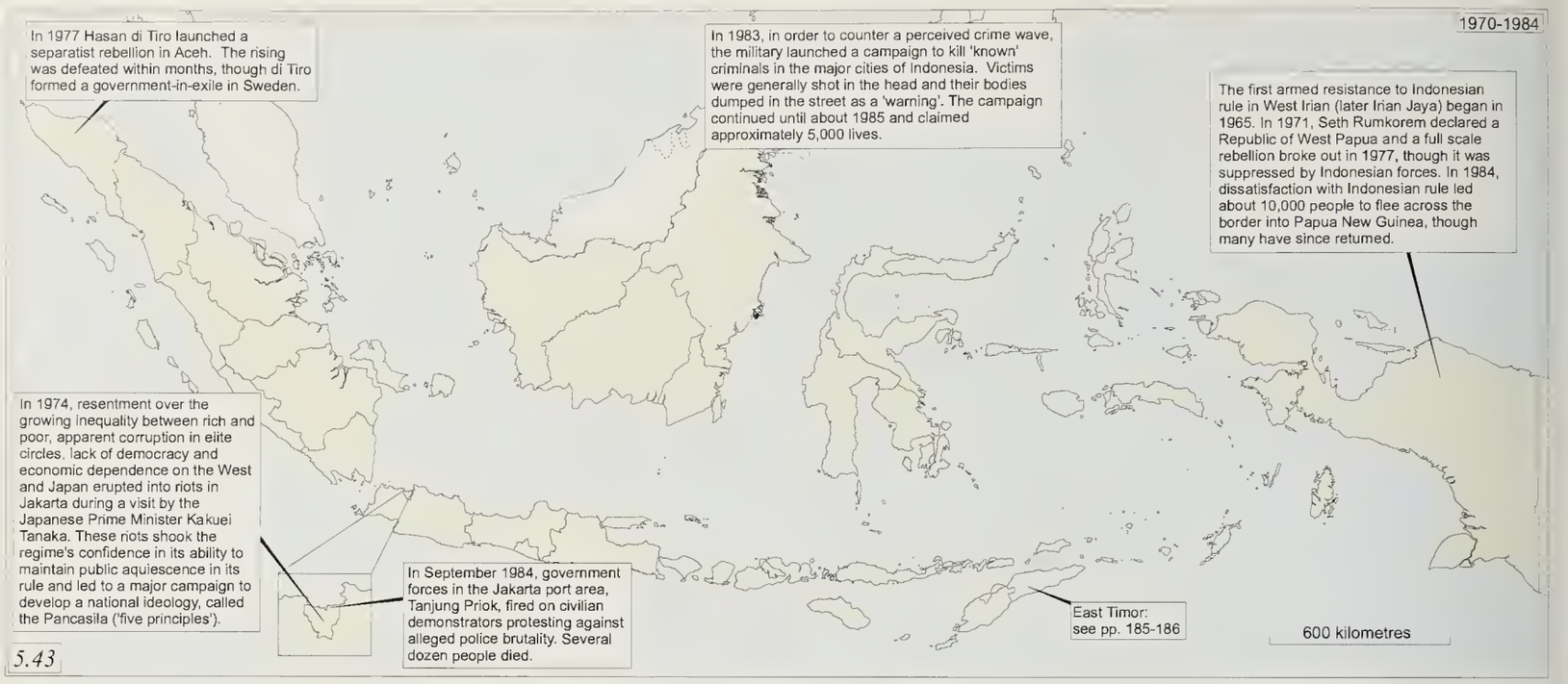

1971,1982
Provinces where PPP led PDI
Provinces where PDI led PPP
Change in PPP and PDI vote, 1971-1982
PPP
PDI
% increase
no change
% decrease
IRIAN JAYA: not available
EAST TIMOR: not available
The PPP and PDI votes for 1971 are calculated by adding the votes of the parties which were merged to form each party in 1973.
600 kilometres
5.41

5.41 The non-government parties from 1971 to 1982: the rise of the PPP and the fall of the PDI.

parties and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) for the others. Both new parties suffered badly from internal divisions between their unwilling constituents. In the 1970s and early 1980s the PPP had greatest success in maintaining its vote, based on a solid Islamic constituency in parts of Java and Sumatra. In 1984, however, frustrated by the obstacles to Islamic political activism, the Nahdatul Ulama formally withdrew from the PPP and from public political activity. The PPP vote in later elections plummeted, but in the 1980s the PDI began to emerge as a new voice of opposition. The election results in 1992 showed that the party had lost much of its political base amongst the Christian communities of eastern Indonesia, but had displaced the PPP in many provinces as the main non-government political force.

5.42 The non-government parties from 1982 to 1992: the rise of the PDI and the fall of the PPP.

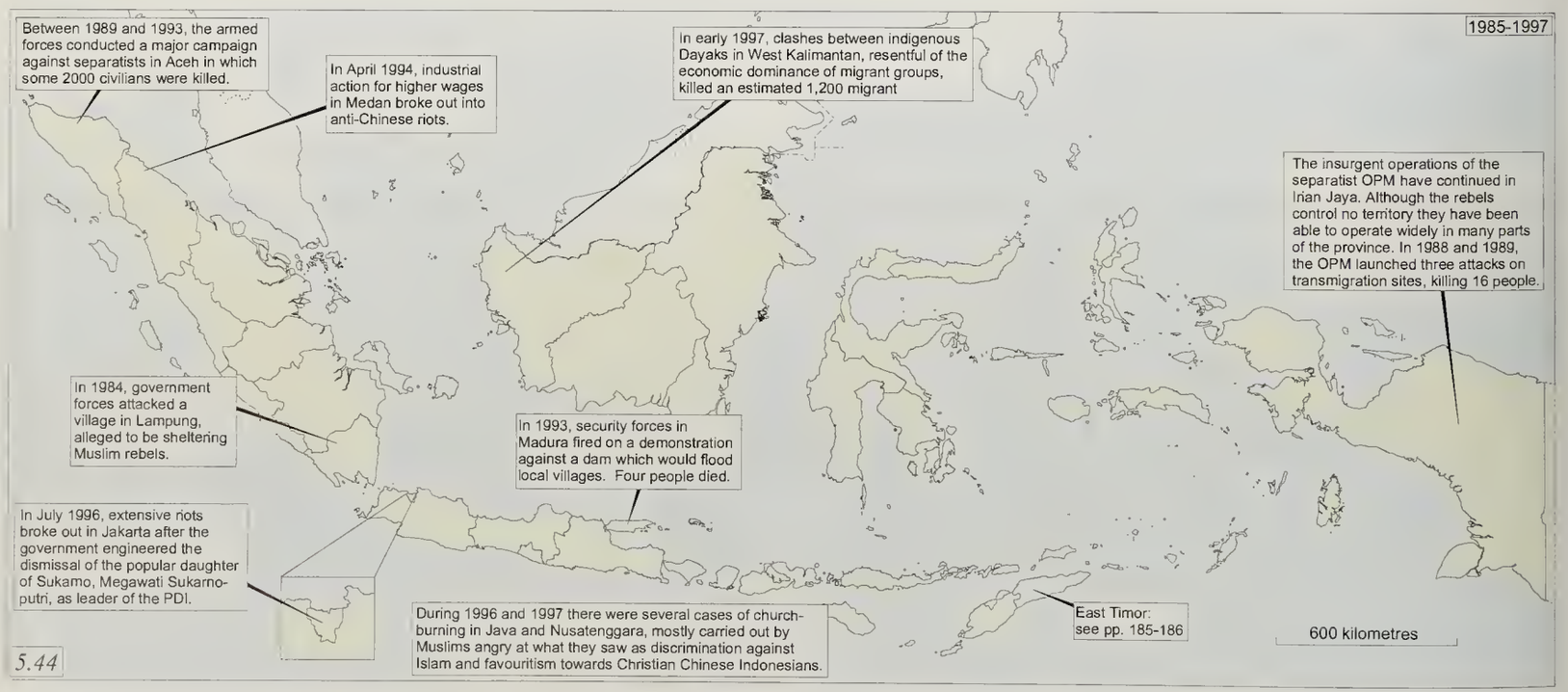

1982,1992
Provinces where PPP led PDI
Provinces where PDI led PPP
Change in PPP and PDI vote, 1971-1992
PPP
PDI
% increase
no change
% decrease
EAST TIMOR:
PPP 1.4% (+0.7% from 1987)
PDI 16.0% (+10.4% from 1987)
The PPP and PDI votes for 1971 are calculated by adding the votes of the parties which were merged to form each party in 1973.
600 kilometres
5.42

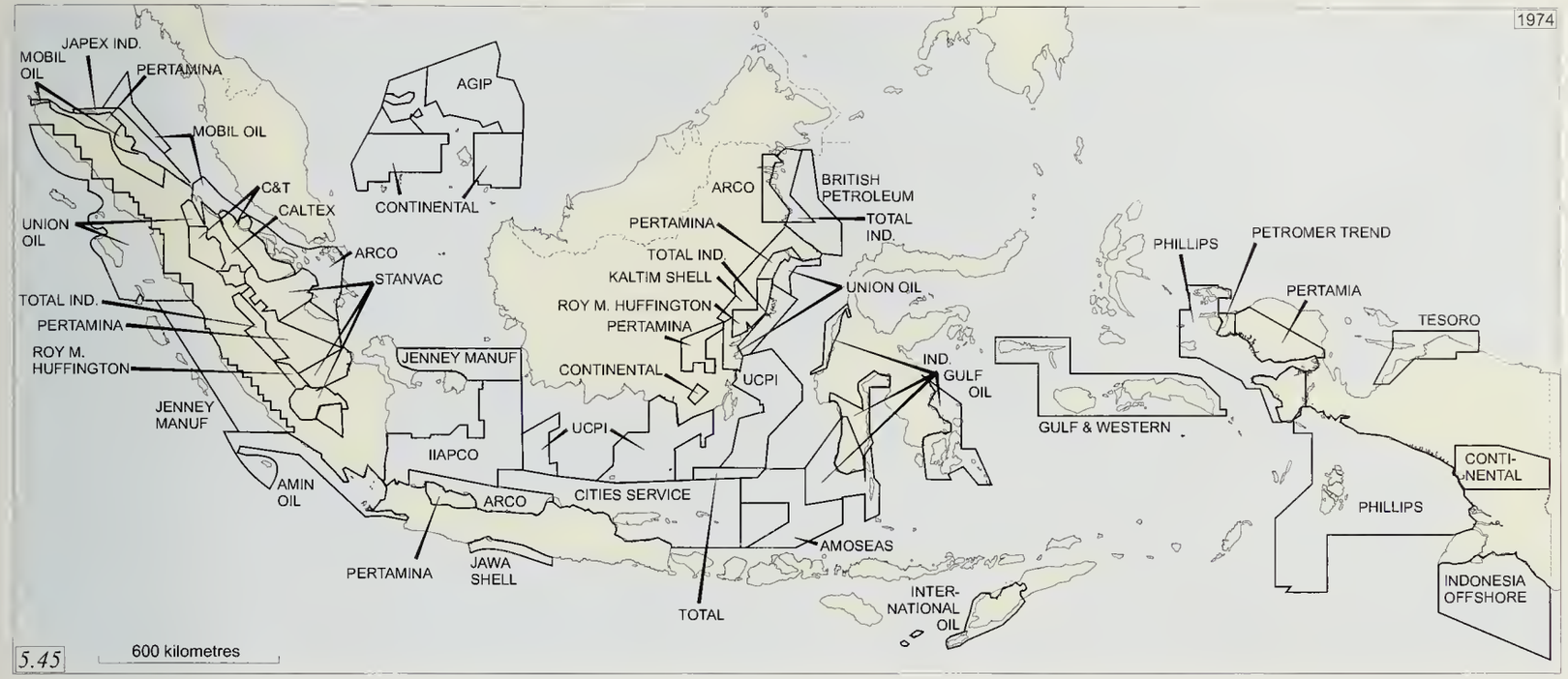

1970-1984
In 1977 Hasan di Tiro launched a separatist rebellion in Aceh. The rising was defeated within months, though di Tiro formed a government-in-exile in Sweden.
In 1983, in order to counter a perceived crime wave, the military launched a campaign to kill 'known' criminals in the major cities of Indonesia. Victims were generally shot in the head and their bodies dumped in the street as a 'warning'. The campaign continued until about 1985 and claimed approximately 5,000 lives.
The first armed resistance to Indonesian rule in West Irian (later Irian Jaya) began in 1965. In 1971, Seth Rumkorem declared a Republic of West Papua and a full scale rebellion broke out in 1977, though it was suppressed by Indonesian forces. In 1984, dissatisfaction with Indonesian rule led about 10,000 people to flee across the border into Papua New Guinea, though many have since returned.
In 1974, resentment over the growing inequality between rich and poor, apparent corruption in elite circles, lack of democracy and economic dependence on the West and Japan erupted into riots in Jakarta during a visit by the Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. These riots shook the regime's confidence in its ability to maintain public aquiescence in its rule and led to a major campaign to develop a national ideology, called the Pancasila ('five principles').
In September 1984, government forces in the Jakarta port area, Tanjung Priok, fired on civilian demonstrators protesting against alleged police brutality. Several dozen people died.
East Timor: see pp. 185-186
600 kilometres
5.43

5.43 Dissent and repression, 1970–1984.

Tight control of the bureaucracy and careful management of elections helped the Suharto government to maintain a political stability which many Indonesians regarded as a blessing after the turmoil of the period to 1967. Nonetheless, the regime was uncompromising and often brutal in dealing with dissent. Although most Indonesians benefited from the development programmes of the New Order, there were many people who suffered from the government's arbitrary actions. Many more were unhappy with the ideological character of the regime, the high level of corruption and the general lack of democratic rights. The boundaries between what was and what was not permitted varied over the thirty years of New Order government, but the government was especially harsh in dealing with mass movements questioning its authority.

5.44 Dissent and repression, 1985–1997.

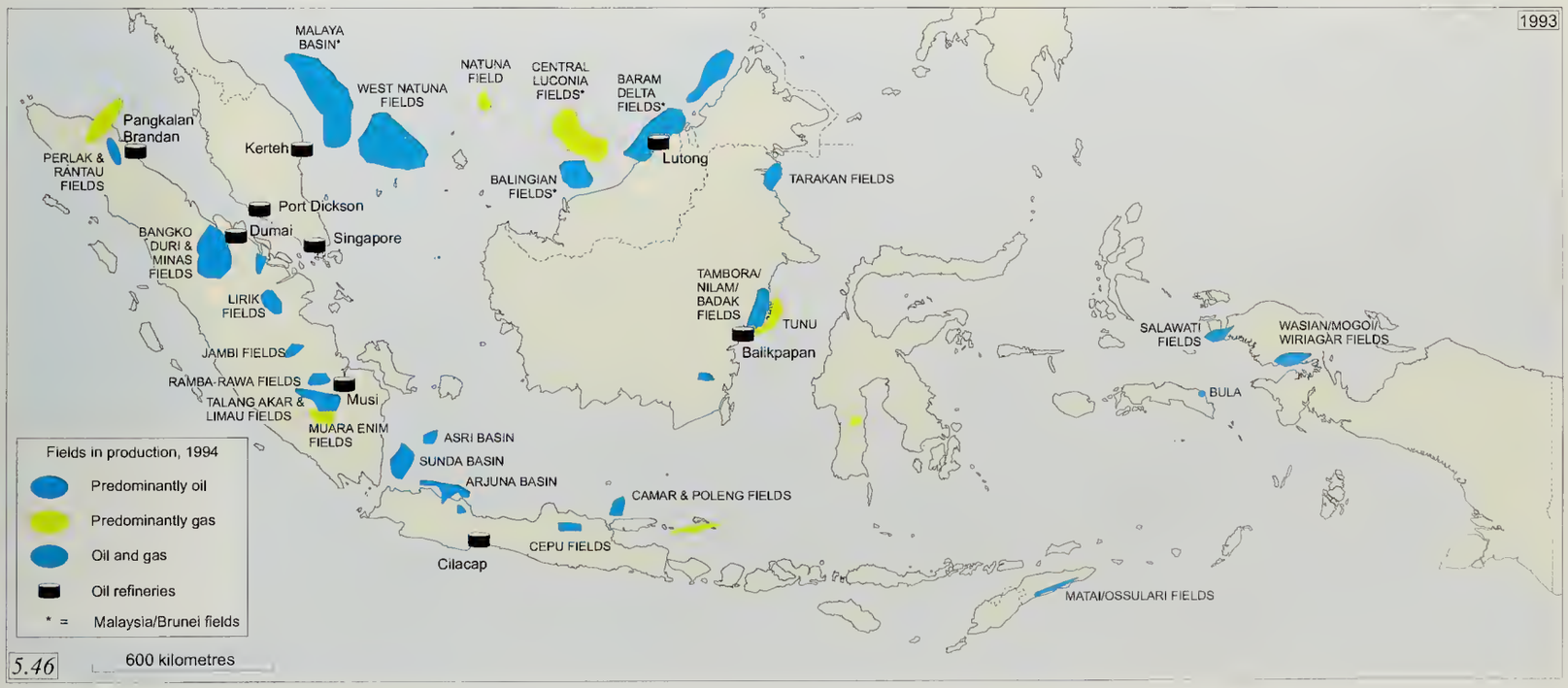

1985-1997
Between 1989 and 1993, the armed forces conducted a major campaign against separatists in Aceh in which some 2000 civilians were killed.
In April 1994, industrial action for higher wages in Medan broke out into anti-Chinese riots.
In early 1997, clashes between indigenous Dayaks in West Kalimantan, resentful of the economic dominance of migrant groups, killed an estimated 1,200 migrant
The insurgent operations of the separatist OPM have continued in Irian Jaya. Although the rebels control no territory they have been able to operate widely in many parts of the province. In 1988 and 1989, the OPM launched three attacks on transmigration sites, killing 16 people.
In 1984, government forces attacked a village in Lampung, alleged to be sheltering Muslim rebels.
In 1993, security forces in Madura fired on a demonstration against a dam which would flood local villages. Four people died.
In July 1996, extensive riots broke out in Jakarta after the government engineered the dismissal of the popular daughter of Sukarno, Megawati Sukarnoputri, as leader of the PDI.
During 1996 and 1997 there were several cases of church-burning in Java and Nusatenggara, mostly carried out by Muslims angry at what they saw as discrimination against Islam and favouritism towards Christian Chinese Indonesians.
East Timor: see pp. 185-186
600 kilometres
5.44

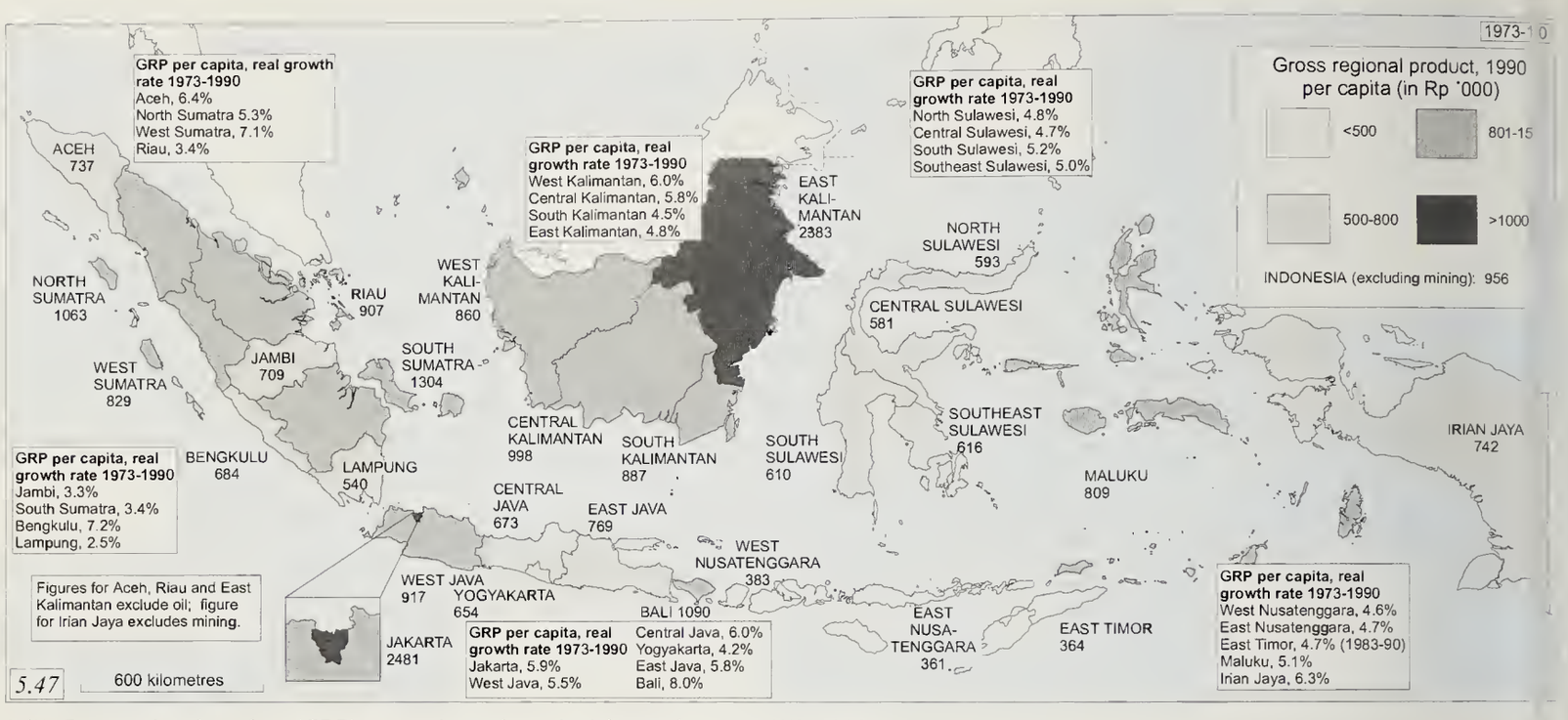


5.45 Oil and gas working areas, 1974.

Indonesia's economic recovery after 1966 rested in part on generous international donors and creditors and on careful planning by Indonesian economists, but the massive exploitation of the country's natural resources played a major role. Large areas of the archipelago were allocated to foreign firms for oil exploration and extraction, and the country's forests were distributed to logging firms. These measures generated the capital needed for infrastructure and other investment, as well as providing the government with a means of delivering quick rewards to its supporters and associates. The natural resources boom was the basis of a large number of fortunes in the New Order elite.

5.46 Oil and gas fields in production, 1993.

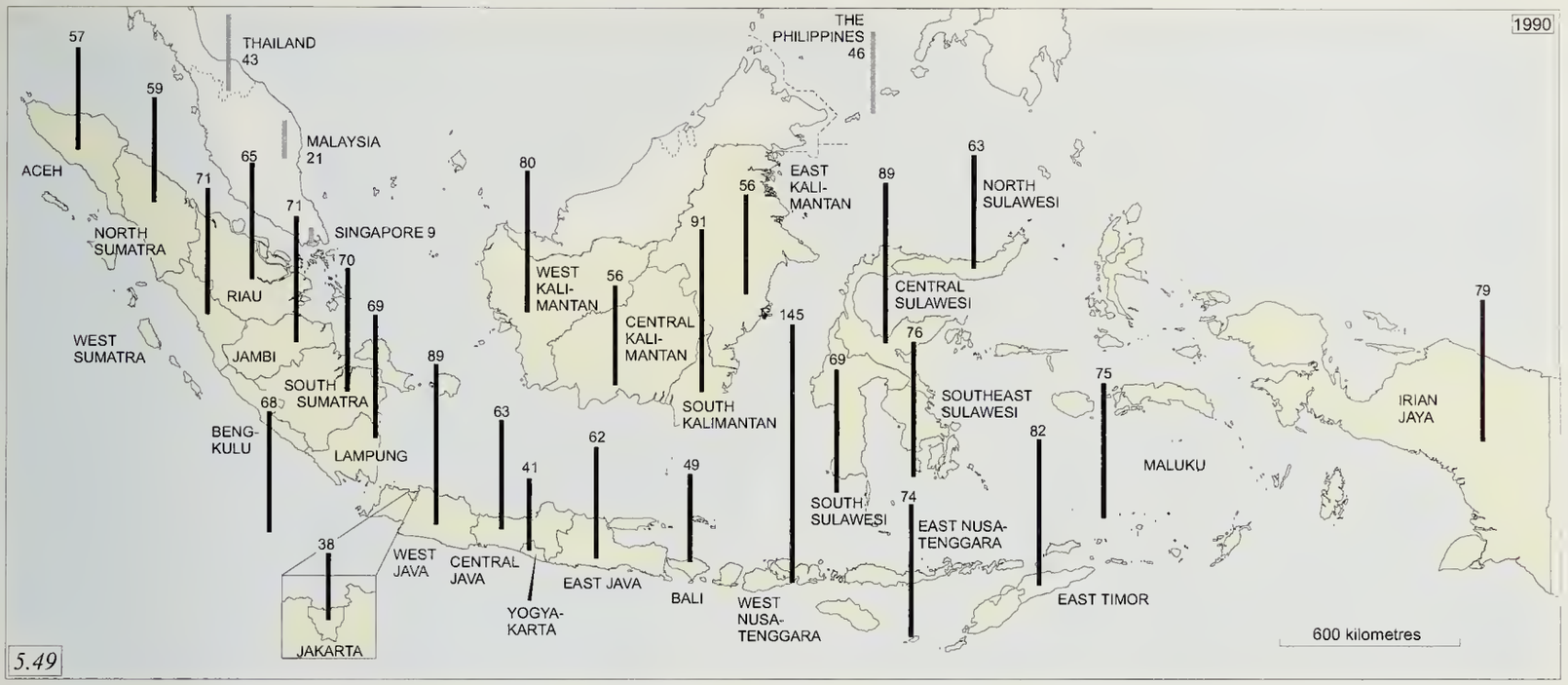




5.47 Gross regional product (GRP) per capita and provincial growth rates, 1973–1990.

In three decades, the New Order achieved dramatic improvements in Indonesia's overall economic performance and in a great many areas of social welfare. An issue of continuing concern, however, is the disparity between different regions. Economic, social and political disparities have been a feature of the archipelago thoughout its history. As seen in earlier chapters, Java and the Melaka Strait region were once the heart of the archipelago; in the late colonial period, however, Java in particular became a major problem area of what was then called 'diminished welfare'. This state of affairs continued well into the New Order period, when the rich mining and plantation resources of the Outer Islands were the most important economic attraction of the Indies to the Dutch. On the eve of the Asian economic crisis of 1997, however, signs were that the position was being reversed and that Java was once more becoming the economic powerhouse of the archipelago.

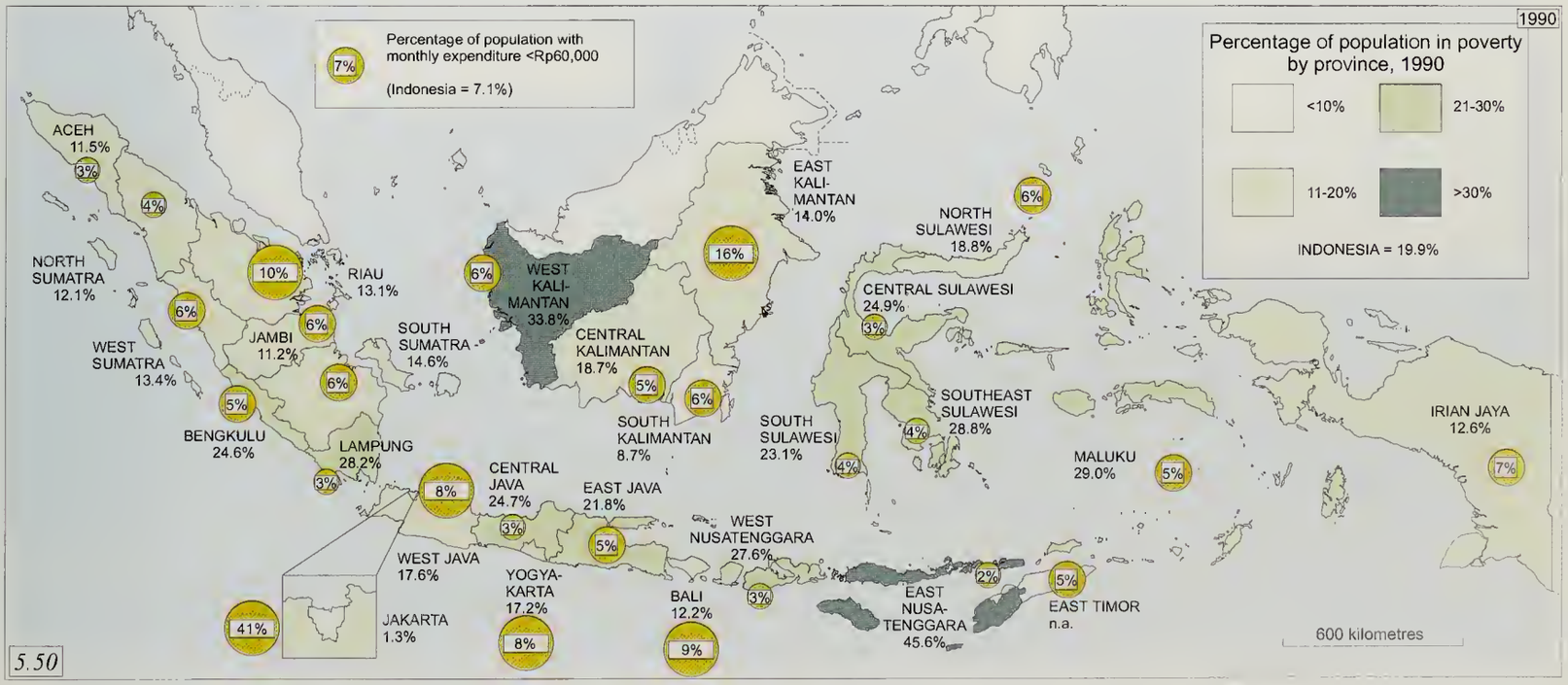
5.48 Foreign investment by province, 1967–1990.

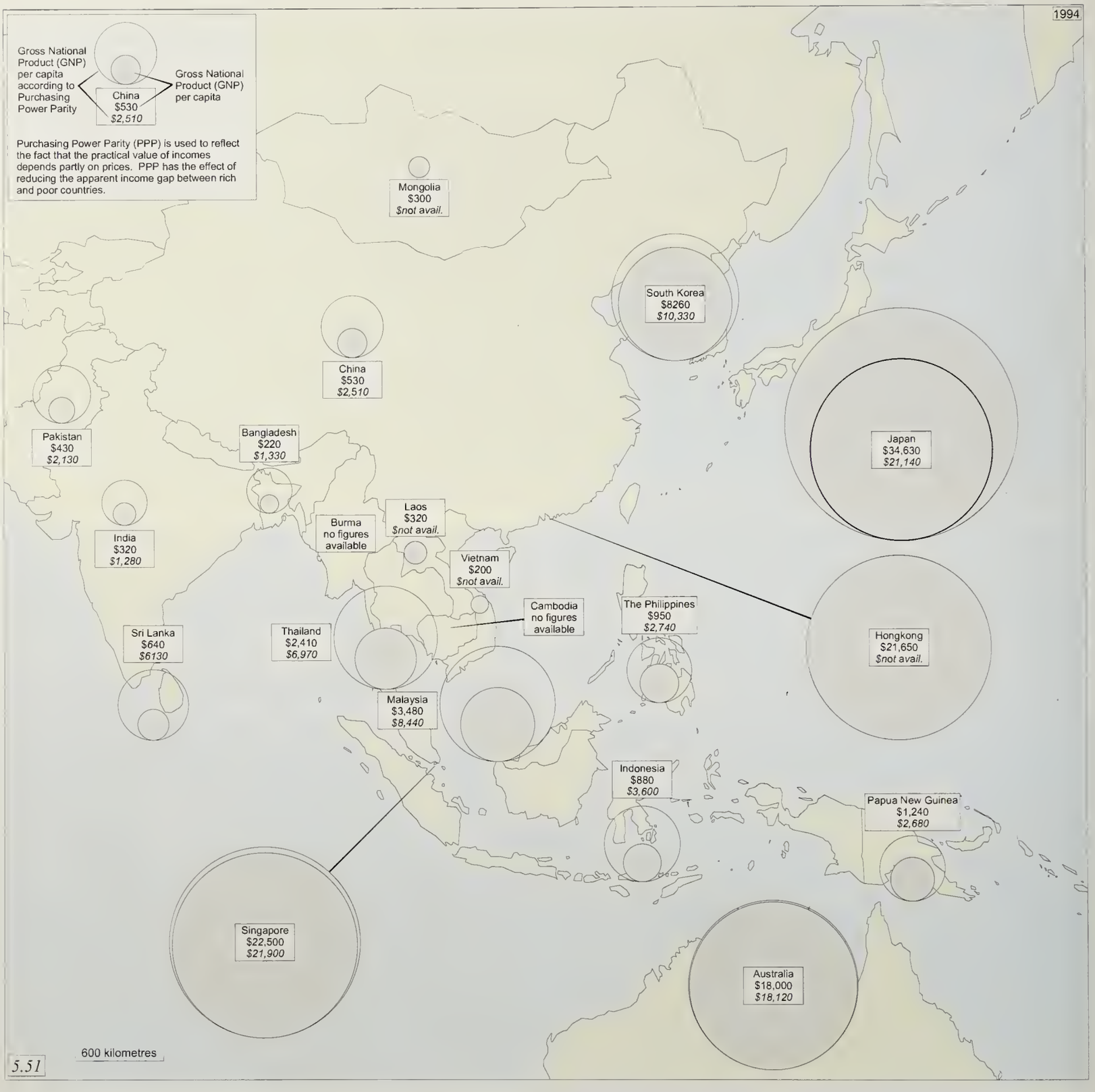


5.49 Infant mortality (deaths before year 1 per 1,000 live births).

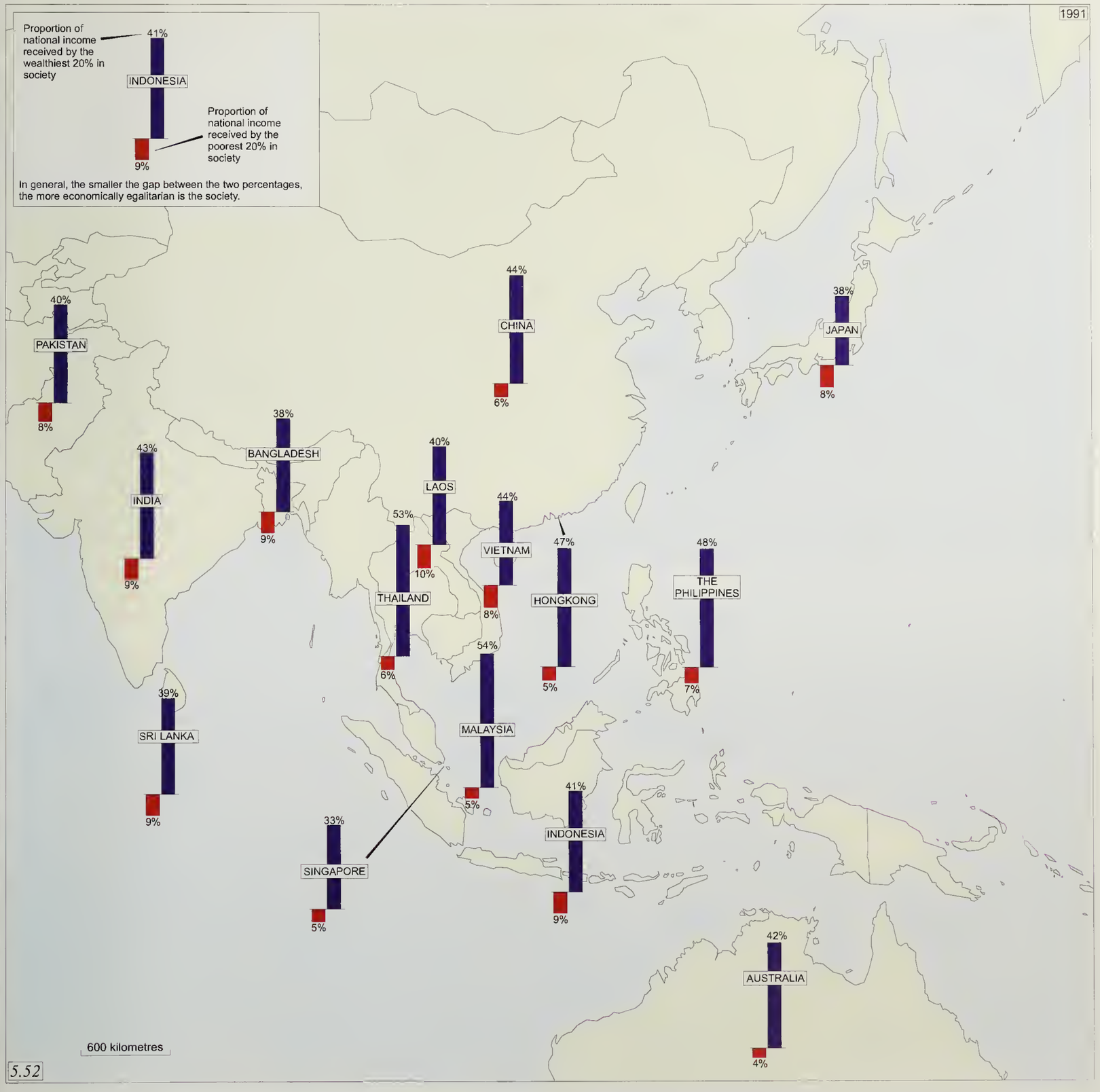
Despite the increasing social and economic integration of the archipelago, a number of regions participated much less than others in the economic successes of the New Order. West Kalimantan and East Nusatenggara stand out as provinces where conditions remain difficult for a large part of the population. The political implications of such discrepancies are hard to foresee, but both provinces have been troubled by serious social and religious tensions in recent years. On the whole, on the other hand, the general improvement of social conditions and economic performance in the densely populated provinces of Java probably worked against the growth of regional separatist movements because the benefits and opportunities which flowed from being part of Indonesia were easier to see.

5.50 Percentage of the Indonesian population in poverty, by province, 1990.

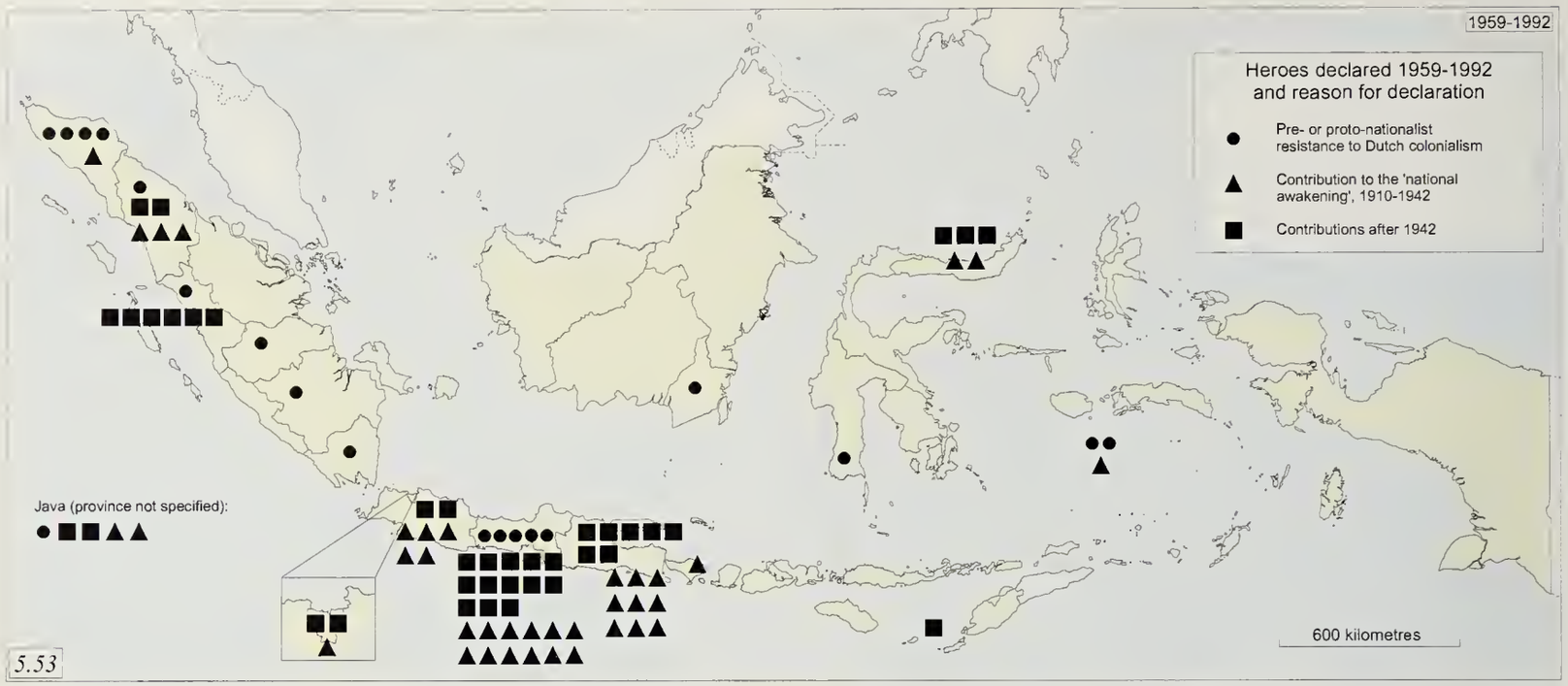




5.51 Indonesia and its neighbours, GNP per capita in US$ and according to Purchasing Power Parity (PPP). *Although the New Order government achieved spectacular improvements in the Indonesian economy after 1967, Indonesia is no further advanced than the middle order of Asian countries in terms of the Gross National Product per capita, which is generally regarded as the basic measure for comparing national economic strength.*

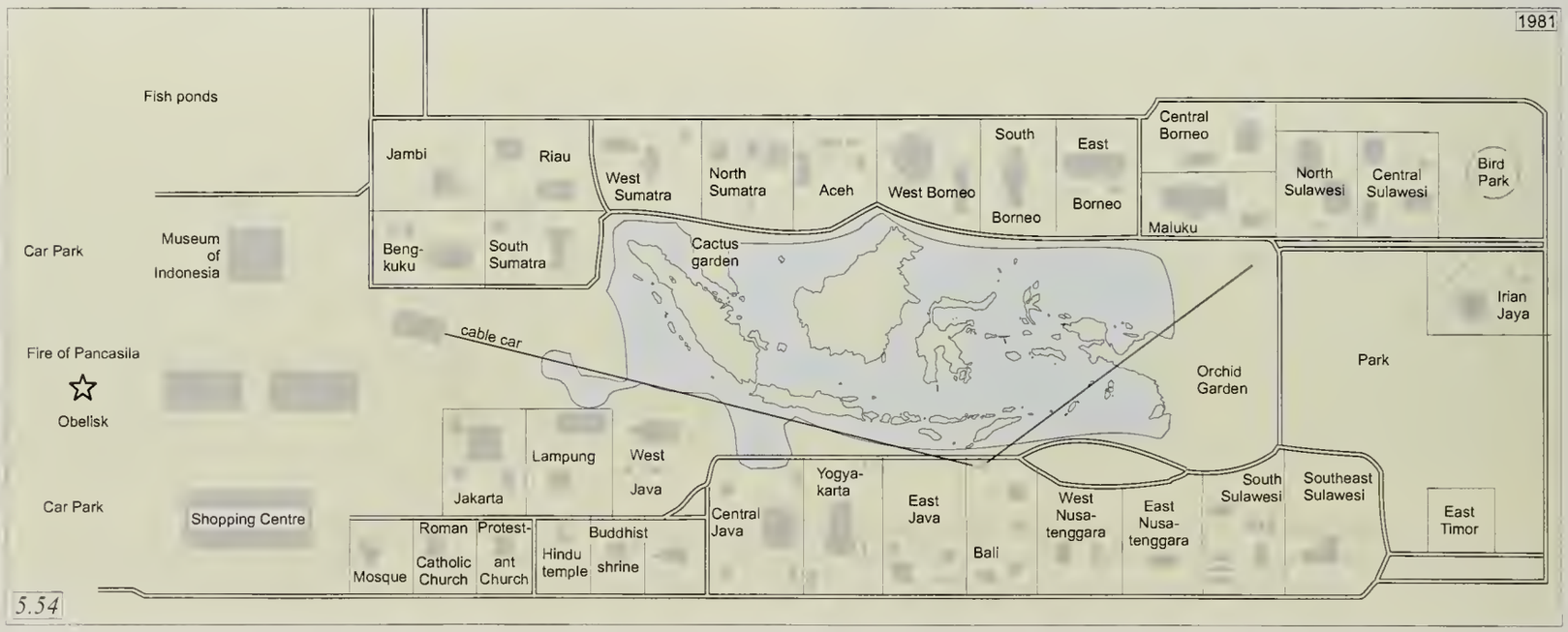


5.52 Indonesia and its neighbours, social distribution of income, ca 1991. *The gap in wealth between rich and poor is an issue of major political significance in Asia. Measuring the gap is difficult, but one indication is the difference between the share of total national income enjoyed by the richest 20% of the population and the poorest 20%. This measure does not reflect ownership, overall levels of welfare or the possible concentration of wealth in a small elite within the top 20%, but it does provide a useful, broad social picture.*



5.53 National heroes, by region. *Since 1959, the Indonesian government has sought to encourage patriotism by identifying 94 'heroes' (85 men and 9 women) who contributed in some way to Indonesian nationhood. Although an effort has been made to ensure that all regions of Indonesia are represented amongst the designated heroes, not all provinces have a hero, and Java is most heavily represented. 11 November, the anniversary of the 1945 Battle of Surabaya is designated as Heroes' Day, though none of the official heroes was significantly involved in the fighting there.*

5.54 Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Theme Park). *Many observers regard Taman Mini, established in the early 1970s, not just as a place of recreation but as a symbolic gathering to Jakarta of the nation's cultural symbols. The central feature of the park is an artificial lake containing a miniature Indonesian archipelago. Surrounding the lake are pavilions representing the characteristic architectural styles of each province. Indonesia's five recognized religions are also represented.*

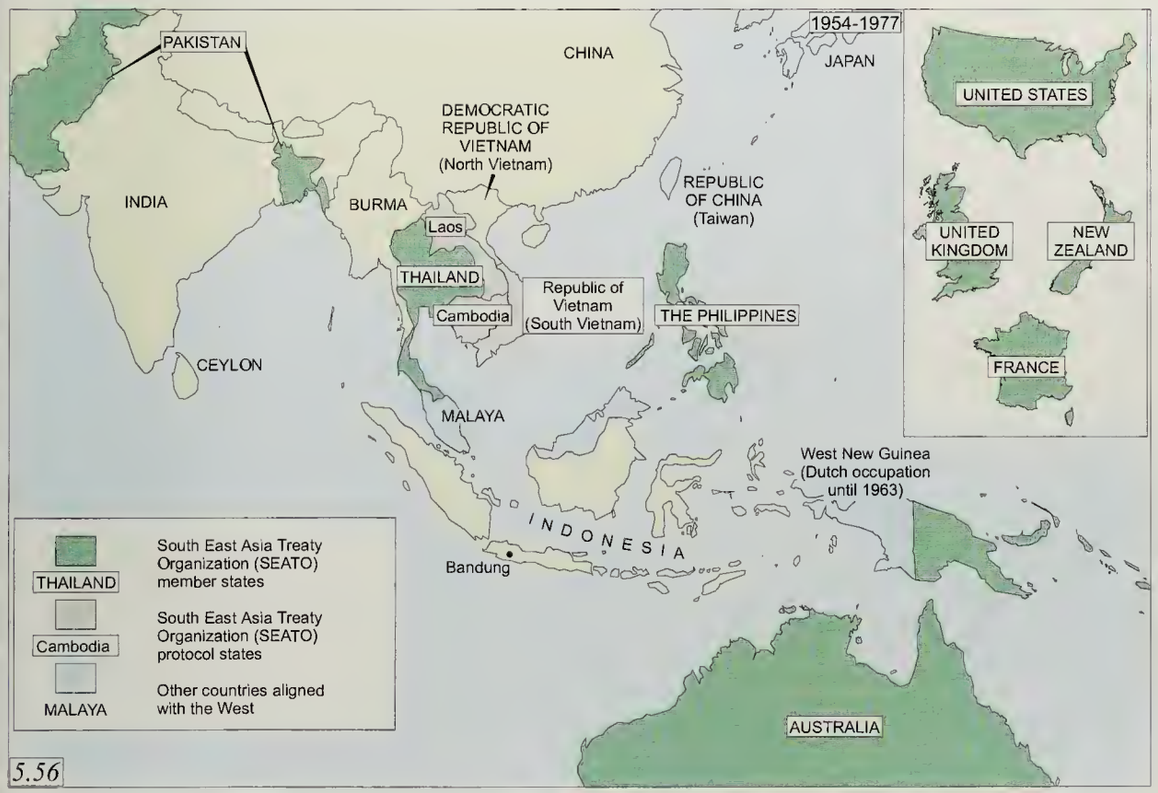


5.55 The South East Asia League.

Foreign Relations

Before the Second World War, the Indonesian elite was aware of the presence of nationalist movements in neighbouring colonies but few people, except for some communists, believed that there was any value in coordinating struggles across the region. After the war, the outbreak of nationalist and communist revolutions in Burma, Malaya, Vietnam and the Philippines, as well as Indonesia, led to suggestions for collaboration in a regional struggle. The policies and strategies of the respective colonial powers, however, were very different and most national leaders preferred to tailor their strategies to their own specific circumstances, rather than tying their future to the success of other movements. The only exception was the South East Asia League, formed in 1947 under the auspices of Thailand, which also included Amir Sjarifuddin's Republic of Indonesia and Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The League disappeared after the overthrow of the Pridi government in Thailand and the resignation of Amir as Indonesia's prime minister.

After 1949, Indonesia adopted a foreign policy which was formally described as 'active and non-aligned'. In particular, it refused to align with either side in the Cold War, seeking instead to develop a third force of Asian and African countries, which would both moderate the great power conflict and focus attention on problems of global inequity. These efforts resulted in the Asia–Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955, normally regarded as the first meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement.



5.56 The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). *SEATO was founded by the United States and Britain in 1954 to provide a treaty framework for enforcing the Geneva Agreement ending the first Indochina War. It lacked the central military command of NATO, but was intended to allow military assistance to be given to three 'protocol' states – South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia – judged to be at risk from communist aggression. Indonesia feared SEATO as an agent of the Western powers, but it never developed a coherent identity in its own right. It was dissolved in 1977.*

5.57 The Association of Southeast Asia (ASA).

5.58 Maphilindo.

5.59 The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). *Unlike SEATO, ASEAN was never envisaged as a military pact. Instead, it envisaged economic, diplomatic and technical cooperation between its members to promote their individual resilience. In 1992, the members agreed to create an ASEAN Free Trade Area by 2008, but progress in this direction has been slow. The ASEAN Regional Forum, which has met since 1994, discusses security issues with Australia, Canada, the European Union, China, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Russia, the United States, and the other Southeast Asian states.*

1967-present
Cambodia was scheduled to join ASEAN in 1997 along with Laos and Burma, but its admission was postponed until 1999 because of internal political disturbances.
Founding members of ASEAN, 1967
Members joining later (with year)
BURMA [MYANMAR] 1997
LAOS 1997
THAILAND
VIETNAM 1995
CAM-BODIA 1999
THE PHILIPPINES
BRUNEI 1984
M A L A Y S I A
SINGA-PORE
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
East Timor (annexed by Indonesia in 1976)
5.59

The domination of SEATO by Western powers led Southeast Asian countries to begin thinking of a purely regional association which might serve their mutual interests. This idea first took shape in the Association of Southeast Asia (ASA), formed in 1961 by Thailand, the Philippines and Malaya. All three partners were strategically aligned with the West, and Indonesia refused to join. The organization, however, came under immediate pressure as a result of a Philippines claim in 1962 to Sabah (North Borneo) which Malaya intended to become part of a broader federation of Malaysia. The ASA therefore remained largely dormant until it was dissolved in 1966. In 1963, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines tentatively agreed to a pan-Malay confederation, to be called Maphilindo, but the idea was scotched, almost as soon as it was launched, by Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia (see p. 168).

In 1964 and 1965, Indonesia increasingly presented itself as a global leader of the 'New Emerging Forces' against the 'Old Established Forces' which included both the West and the Soviet Union. Sukarno also talked of a Jakarta–Peking axis, sometimes expanded to become a Jakarta–Phnom Penh–Hanoi–Peking–Pyongyang axis (thus including Sihanouk's Cambodia, North Vietnam and North Korea).

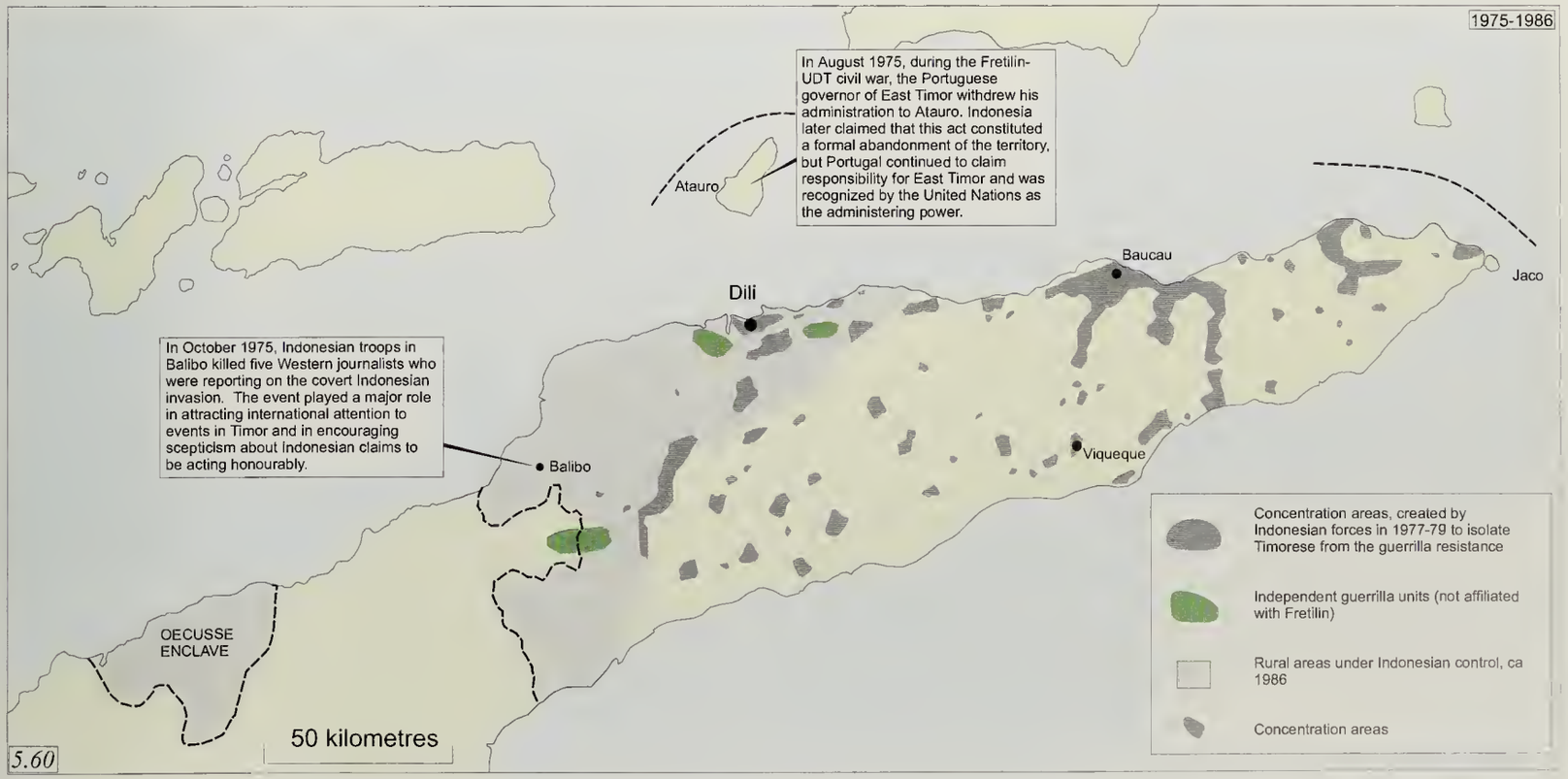
After Sukarno's overthrow in 1965–1966, the New Order government was anxious to mend its relations with both the West and with its immediate Southeast Asian neighbours. One of the first results of this reorientation was the foundation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967. In recent years, ASEAN has become increasingly important as a body negotiating on behalf of its members with external powers such as the European Union and Japan. Although Indonesia retained a formal commitment to non-alignment (Suharto chaired the Non-Aligned Movement from 1992 to 1995), in practice Indonesia has backed the West on most issues of international politics.

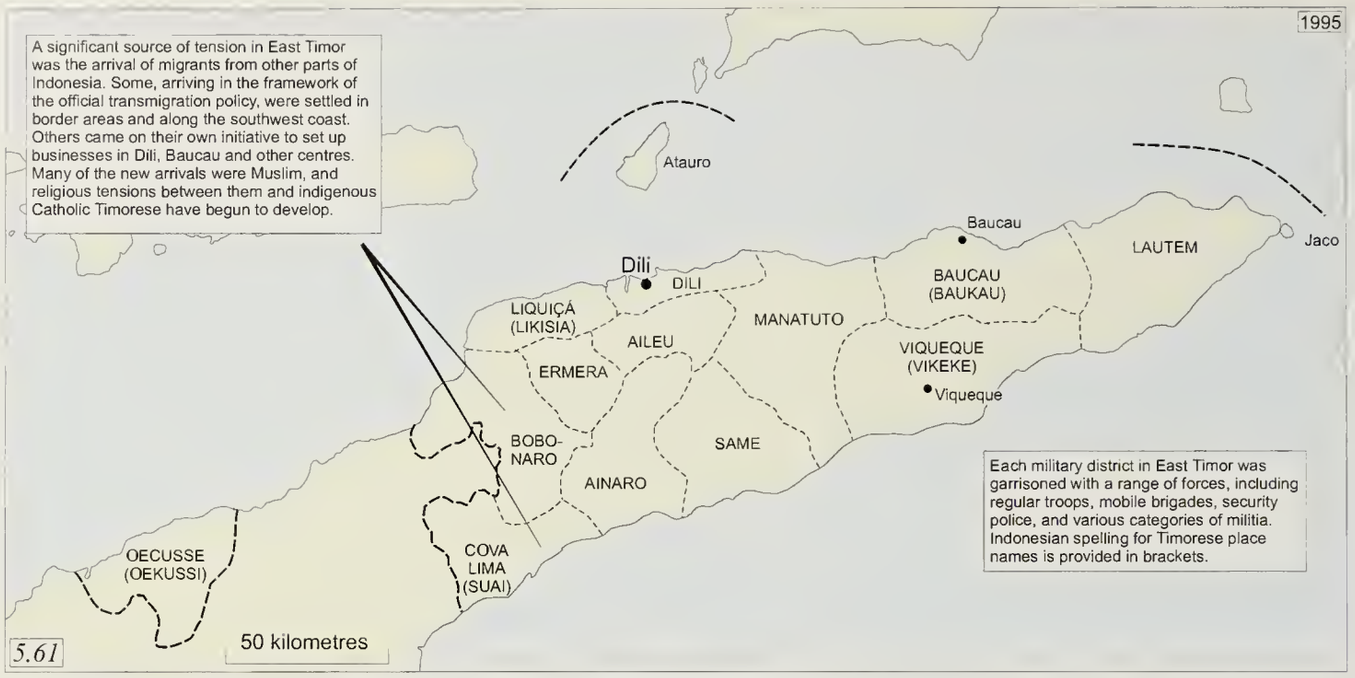
In 1975, Indonesian forces seized the Portuguese colonial territories in eastern Timor which had formed an enclave within the archipelago since the 19th century. Independent Indonesia had first repudiated any claim to East Timor, partly because its claim to West New Guinea rested on a right it asserted to rule all of, but no more than, the former Netherlands Indies. In 1974, however, West New Guinea was firmly in Indonesian hands and the overthrow of the right-wing Caetano government in Lisbon led Portugal to promise independence to all its colonies. A lively political debate emerged in East Timor over the colony's future, with most opinions being divided between those favouring immediate independence and those preferring greater autonomy within a continuing relationship with Portugal. By mid-1975, the supporters of independence had coalesced into a party called Fretilin, which defeated the associationist UDT in a brief civil war in August.

Indonesia, however, fearing that an independent East Timor might provide a base for communism, regionalist separatism or unwanted external influences, had already begun planning to annexe the territory. Indonesian intelligence groups actively worked the emerging parties in East Timor, Indonesian 'volunteers' slowly invaded the territory from the west from September, and on 7 December Indonesian sea and air forces stormed the capital, Dili, and began a rapid conquest of the island. Finally, in July 1976, after assembling a pliant group of Timorese who petitioned for incorporation into the Republic, Indonesia declared East Timor to be its 27th province.

The Indonesian invasion took place with the acquiescence of the United States and Australian governments, which expected, like Indonesia, that swift decisive intervention would disperse the young, inexperienced nationalist movement and that Timorese on the whole would readily accept Indonesian citizenship. The invasion, however, aroused both widespread international condemnation and determined resistance on the part of the Timorese. Only Australia and Indonesia's partners in ASEAN formally recognized the annexation and Indonesia's disregard of successive United Nations resolutions calling for self-determination in the territory was an embarrassment. The suffering of the Timorese, however, was incomparably greater. The initial invasion was accompanied by considerable brutality towards civilians as Indonesian forces sought to intimidate potential opposition. Unable to establish firm control over the interior, Indonesian forces resorted to a strategy of population resettlement, in which people were moved from the countryside into concentration areas where they could be closely supervised and kept out of contact with Fretilin guerrillas. Estimates of the Timorese death toll in this campaign, which ran from 1977 to 1979, range from 30,000 to 300,000, including both shootings and deaths from famine and disease in the poorly managed concentration areas. Because reliable records were not kept, none of these figures is reliable, but in an original population of about 6–700,000, even the lowest figure – implying a death rate of one in twenty – is horrifying.

5.60 The strategic situation in East Timor in 1986, according to Fretilin.

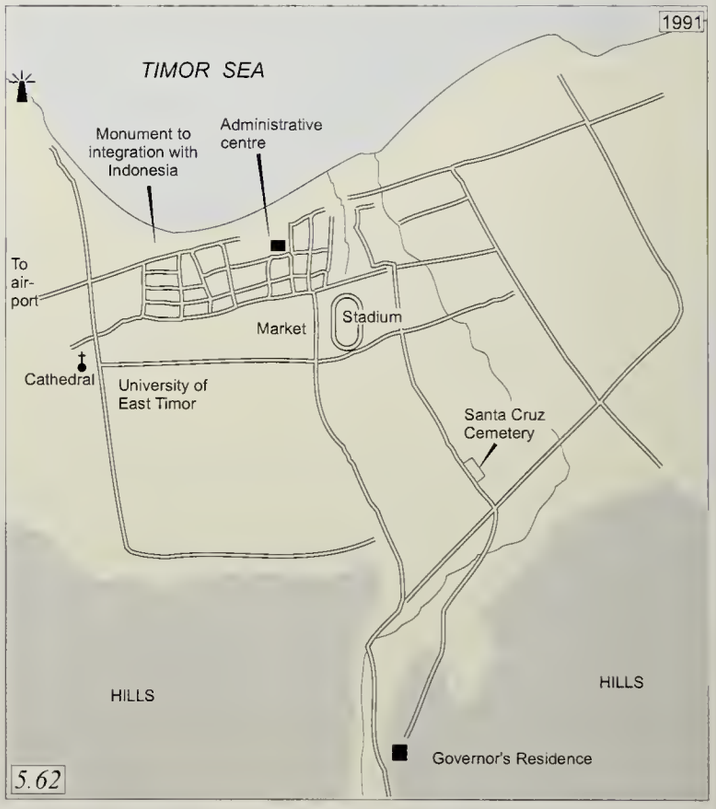

1975-1986
In August 1975, during the Fretilin-UDT civil war, the Portuguese governor of East Timor withdrew his administration to Atauro. Indonesia later claimed that this act constituted a formal abandonment of the territory, but Portugal continued to claim responsibility for East Timor and was recognized by the United Nations as the administering power.
Atauro
Baucau
Jaco
Dili
In October 1975, Indonesian troops in Balibo killed five Western journalists who were reporting on the covert Indonesian invasion. The event played a major role in attracting international attention to events in Timor and in encouraging scepticism about Indonesian claims to be acting honourably.
Balibo
Viqueque
OECUSSE ENCLAVE
50 kilometres
Concentration areas, created by Indonesian forces in 1977-79 to isolate Timorese from the guerrilla resistance
Independent guerrilla units (not affiliated with Fretilin)
Rural areas under Indonesian control, ca 1986
Concentration areas
5.60


1995
A significant source of tension in East Timor was the arrival of migrants from other parts of Indonesia. Some, arriving in the framework of the official transmigration policy, were settled in border areas and along the southwest coast. Others came on their own initiative to set up businesses in Dili, Baucau and other centres. Many of the new arrivals were Muslim, and religious tensions between them and indigenous Catholic Timorese have begun to develop.
Atauro
Baucau
Jaco
LAUTEM
Dili
DILI
BAUCAU (BAUKAU)
LIQUIÇÁ (LIKISIA)
AILEU
MANATUTO
ERMERA
VIQUEQUE (VIKEKE)
Viqueque
BOBO-NARO
SAME
AINARO
Each military district in East Timor was garrisoned with a range of forces, including regular troops, mobile brigades, security police, and various categories of militia. Indonesian spelling for Timorese place names is provided in brackets.
OECUSSE (OEKUSSI)
COVA LIMA (SUAI)
50 kilometres
5.61

5.61 Indonesian military and administrative districts (KODIM, *kabupaten*) in East Timor, 1995.

After the Indonesian military successes of 1977–1979, Fretilin abandoned attempts to control territory, and instead, under the leadership of 'Xanana' Gusmão, developed mobile armed columns and a network of clandestine support organizations amongst the civilian population, which enabled constant small-scale guerrilla operations to continue. In 1986, the CNRM (Conselho Nacional da Resistência Maubere, Maubere Council of National Resistance) was created to provide a broader political framework than was possible under Fretilin. Increasingly, moreover, the Catholic Church began to act as a focus for East Timorese identity, using the local language, Tetum, rather than Indonesian for services when the use of Portuguese was banned in 1981. The Church was also a conduit to the outside world for information on events in the territory. A consequence was that the percentage of the East Timorese population adhering to Catholicism rose from 30% in 1975 to 80% in 1990.

Although spending on health, education and infrastructure now vastly exceeded that during the Portuguese era, dissatisfaction with Indonesian rule remained strong, partly because of the continuing brutality of occupation forces, partly because generally Timorese were not allowed to share in the economic and employment opportunities brought by integration. The result was an on-going campaign of resistance in the main population centres, punctuated by regular violent clashes with the authorities. The award in 1996 of the Nobel Prize for Peace to Msg C.F.X. Belo, Catholic Administrator of Dili, and to Jose Ramos Horta, international spokesman for the CNRM, focussed international attention again on the continuing conflict.



5.62 Dili and the Santa Cruz Cemetery, 1991. *On 12 November 1991 at Santa Cruz cemetery, Indonesian troops fired on a funeral procession for a CNRM sympathizer who had been shot a few days earlier by occupation forces. As many as two hundred people may have been killed in the massacres and subsequent removal of witnesses. Film of the incident smuggled from Indonesia played a major role in drawing international attention to the Timor issue.*

At the time of independence, Indonesia could claim territorial waters up to three miles from its coastline of each of its islands. As an archipelagoic state, however, Indonesia believed that it should be able to claim some greater degree of authority over the waters lying between its islands. In 1960, therefore, the government formally claimed as internal waters all the seas lying within a base line drawn between the outmost points of the archipelago. This claim was not recognized internationally, but Indonesia was able to sign a number of agreements with neighbouring countries to settle real and potential disputes. In 1980 Indonesia claimed a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) around this outer limit. In 1982, the Convention on the Law of the Sea largely ratified Indonesia's baseline claim, but the right of foreign ships to innocent passage through Indonesian waters is still a matter of dispute. Outside powers, especially the United States, have argued particularly that the Melaka, Sunda and Lombok straits are international waterways through which all vessels have an absolute right of passage.

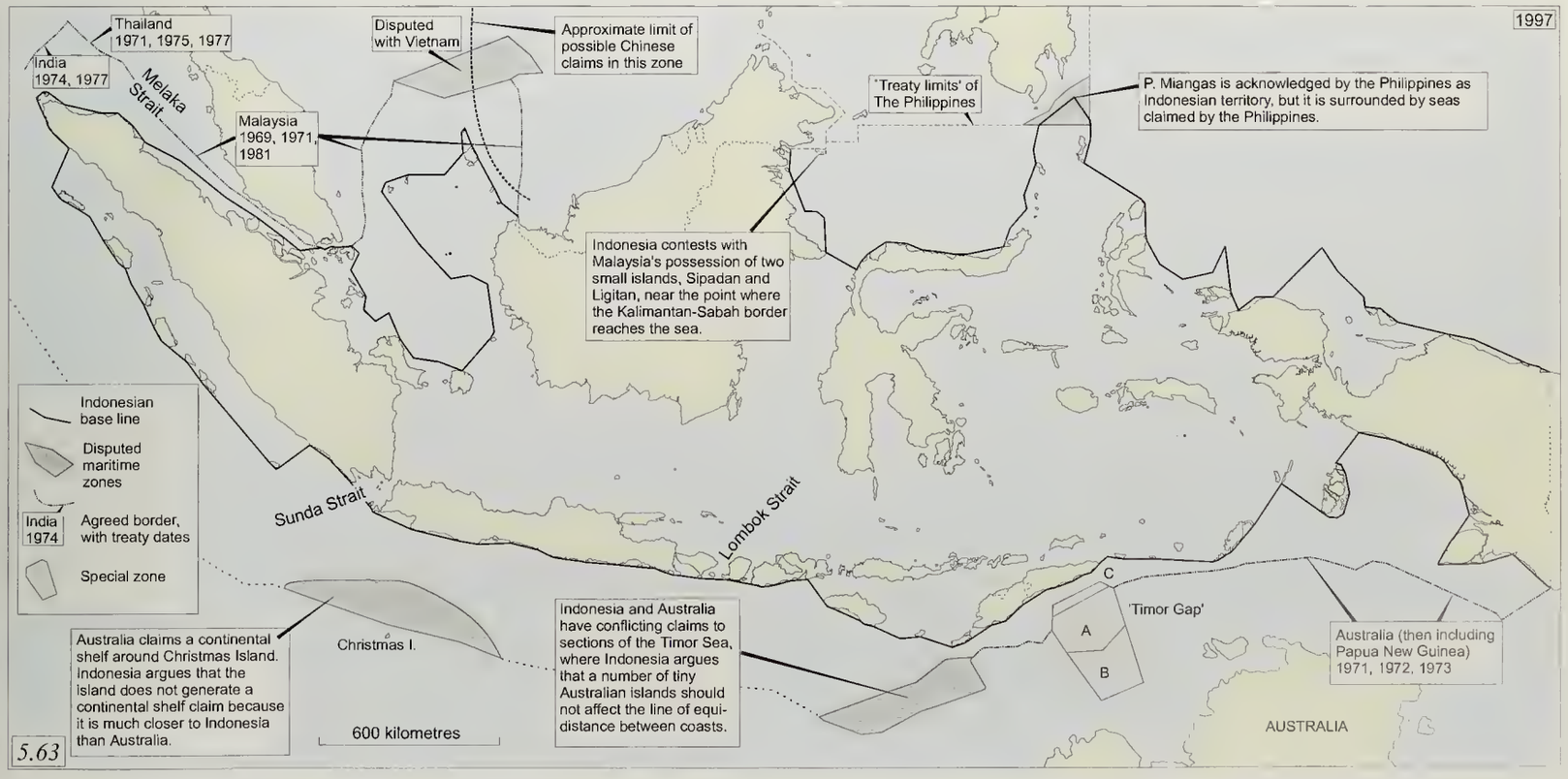
Indonesia is marginally involved in the complex territorial disputes of the South China Sea, where China (both the People's Republic and Taiwan), Vietnam, the Philippines and Malaysia all have competing claims. Although Indonesia has recently sought to present itself as a mediator in the disputes, its links with the other ASEAN countries and its own small claims in the region mean that it is unlikely to be regarded as a neutral force.

Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976 gave it a maritime boundary with Australia, the so-called 'Timor Gap', which was not covered by earlier treaties. Australia argued for a straight line connecting the two end points of the previously agreed boundaries, but Indonesia argued that the Law of the Sea now favoured a median line and in the absence of an agreement it asserted some claim to the full 200-km EEZ. The dispute was of economic importance, because oil and gas prospects on the Timor shelf could not safely be explored in the absence of clear jurisdictional arrangements.

In December 1989, however, Indonesia and Australia signed a treaty providing a management regime for economic exploitation of the disputed zone. The disputed area lying between the undersea Timor Trough, which Australia claimed as the edge of its continental shelf, and the Indonesian EEZ limit was divided into three zones, B and C under Australian and Indonesian jurisdiction respectively and A under joint arrangements. It was specified that the treaty would not alter the fundamental boundary claims of either side, but these issues were left in abeyance.

Because the alleged unviability of an independent East Timorese state was one of the arguments presented against East Timorese independence, the exploitation of lucrative and non-renewable natural resources in the Timor Gap were widely criticised in some international circles. Portugal brought a case against Australia in the International Court of Justice over its granting of oil leases in the Timor Gap, but in 1995 the Court refused to pass judgement on the grounds that to do so would be to determine the legality of Indonesia's occupation of the territory, which it could not do because Indonesia did not accept the court's jurisdisction.

5.63 Indonesia's maritime boundaries.


1997
Thailand
1971, 1975, 1977
India
1974, 1977
Melaka Strait
Malaysia
1969, 1971, 1981
Disputed with Vietnam
Approximate limit of possible Chinese claims in this zone
'Treaty limits' of The Philippines
P. Miangas is acknowledged by the Philippines as Indonesian territory, but it is surrounded by seas claimed by the Philippines.
Indonesia contests with Malaysia's possession of two small islands, Sipadan and Ligitan, near the point where the Kalimantan-Sabah border reaches the sea.
Indonesian base line
Disputed maritime zones
India 1974
Agreed border, with treaty dates
Special zone
Sunda Strait
Lombok Strait
C
'Timor Gap'
A
B
Australia (then including Papua New Guinea) 1971, 1972, 1973
Australia claims a continental shelf around Christmas Island. Indonesia argues that the island does not generate a continental shelf claim because it is much closer to Indonesia than Australia.
Christmas I.
600 kilometres
Indonesia and Australia have conflicting claims to sections of the Timor Sea, where Indonesia argues that a number of tiny Australian islands should not affect the line of equidistance between coasts.
AUSTRALIA
5.63

The End of the New Order

As President Suharto aged (he was born in 1921), there was great uncertainty over how much of the order he had constructed would be able to survive his eventual departure. Suharto had always prevented the emergence of an heir apparent, and observers wondered whether any successor would be able to step smoothly into power. In the event, the New Order began to unravel before Suharto left office.

The immediate cause of Suharto's ouster was the Asian financial crisis of 1997. The crisis was triggered by a realization amongst investors that many firms in neighbouring Thailand which had borrowed heavily in international finance markets were facing serious difficulties in paying their debts. To safeguard their holdings, Southeast Asian and international investors began to pull finance out of the region – not just from Thailand but also from Malaysia and to some extent Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. This action drove down the value of currencies in all these countries, seriously exacerbating the problem of indebtedness.

Indonesia was at first only mildly affected by the crisis, but the International Monetary Fund used the opportunity to press Suharto to make some more general economic reforms as a condition of IMF assistance. These reforms included economic deregulation and a reduction in government spending. Both sets of measures would have seriously damaged the economic interests of the Suharto circle, which had depended on privileged access to government permits and contracts. Misjudging the mood of the IMF and investors, the president formally agreed to reforms but largely failed to implement them. This inaction attracted the first ever concerted international criticism of New Order economic policies. Suharto's 'crony capitalism' (a term borrowed from critiques of President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines) was widely portrayed as the principal reason for Indonesia's economic weakness, and the Indonesian rupiah lost 80% of its value on foreign exchange markets.

This international pressure coincided with increasing domestic discontent. The gap between rich and poor in Indonesia appeared to have grown sharply during the 1990s, and there was widespread disgust with the regime's forcible removal of the popular Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of ex-President Sukarno, from the leadership of the PDI in 1996. Suharto's declining health, moreover, meant that the long-term benefits for elite members of supporting his rule were likely to be limited.

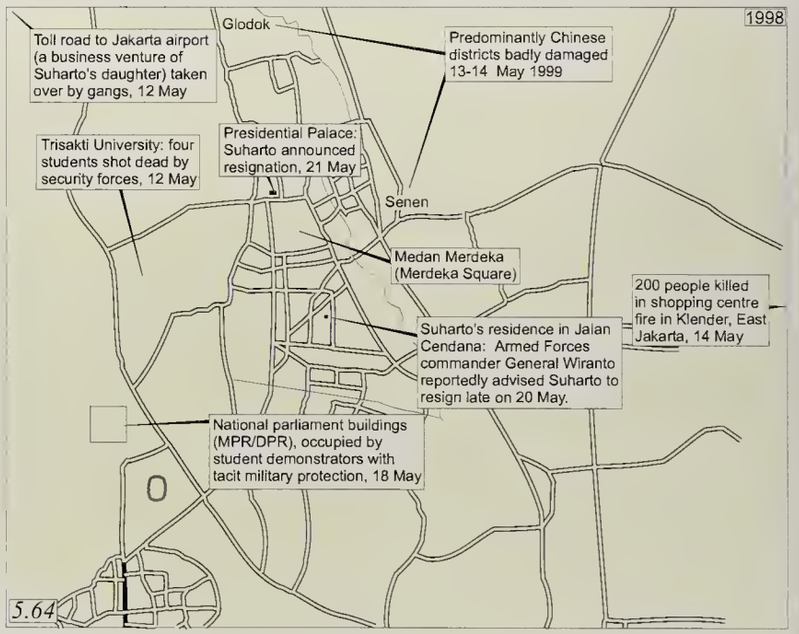
In March 1998 Suharto's re-election to a seventh term as president was forced through the National Assembly, which also elected as vice-president B.J. Habibie, the unpopular former technology minister. The economy, however, continued to crumble and violence reached acute levels. On 12 May the shooting of four students by security forces at Trisakti University in Jakarta triggered a massive breakdown in public order. Rioters in Jakarta attacked commercial and government buildings, targeting especially the Chinese community, which suffered murder, rape, arson and looting. Violence reached a peak on 14 May: armed gangs controlled much of the city, 3,000 buildings were destroyed and at least 500 people were killed. Finally, on 21 May 1999, Suharto announced his resignation and passed the presidency to Habibie.

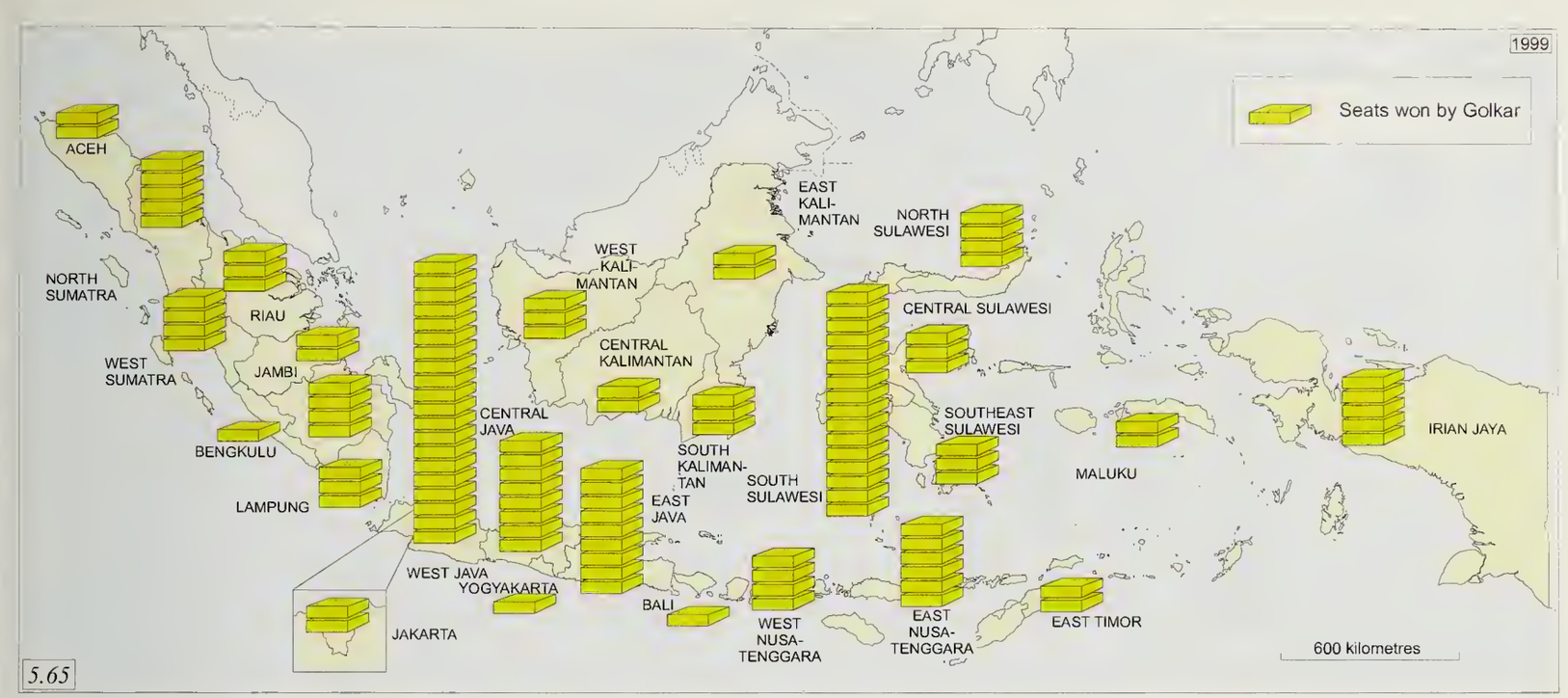
Habibie moved quickly to address some of the serious complaints against the New Order: he restored the freedom of the press, he released political prisoners, he introduced sweeping measures to decentralize authority to the provinces, he made public efforts to create a reconciliation with the Chinese community, he cut the Suharto children off from their once-lucrative government contracts and he began negotiations with Portugal over the status of East Timor. He also liberalized the political system, permitting the formation of political parties and announcing that new, free elections would be held in 1999. Despite these initiatives, however, he remained deeply unpopular, partly because his ruling circle was drawn largely from those prominent in the Suharto era, and partly because he seemed unenthusiatic about prosecuting his predecessor for corruption or abuse of human rights. An official investigation was launched into Suharto's alleged wealth, but it worked slowly and eventually reported in mid-1999 that it had been unable to find any grounds for prosecution.

The national elections were held on 7 June 1999 under new democratic rules. In their final form those rules meant that only parties established in at least nine provinces were permitted to compete, the communist party remained banned and 38 seats in parliament were reserved for the Indonesian military; nonetheless some 48 parties contested 462 seats in the DPR and a wide range of issues was brought forward. As was the case under Suharto, the seats in parliament were divided approximately evenly between Java and the other islands, a weighting which favoured parties whose base was outside Java.

Nearly 79% of Indonesia's 117,817,405 registered voters cast ballots in the elections, which were generally peaceful. Despite the large ballot paper and the profusion of party names and symbols, only about 3% of the ballots cast were ruled invalid for one reason or another.

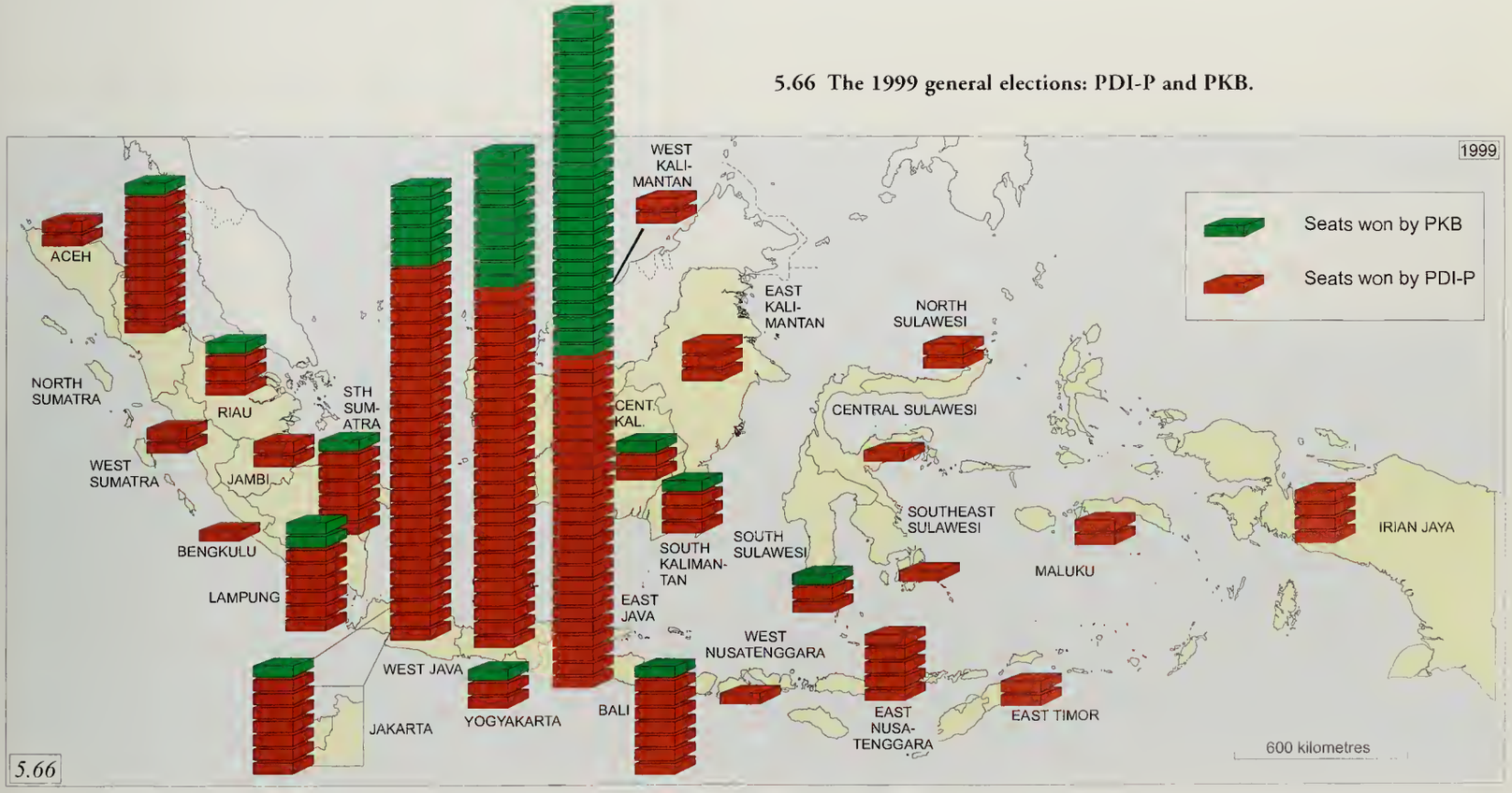
5.64 Jakarta in May 1998: the fall of Suharto.

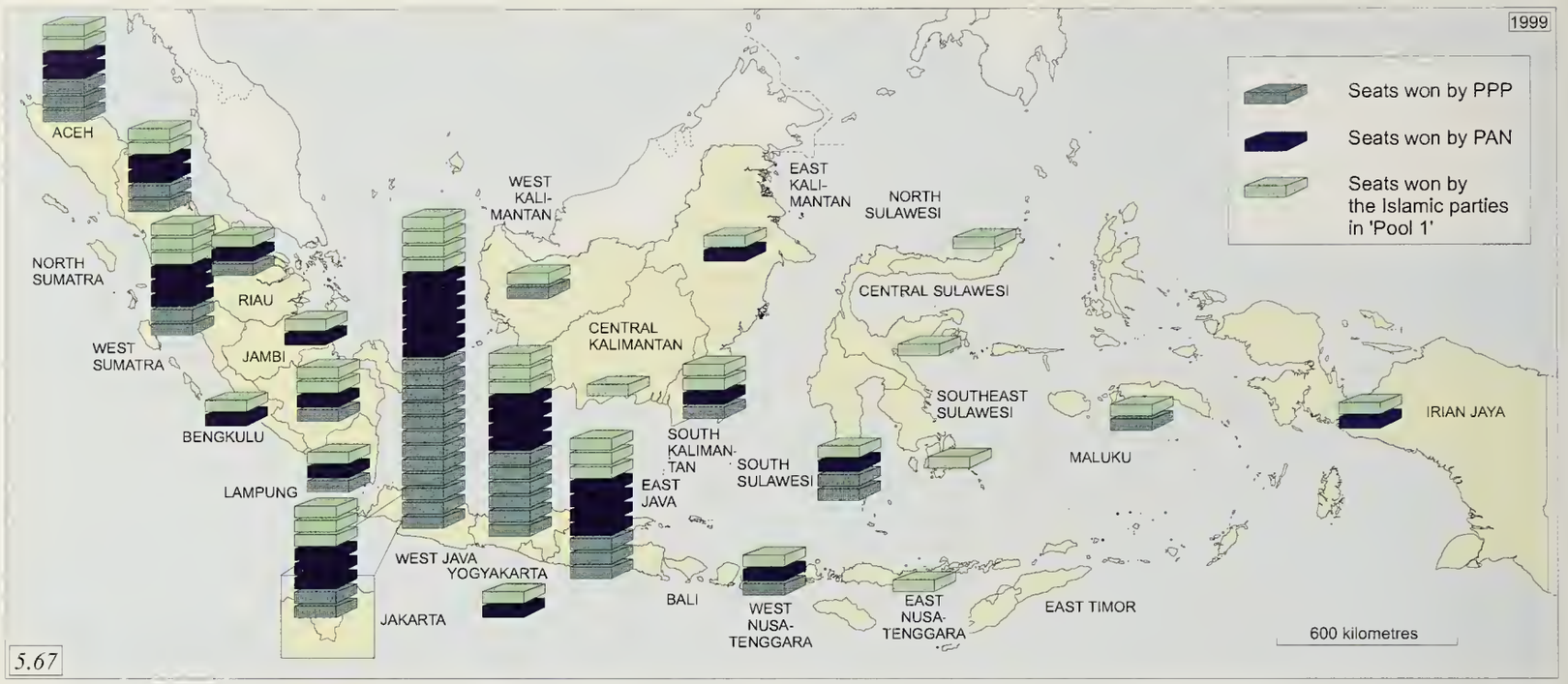

1998
Glodok
Toll road to Jakarta airport (a business venture of Suharto's daughter) taken over by gangs, 12 May
Predominantly Chinese districts badly damaged 13-14 May 1999
Trisakti University: four students shot dead by security forces, 12 May
Presidential Palace: Suharto announced resignation, 21 May
Senen
Medan Merdeka (Merdeka Square)
200 people killed in shopping centre fire in Klender, East Jakarta, 14 May
Suharto's residence in Jalan Cendana: Armed Forces commander General Wiranto reportedly advised Suharto to resign late on 20 May.
National parliament buildings (MPR/DPR), occupied by student demonstrators with tacit military protection, 18 May
0
5.64



5.65 The 1999 general elections: Golkar.

5.66 The 1999 general elections: PDI-P and PKB.





5.67 The 1999 general elections: PPP, PAN and 'Pool 1'.

In contrast with New Order elections, the count in 1999 took several weeks to complete. In the end, only 15 parties won seats, and the vast majority of votes were obtained by only five parties. Most successful, with 34% of the vote, was Megawati Sukarnoputri's PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle), which stood for opposition to the New Order and for a state not driven by Islamic principles. Golkar, the former government party, was shorn of direct military and bureaucratic support and burdened by its association with the Suharto era, but its resources, organization, and reputation for administrative competence helped to give it second place with 22% of the vote. It did especially well outside Java, where it often had a strong base amongst regional elites, and it benefited from the fact that Sulawesi was the home island of President Habibie. Although generally considered a non-Islamic party, Golkar had worked to develop its Islamic credentials and in some regions this Islamic tinge strengthened its vote.

Abdurrachman Wahid's PKB (National Awakening Party), with its base in East and Central Java, won 12% of the vote. It was a party of traditionalist Muslims; its leader favoured an accommodation between all the political streams in Indonesia, and he was considered close to Megawati. The PPP, despite its links with the manipulated elections of the Suharto era, did fairly well, winning over 10% of the vote; it took 39 seats in its own right, and collaborated in a vote-pooling arrangement with several other Islamic parties, known as 'Pool 1', which yielded those parties together some 40 seats. By contrast, the modernist Muslim PAN (National Mandate Party) of Amien Rais had an unexpectedly weak result, winning only 7.5%. PAN had campaigned on a broad platform and had tried to appeal to non-Muslim communities, but most observers believe that this platform alienated the party's natural Muslim constituency while failing to convince other voters.

The election results established Megawati and Habibie as front-runners for election as president by the MPR in its session at the end of 1999. Megawati, however, was hampered by doubts over her administrative capacity and by a feeling amongst some Muslims that she and her party were insufficiently Muslim: the PDI-P leadership included many Christians, while Megawati herself was a follower of Kejawen, that Javanese version of Islam which includes many Hindu, Buddhist and animist elements. Habibie, for his part, was plagued not only by his links with the Suharto era and by disappointment over his reform record, but by a scandal in which it appeared he had allowed Golkar to receive funds intended for bank reconstruction after the financial crisis, and by his policies on Timor. The presidential vote in the MPR held on 19 October 1999 resulted in the election of the PKB leader, Abdurrachman Wahid, as Indonesia's fourth president. On the following day, Megawati Sukarnoputri was elected as vice-president.

East Timor

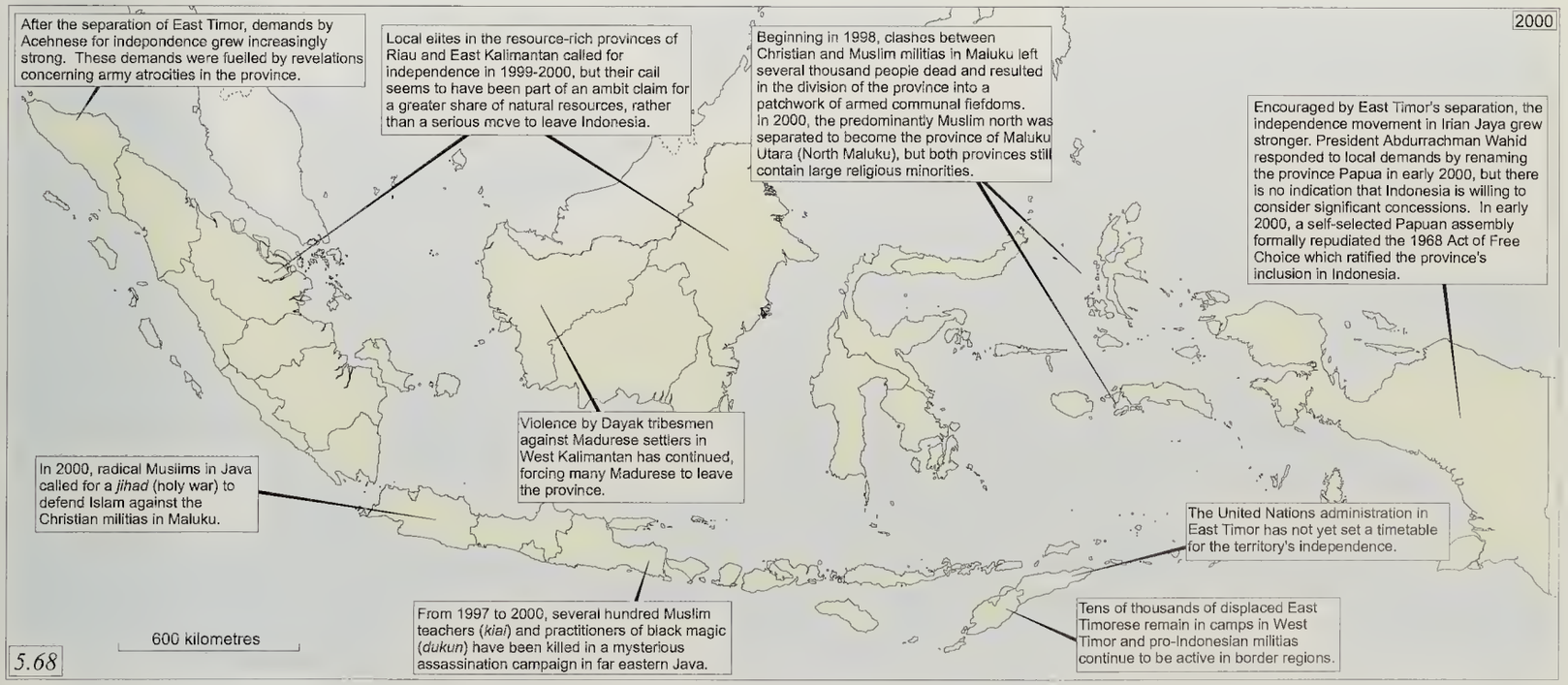
In January 1999, President Habibie surprised the world by announcing that East Timor would be allowed independence if its people rejected an autonomy package then being negotiated with Portugal. This offer, which appeared not to have been thoroughly thought through before it was announced, led to an agreement with the United Nations and Portugal for a referendum in the territory. Voters were invited to approve the autonomy package, on the understanding that if they rejected it then Indonesia would grant independence. This action aroused considerable alarm amongst the Indonesian military, which feared that it would precipitate a wave of separatist movements in other parts of Indonesia, as well as amongst Indonesian nationalists, most notably Megawati, who resisted any reduction in national territory.

The referendum took place on 30 August 1999 under the auspices of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET). Despite a systematic campaign of intimidation, especially by militias sponsored by the army, nearly 80% of the East Timorese voters (including East Timorese exiles in other parts of the world) voted against the autonomy package and thus for independence. This result triggered a wave of violence by pro-Indonesian groups in which a large proportion of the buildings in Dili and other centres were burnt and hundreds of thousands of people were displaced. At the time of writing, early reports of extensive massacres by pro-Indonesian militias appear to have been greatly exaggerated, but a high proportion of the population was without shelter and perhaps 200,000 people were more or less forcibly evacuated to western Timor.

On 12 September 1999, after intense international pressure, the Indonesian government agreed to allow a United Nations-approved international military force, INTERFET, to enter East Timor to 'assist' in keeping order. This force was led by Australia but included contingents from several countries.

Indonesia's international loss of face over the decolonization of East Timor was intense, and this factor contributed to President Habibie's growing unpopularity. On 19 October, the MPR also agreed to accept the East Timorese vote in favour of independence, and on 25 October the United Nations announced the creation of a United Nations Transitional Authority for East Timor (UNTAET), which was expected to administer the territory for two or more years before the formal granting of independence.

5.68 Indonesia in 2000: regional unrest. *The separation of East Timor from Indonesia led to speculation that other regions, especially Aceh and Irian Jaya (now Papua), might also break away. In 2000, the parliament passed new laws confirming a significant devolution of authority to provincial and local governments, but there were few signs of any willingness to contemplate secession by any region.*


2000
After the separation of East Timor, demands by Acehnese for independence grew increasingly strong. These demands were fuelled by revelations concerning army atrocities in the province.
Local elites in the resource-rich provinces of Riau and East Kalimantan called for independence in 1999-2000, but their call seems to have been part of an ambit claim for a greater share of natural resources, rather than a serious move to leave Indonesia.
Beginning in 1998, clashes between Christian and Muslim militias in Maluku left several thousand people dead and resulted in the division of the province into a patchwork of armed communal fiefdoms. In 2000, the predominantly Muslim north was separated to become the province of Maluku Utara (North Maluku), but both provinces still contain large religious minorities.
Encouraged by East Timor's separation, the independence movement in Irian Jaya grew stronger. President Abdurrachman Wahid responded to local demands by renaming the province Papua in early 2000, but there is no indication that Indonesia is willing to consider significant concessions. In early 2000, a self-selected Papuan assembly formally repudiated the 1968 Act of Free Choice which ratified the province's inclusion in Indonesia.
Violence by Dayak tribesmen against Madurese settlers in West Kalimantan has continued, forcing many Madurese to leave the province.
In 2000, radical Muslims in Java called for a *jihad* (holy war) to defend Islam against the Christian militias in Maluku.
The United Nations administration in East Timor has not yet set a timetable for the territory's independence.
From 1997 to 2000, several hundred Muslim teachers (*kiai*) and practitioners of black magic (*dukun*) have been killed in a mysterious assassination campaign in far eastern Java.
Tens of thousands of displaced East Timorese remain in camps in West Timor and pro-Indonesian militias continue to be active in border regions.
600 kilometres
5.68

Sources

The information and interpretations presented in this atlas come from a wide variety of sources, including historical maps, maps prepared to illustrate historical and other writings, historical and general atlases, and written work.

The purely geographical information (coastlines, relief, drainage, place names) used as the framework for presenting historical information was obtained principally from the Digital Chart of the World, van Gelder (1909), the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* (1938), *Atlas Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* (1980), *Atlas Indonesia dan dunia* (1985), the *Times Atlas of the World* (1989) and the *Road Atlas Indonesia* (1992).

The geographical information provided in the Introduction was compiled from many different sources. Statistics on island areas were obtained mainly from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* and *Tabel van de resultaten* (1895). Geographical statistics and changes of place name announced in 1963 are in *Indonesian Press Survey* no 43 (1–30 Sept. 1963), p. 24. For a discussion of the history of counting Indonesia's islands, see Hopper 1978; the increased 1994 figure is given in *Indonesia 1994* (1994).

There is a large scientific literature, not all of it in agreement, on the geological and bio-geographical origins of the Indonesian archipelago. Whitmore, *Wallace's Line and plate tectonics* (1981) is perhaps the best beginning reference, though it is now somewhat dated. Simkin and Fiske 1983 is a standard work on the Krakatau eruption. The *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* (1938) and Naval Intelligence Division (1944) remain important sources on the Indonesian environment and geography in the late colonial period. Map 1.25 was redrawn from Spencer 1966; 1.26–1.28 from *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* 1938; 1.34 from Seidensticker *et al.*, 1976.

The massive compilations by Wurm and Hattori (1983) and Mosely and Asher (1994) provide the major reference for information on the distribution of ethnic groups in Indonesia as defined by language. The relatively reliable censuses which were held in Indonesia in 1920, 1930, 1980 and 1990 (*Volkstelling* 1920; *Volkstelling* 1930; *Statistik Indonesia* 1982; *Penduduk Indonesia: hasil sensus penduduk* 1990) and the principal sources for statistical information, along with the *Peta pembanguanan sosial* 1978 and the 'Changing Economy of Indonesia' series.

Map 2.23 was largely redrawn from Ryan 1969; 2.30 from Brouwer, n.d.; 2.39 from Warren 1981; 2.45 from Charras and Pain 1993; 2.46 from Pelzer 1945; 2.47 from May 1986; 2.50 from Rigg 1997; 2.52 from *Bali*, 1960; 2.59 from Pigeaud 1962; 2.60 from Sandhu and Wheatley 1983; 2.61 De Haan 1922; 2.69 from Jones and Hull 1997 and McGee and Robinson 1995.

The population figures in Map 2.77 were derived from *Key Indicators* 1996; population figures for Japan, Australia, Brunei and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) are for 1994 and derive from *World Development Report* 1996. Population increase figures for Japan and Australia refer to gross population growth in 1993; reliable population growth figures for Brunei and North Korea are not available.

The maps on early history were prepared largely with reference to written sources. For the earliest periods, Wolters 1967, 1970, 1975 and Coedes 1968 are the most important reference sources. For later periods Vlekke 1945, Ricklefs 1993 and the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* are essential. The series *Peta Sejarah Propinsi...*, prepared by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, contains much valuable material on this period, but some of its data is of doubtful reliability.

From the 18th century until the end of colonial rule, the map collection of the Dutch Ministry of Colonies, now held in the Algemeen Rijksarchief in The Hague and commercially available on microfiche is enormously important. Most of the detail concerning changes to administrative boundaries was compiled by referring between these maps and official proclamations.

Maps 3.50 and 3.52 are based on Stapel 1928. Map 4.1 is redrawn from De Stuers 1847; 4.8 from Schaank 1893; 4.11 from Anak Agung Gde Agung 1989; 4.13 from Castro 1876; 4.45 from Kamerling 1980; 4.51 and 4.52 from Breman 1980; 4.57–4.62 from *Herdenking van het vijftigjarig bestaan der Staatsspoor- en tramwegen in N.I.*, 1925.

Maps 5.12, 5.13 and 5.19 are redrawn from *Officiele bescheiden betreffende Nederlands-Indonesische betrekkingen*; 5.15 from 'Groups' 1952 with other information from O'Ballance 1966; Dennis and Grey 1996; 5.18 from Heijboer 1979; 5.27 from Hindley 1964; 5.35 and 5.36 from Amnesty International 1977; 5.46 from Carlson 1977; 5.47 from Energy map of Southeast Asia, 1994; 5.55 Street Directory Jakarta, 1981, with additional information; 5.61 redrawn from a 1986 Fretilin map reproduced in Retbøll 1987; and 5.64 from Territorial map 1984. Election figures are based on Feith 1957, Feith 1963, Suryadinata 1982 and Baroto 1992 and the *Jakarta Post* internet edition. Statistics in 5.48–5.51 are derived from Hill 1996 and statistics in 5.52 and 5.53 from the *World Development Report*, 1994.

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MIKO = Ministry of Colonies map collection, housed in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, and commercially available on microfiche.

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Bold denotes a major entry on the topic; *italics* indicates that the reference appears on a map.

Administrative units are treated separately from the corresponding geographical regions. 'Province' (*propinsi*) refers to the main administrative division under the Indonesian Republic; a '*gewest*' was the equivalent of a province for most of the colonial period from 1800 to 1942, except that from 1925 the *gewesten* on Java were gradually organized into *provinciën* while the *gewesten* in the other islands were grouped into *gouvernementen*. Below province/*gewest*, the main administrative division was generally called *kabupaten* (district, Dutch *regentschap*) in Java and *afdeeling* elsewhere. *Gewesten* on Java became *keresidenan* (residencies) after independence in 1945. Other Dutch words frequently appearing in this index are *adatrechtskring* (customary law region), *perk* (nutmeg plantation) and *zelfbestuur* (native state).

Indonesian geographical terms

Bt, *Bukit*, hill
D., *Danau*, lake
Gg, *Gunung*, mountain
K., *Kali*, river
Kep., *Kepulauan*, archipelago
Laut, sea
Lautan, ocean
Ma, *Muara*, swamp
P., *Pulau* (occasionally Pulo), island
Rw., *Rawa*, swamp
S., *Sungai*, river
Sel., *Selat*, strait
Semenanjung, peninsula
Tg, *Tanjung*, cape
Tk, *Teluk*, bay

barat, west
barat daya, southwest
barat laut, northwest
selatan, south
tengah, central
tenggara, southeast
timur, east
timur laut, northeast
utara, north

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